HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE DIOCESE OF OSSORY.

FATHERS LIBRARY,
ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH,
SAN JOSE, - - CAL.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/historyantiquiti0001revw

+ Abraham,
May 3rd, 1905. Bishop of Ossory.

Frontispiece, Vol. I.

THE

History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory.

BY

THE REV. WILLIAM CARRIGAN, C.C.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

WITH

A PREFACE

BY

THE MOST REV. DR. BROWNRIGG,

LORD BISHOP OF OSSORY.

VOL. I.

ALMA COLLEGE
274.15
LIBRARY
C235
Alma, California

DUBLIN:

SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER,

MIDDLE ABBEY STREET.

1905

(*All rights reserved*).

2868

FATHERS LIBRARY,
ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH,
SAN JOSE, - - CAL.

PRINTED BY
SEALY, BRYERS AND WALKER,
MIDDLE ABBEY STREET,
DUBLIN.

To the

Most Rev. Dr. Brownrigg,

Lord Bishop of

Ossory,

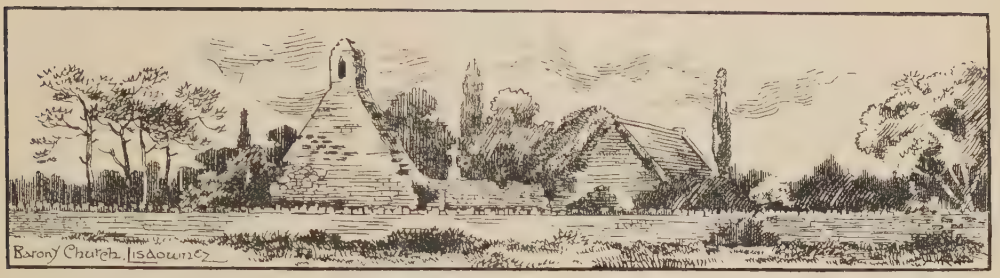
these Volumes are

respectfully dedicated

by the

Author.

FATHERS LIBRARY,
ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH,
SAN JOSE, - - CAL.



PREFACE.

The Diocese, of which these volumes are the record, is a Diocese which presents to the student of history some remarkable characteristics and contrasts. Its Founder, St. Kieran, is called in our ecclesiastical annals, "Hiberniæ Sanctorum primogenitus." According to the opinion universally received amongst Irish historians up to the time of Lanigan, he was one of the four pre-Patrician saints who first introduced Christianity into Ireland. But whether this be so or not, it is fairly certain that he began and ended his career as Bishop within the fifth century of our era, and thus was a contemporary of our national apostle, St. Patrick. It would appear he had royal blood in his veins, for he is said to have descended by his father from the Kings of Ossory. Ossory was a territory of ancient Ireland long before the Gospel was preached here, which embraced, roughly speaking, about the third part of the Queen's County and nearly the whole of the present County Kilkenny. St. Kieran preached the Gospel to his kinsmen and won them, rulers and all, to the Christian faith. His Diocese was called by the name of the clan, was practically co-extensive with the civil division called Ossory, and continues to this day, in its name and extent, almost exactly what it was when founded and left by him at his death. No other Diocese in our country appears to enjoy these distinctions with the exception of royal Meath, which, too, claims to be called after an ancient Irish kingdom, and to be coincident with it.

When the Anglo-Norman invaders came over to Ireland, the fortunes of the Mac Gillapatricks, the native kings of Ossory, fared badly. They lost a considerable portion of their kingdom—that represented by the County Kilkenny—and were obliged to confine themselves henceforward to the northern corner of their kingdom in the Queen's County, where they maintained a sort of wild independence until the middle of the sixteenth century, when their chiefs made submission to

the crown of England, and became known from that time forward only as the Lords Barons, or Earls, of Upper Ossory.

William, Earl Marshall, the first Norman that settled in Kilkenny, inherited the lordship of Leinster through Isabella, his wife, only daughter and heir of Strongbow, and grand-daughter of the ill-fated Dermot Mac Murrogh. He came to Kilkenny about the year 1192, and may be said to have been the founder of the Kilkenny that afterwards was destined to play such a conspicuous part in the public life and history of this country. It is true he found the nucleus of a town which had, in all likelihood, existed for some centuries previously, and which had within its confines three objects, still specially dear to Kilkenny people and of surpassing interest to the antiquarian, namely, the old Church or Cathedral, no longer visible, but whose foundations now underlie the present noble Cathedral of St. Canice built upon them; the stately round tower which stands close by with the hoar of probably twelve hundred years upon its head; and the old spring, called Kenny's Well, with its ever-flowing, copious stream of pure water and with its rude roof of masonry of many hundred years ago.

That the Anglo-Normans were a great, noble, chivalrous, cultured, enterprising race, no one, whether friend or foe, who considers what they accomplished in England and other countries of Europe, will venture to deny. Nor was the new, but presumably unwelcome, visitor to Kilkenny any exception to his forefathers in these qualities. He, and his five sons who succeeded him in the Earldom, survived in Kilkenny only for the comparatively short period of fifty-three years (1192-1245), but in that short space they left enduring memorials of their greatness behind them. They laid out and built what, at the present time, constitutes the larger and more important part of our City, viz., that extending from the Bregagh river to the castle. It is said that the present Cathedral of St. Canice was in process of erection by Felix O'Dulany, Bishop of Ossory, when the Normans came, but it is certain that the new-comers took up the work with zeal and spared neither skill nor treasure, until they made it what it is to-day—the pride not only of our own city, but of all Ireland. They built the fortress out of which the present castle of the Ormondes subsequently grew. They founded and endowed the Black Abbey, in 1225, within four years after the death of the Founder of the Dominican Order –St. Dominic. They founded and endowed, also, the priory of St. John, which contained the famous Lantern of Ireland, and the Franciscan Abbey, whose ruined tower and chancel still stand close to the banks of the Nore —the former in 1211, the latter in 1231. They raised up many other works of a like character and magnificence not only in Kilkenny city, but over the whole county, and even over other counties.

These Norman Earls did not come alone, for they were followed and supported

by a retinue of brave, but needy, adventurers, who expected to be rewarded for the services they rendered in the conquest of this country for the English crown. Nor, indeed, were they disappointed. The rich lands not only within the Pale, but also those without it, like the County Kilkenny and the Queen's County, were the rich prize bestowed on them. But, chivalrous race as they were, let it be said to their credit that, unlike many subsequent conquests and revolutions affecting Ireland, they do not appear to have abused their victory by the exercise of any very great severity, much less ferocity. They, no doubt, pushed the native Irish to one side, seized for themselves the best of everything that the country offered, and got nearly all power and authority, civil, municipal, political, and religious into their hands. The ominous change which will be noticed as having occurred, concurrently with their coming, in the names of the Bishops who, henceforward for several hundred years, succeeded to the See of Ossory, is an illustration of this in one department of public life. But they would not have been of human mould if they had done otherwise. The Anglo-Normans were, indeed, a "*gens indomita*" but they never spoiled victory by any serious cruelty. It was not as in the conquest of Cromwell (name so odious in Ireland), nor as after the Boyne, when the "mere Irish" and even the very descendants of the men about whom we are now speaking, were first driven out from their homes and then, when driven out, had no alternative offered them but the scuttled convict ship, the swamps of Barbadoes, Connaught, or Hell! No, the Anglo-Normans were men of finer fibre and more civilized ideals. They came flushed with victory over a conquered race, but throughout it all their motto was *debellare superbos, parcere subjectis*. Hence they settled down in the land side by side with the ancient race, lived in peace and harmony with them, adopted what they found of good amongst them and endeavoured to improve them in what needed improvement, entered into their social manners and customs, intermarried with them, and spoke their language, until after the lapse of a century and a half from their coming it could be said of them that they were "*Hibernicis ipsis Hiberniores.*" In the year 1366 a Parliament of the Anglo-Irish lords sat at Kilkenny, as it often sat before and since, and in that Parliament was enacted the famous, or rather, infamous, Statute, called the Statute of Kilkenny, the object of which was to break up the union of hearts and interests that had even so early been cemented between the conquerors and the conquered, in the hope that the two races thrown into antagnoism with each other, the weaker of them, the Irish, would be ultimately exterminated. But that illiberal, intolerant, and unjust Statute was of little or no avail, and finally became a dead letter. The chief names of the Norman families that settled down in the County Kilkenny were the Butlers, Purcells, Cantwells, Shortalls, Comerfords, Fitzgeralds, Graces, &c., &c. Many of these got roughly

handled enough, as these volumes will show, during the reign of Elizabeth, in the time of Cromwell, and again in the reign of William the Third after the battle of the Boyne ; but let us be thankful that they weathered the storm and still survive, if not in the positions of honour and affluence of former generations of their name, at least in comparative comfort, and still true to the description given of them long ago—"Irish of the Irish."

In the year 1245, William, Earl Marshall, Junior, together with his four issueless brothers had passed away, leaving five sisters as the sole survivors of the family. The lordship of Leinster, which the last surviving brother, Earl Anselm, held at the time of his death, was divided into five parts, each of his surviving sisters receiving one part as her portion. The part representing the castle, town, and county of Kilkenny fell to the Lady Isabel, wife of the Earl of Gloucester and Hertford and then a widow, whose representative in 1391 was Hugh le Despencer. In that year Despencer sold the City and Castle of Kilkenny, together with all their lands and appurtenances, to James, Earl of Ormonde, who was doubly descended from William, Earl Marshall. This is the first appearance of the Ormondes in connection with Kilkenny city. From that day down to the present, except at rare intervals when they were outlawed or banished, the Ormondes have lived at Kilkenny and became identified, sometimes for better sometimes for worse, with almost every phase of public life, civil, political, and ecclesiastical, not only here but throughout the whole of our Island.

For many persons some of the most instructive and, indeed, interesting reading to be found in the pages of this history will be to follow through the centuries the chequered career of this remarkable and powerful family. The picture will be found to be one with "light and shade." The verdict, I fear, of impartial history must be that great duplicity in dealing with public questions, a weak-kneed servility to the English connection at periods when a hope offered of shaking off the yoke, a graceless and spendthrift prodigality, and a terrible trifling at times with the sacred things of faith, are, from an Irish point of view, stains on the scutcheon of, at least, some members of the Ormonde race. But, on the other hand, when we make allowance for the lofty, influential, and often difficult position this family has occupied, and the stirring and complex events of which Kilkenny was the scene for so many years, it may be found that the Ormondes lie not under a deeper "shade" than many of the other noble families who represent the English interest in Ireland to-day. At all events there are two things which must be said in their favour and which should count for much when we consider the action of most others of their class throughout Ireland. First, as long as they professed the Catholic faith, they were strong adherents of that Church, were dutiful to its laws and ordinances, and were amongst its most munificent

supporters. The family in both its branches—the Ormonde and the Mountgarret —gave three distinguished archbishops to the metropolitan See of Munster. The Bishops of Ossory were always welcome to their houses and were always received with the honour due to their rank. In the dark days of persecution when a priest, much less a bishop, dare not go abroad, both found shelter, protection, and hospitality in their castles. These volumes will tell how, when Ossory had no cathedral or scarcely a church in all the land, the Bishop of the Diocese of the time ordained priests under their sheltering roof. Even when the Ormondes gave up the faith and embraced the teachings of Protestantism, they never persecuted Catholics, as so many other families like them did, and did ruthlessly, in other parts of Ireland. One of the peculiarities of this Diocese of Ossory is that it has not had many martyrs for the faith. In looking over the catalogue of Irish martyrs which has been recently forwarded to the Holy See with a claim to the honour of canonization, it is a little disappointing to us here to find there are very few from this Diocese. Perhaps we should not be far out in attributing this absence of martyrdom amongst us to the restraining influence of the Ormondes in those dark and evil times. To this, too, may largely, no doubt, be attributed the fact that the tradition and course of Catholic education has never been broken or interrupted in Kilkenny through all these dreary years. And speaking on this subject of education what an interesting thing it is, more especially in view of passing events, to learn from this history that our City had once the honour of being the seat of a University. It was established and duly chartered by James II. in 1690, but, as the redoubtable Protestant historian, Ledwich, puts it, "the glorious victory of the Boyne put an end to those conceits!" It would be interesting to indulge our imagination here for a moment and strive to guess what would be the condition of the Catholic body, and of education generally, in Ireland, to-day, if this project of a University amongst us had succeeded and prospered. But the Boyne still blocks the way! The other trait (and that not less important than their religious toleration) in the history of the Ormondes is that they have been always good, merciful, and just landlords. They let their land at a low rate, they never raised rents, they seldom, if ever, and then only in extreme cases, evicted for non-payment of rent, they never evicted their tenants for voting at elections according to the dictates of their conscience, they did not treat their tenants and retainers, as so many other Irish landlords did, as if they were only goods and chattels to be arbitrarily moved about, like pawns on a chess-board, from farm to farm, no regard being paid to the ties of home, family, or marriage. Hence the most amicable relations have always subsisted between the Ormondes and their tenants, and even during the terrible crisis of the late land agitation, which shook the landlord interest to its very foundation, the Ormondes

never showed up in any invidious or persecuting spirit. Within the present year, acquiescing in the wish of their tenantry in this and the neighbouring counties and, perhaps, bowing, too, to what they recognize as later on to be inevitable, they have sold to them their holdings, and that on terms which seem to have given general satisfaction to the purchasers. What a comment this is on the emptiness of the projects of men and on the fickle course of human events! The Ormondes, as we have seen, acquired their property in 1391; now after five hundred years' possession of it, they, more or less under the pressure of a sort of moral necessity, have given it to the tillers of the soil, to belong to them and to their descendants till, perhaps, some other terrible revolution will transfer it in turn to new comers in the future!

It has been stated already that since the Anglo-Normans appeared in Ireland, the Diocese of Ossory and more especially the city of Kilkenny have been the theatre and centre of many stirring events. Kilkenny was the great meeting-place of the Parliaments of the Anglo-Irish nobles and gentry. Here the National Conventions of the Confederated Catholics took place in the seventeenth century presided over by Rinuccini, the Papal Nuncio. It is a truly sad page of Irish history, but none the less it has gained a fame for the place which is imperishable. Subsequently the city fell into the hands of Cromwell. We do not read that he perpetrated here any wholesale massacres, as at Wexford and Drogheda, but by the agency of the infamous Axtell he drove out all the citizens and planted Puritans in their place. Amid all the varying fortunes, sorrows, and persecutions through which the Diocese passed from the time of Henry VIII., down to Catholic Emancipation, one thing remained true and stable—the faith of priests and people. Bale, the Apostate Friar, was sent over in the reign of Edward VI., as the first Protestant Bishop of Ossory. These pages record the ludicrous end that befel his mission. Other Bishops of the new tenets came in succession ever since, supported by money and property taken from the old creed, and backed up by every human resource of power and influence, and yet we find the faith of the people of Ossory to-day as strong and vigorous as it was in any previous part of our history. It has been computed that in this Diocese alone there were no less than three hundred and fifty pre-Reformation Churches, some of which date from the introduction of Christianity into our country, and the very oldest of which bear incontestable proofs, in the presence of their ruined altars, that the Mass was offered up in them. Jerpoint, the noble ruin which even in its decay arrests the attention of the traveller by rail to the South of County Kilkenny, was founded and built by one of the last of the old Celtic line of the Kings of Ossory, in 1158, before a Norman ever set foot in Ireland. Kells was founded by Geoffry Fitz Robert in 1193, with the sanction and permission of William, Earl Marshall. We have in

this Diocese up to 200 old castles built, some of them by the old Irish and some by the Anglo-Normans, for the protection of their property and their retainers against marauders. We count amongst us not less than five round towers, several Ogham stones, many beautiful incised Irish crosses, some cromlechs and a multitude of other remains of pre-historic or, at least, very ancient, times.

It will scarcely be wondered at that a Diocese so ancient, so rich in stirring reminiscences, so nobly loyal to the faith, so fruitful in great and good men, so full of monuments of the past, should always have shewn itself to be a great centre of historical research and the nursing-mother of historians. One of her own distinguished sons has said that "here on the banks of the chrystal Nore, if anywhere, the Muse of Irish history has built herself a shrine!" How many votaries have come to worship there in the hope of winning only a smile from the venerable Lady! From the scribe (name unknown) who in the year 1300 made the first entry in the *Red Book of Ossory* down along to the last publication of the "Ossory Archæological Society," in our own time, a continuous stream of brilliant men, smitten with the love of this Diocese, have poured forth in rich abundance books on its history and traditions which are the admiration of scholars of the present day, and which will live to the end of time:—Clyn, the Franciscan, of the old abbey still standing with us, who undertook, in 1348, to write the annals of Ireland and whose hand stayed its work only when struck by the pestilence which visited the city in the same year; Grace, who composed one of the only two respectable histories of the Anglo-Irish; Stanihurst, educated at Peter White's School at St. Canice's Cathedral, founded by Piers, Earl of Ormonde and Margaret, Countess of Ormonde; Rothe, who fills such a large space in this history, and has left us that invaluable work, his *Analecta;* De Burgo, whose work *Hibernia Dominicana* is now worth its weight in gold; Brenan, O'Donovan, Moran, Kelly, Hogan, Shearman, Healy. Every name in this list is the name of a Catholic and further, if you except two—O'Donovan and Hogan—is the name of a Bishop or priest of the Catholic church. Besides these, we learn that Harris, the historian, was educated here; here Archdall prepared the only *History of the Irish Monasteries;* here Ledwich, too, prepared his *Antiquities;* here Graves (*clarum et venerabile nomen*) in conjunction with Prim, another Kilkenny man, composed the invaluable *History of St. Canice's Cathedral,* and instituted the "Kilkenny Archæological Society," which gave such an impetus all over Ireland to the study of Antiquities, which since has changed its name into that of "The Royal Society of Antiquaries," and which at present numbers amongst its Fellows and Members every literary man and woman of any distinction in the country.

This bibliography, together with the authors just recounted, will shew how much in the fitness of things it is that a Kilkenny priest should have charged

himself with the laborious and difficult, but glorious, task of writing the HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE DIOCESE OF OSSORY. Besides the fitness of the man for the work, there was also a fitness and a very special one in the time he commenced it. The author began to gather the materials for these volumes twenty-one years ago, but he declares that, if he were to commence only now to do so, the work would be impossible to accomplish. When he started with his labours he found in almost every parish a few venerable octogenarians—men and women—who linked in their persons the glorious Ireland of the past with the new, changed, and still changing Ireland of to-day. These venerable men and women, for reasons easily understood, could not call upon much book-knowledge or learning, but they had qualifications of a much more valuable character to the hunter after the lore, legends, and traditions of our country. They spoke and loved the Irish language and scarcely knew any other, they were full of Irish genius, steeped up to their grey hairs and over with the Irish spirit, and their eyes never kindled with such a holy fire, as when they were asked, above all by the priest, to recount the folk-lore and traditions of their country. They are now gone, one and all, and have left their country all the poorer by their departure. But, thank God, there was one amongst us who, before they entered the land of promise, lovingly gathered from their dying lips the tales and traditions of this Diocese and has now enshrined them in these pages as a guiding light and example for the people of Ossory in the future.

Another appositeness to be noticed in connection with the appearance of this work is that it comes at a time when our country is stirred from end to end with the revival of everything characteristically Irish—language, customs, pastimes, and manufactures. There can be little doubt but that these volumes will help very much to add to the force of that movement by the side-lights they let in from the distant past. Many will consider that one of the most valuable things in these pages is the critical and exhaustive interpretation of the old Irish names of events, places, scenes, battles, and shrines connected with this and the neighbouring Queen's County. Irish scholars, not a few, have turned their attention to this branch of Irish philology, and to a more interesting one they could scarcely have devoted themselves. Nothing brings out in bolder relief the vivid imagination, the poetic instinct, the playful fancy, and the quizzical wit and humour of the old Irish people than the nomenclature in which they enshrined their fields, roads, castles, raths, mountains, fords, and rivers. Of all this the pages of this work will afford many illustrations, skilfully and ably drawn out by the author.

Besides the value these volumes possess from a mere literary, historical, or antiquarian standpoint, it will be found that they contain, as all history, written

with a regard to truth, ought to do, wise counsels, comforting considerations, and, mayhap, much-needed warnings for men of all classes, creeds, and professions. Those who profess the Catholic faith will wonder how that faith has ever survived in this country. The facts recorded here must convince them that if some high and superintending Providence had not watched over it, and been strongly, though invisibly, present with it in the hour of stress and sorrow, it never could have survived. Shall we set it down next, under that Providence, to the prayers of our Diocesan Apostle, or to those of our National Apostle whose footsteps, too, blessed the territory of Ossory ? This History will, too, conclusively shew that the doctrines, code of morals, religious practices and observances that are distinctive of the Catholic Church in Ireland to-day were professed and practised by the people from the time of the introduction of the Christian faith amongst us by St. Kieran. These pages are valuable to the Catholic, not so much for the scientific and connected narrative of events, as for the side-lights they let in upon the lives and customs observed by our forefathers. Witness for example the persistency with which they clung to the ruins of their churches when torn down by the spoiler ; how they used to visit them in pilgrimage, steal stones from them to be inserted in their new churches or rather chapels, and how they had no dearer wish at the end of life than to rest their bones beneath the shadow of their crumbling walls.

To the priest of the present day these books will convey many a useful lesson of labour, zeal, patience, and self-sacrifice. They will shew the loyalty with which the pastors of the past clung to their flocks, sharing their sufferings and privations, and ever ready in spite of danger and, even, of death to succour them in their spiritual needs. And when these priests were either massacred or driven into exile, the reader will see the persistency with which new ones, braving peril and death, stepped into the breach. These men were "*ex semine virorum illorum per quos salus facta est in Israel.*"

This book will shew up and expose how groundless is the charge brought against the Church by her enemies of being the foe of progress and enlightenment. It will tell us how the flame of learning first kindled by St. Kieran at Saigher, passed on to Aghaboe, and was thence transmitted to the religious houses of Kilkenny, to Kells and Jerpoint, until like a heavenly light it encircled the whole Diocese. When the dark night came down upon us at the time of the Reformation and when these abodes of learning were seized and destroyed, and when the schoolmaster was banned, it will be seen how the flame, now become only a faint light, was guarded and tended in the bog, the glen, or in the mud-cabin. When the severity of the times relaxed a little and the chains were not yet struck off from our limbs but only loosened, we see the resurgent vitality and energy with

which the sacred cause was again taken up by priests and people. As affording a proof of this, we have only to consult that Appendix at the end of these volumes which shows the provision made for education in this City of Kilkenny at the beginning of the last century, even before Emancipation had been granted.

Amid so much, however, to cheer and encourage, there stands out one terrible lesson, namely, that discord and dissension have been the bane of our country from time immemorial, and *that* not only as between the different races and religions, but also as between the members of the Catholic body itself. Readers of Irish history must often have observed how extremely precarious was English power in Ireland during the first five centuries after the conquest. If the Irish chiefs had, at any one time, during that period, cordially and resolutely united, the invaders could easily have been driven out. But their arms were always turned against each other in internecine strife, and they wasted against each other the prowess and the energy which should have been applied to expel the common foe. But, stranger still, the Anglo-Normans who came to Ireland were not one whit more united among themselves than were the Irish chiefs. The fields of Ireland were the scene of many a sanguinary feud between Butler and Geraldine, as well as between the Mac Gillapatricks and the O'Moores. Physiology goes in for investigating everything connected with the formation—mental and corporal—of the human organism. Would some professor of the science tell us what is the cause of this abnormal development in Ireland? Is it that there is an element of irritation in the very air that sets a man against his fellow-man?

> Hapless nation, hapless land,
> Heap of uncementing sand!
> Crumbled by a foreign weight,
> And by what's worse—domestic hate.

This doleful trait of Irish character never found such an apt, but sad, illustration as it found in the story, as recorded in these volumes, of the National Assembly of the Confederation held in Kilkenny in 1642-48.

In closing my remarks on these volumes it must not be omitted to say a few words by way of appreciation of the author and his work. When we look over the list of MSS. and books prefixed to the first volume, which the author has drawn upon for his materials, and bear in mind how scattered they are, how difficult of access, and in what a chaotic state many of them were found, it will be little short of a marvel that one man, even in a whole life-time, could have utilized them to the extent he has, and woven out of them such a goodly narrative. His labour has gone on silently, industriously, and unflaggingly for twenty-one years and, concurrently with all this, he has never for a single day shirked or dropped one

of the sacred duties he owed the people, to whom he was appointed to minister. When the time for his holidays came round each summer, instead of betaking himself to the seaside, or some other pleasure resort, he buried himself for weeks together amid the musty tomes and worm-eaten manuscripts of the Record Office, the Royal Irish Academy, the British Museum, or the Bodleian Library. Some conception of the labours he went through in all these investigations may be formed from the fact that the materials got together would fill, if published, not four volumes, but twelve, and that the chief part of his toil consisted in collating and comparing, and thus endeavouring to draw order out of chaos. The plan of the work, as adopted and carried out by the author, will, I think, commend itself to the reader as the most effectual means to this end.

It could scarcely be maintained that the literary style of the work is perfect, but yet it leaves little to be desired. As becomes the narrative of the historian, it is simple and clear. In description the author is vivid and, sometimes, even picturesque. His formidable array of authorities, ranging from the earliest MSS. to standard works of history, is an evidence of his wide reading ; while his personal observations on ecclesiastical remains and kindred subjects, throughout the ancient Kingdom of Ossory, bear tribute to the completeness of his original investigations and researches. He possesses the critical faculty in a high degree, and in controverting some of the statements advanced by such weighty authorities as Rothe, Graves, and even Cardinal Moran, his courage is equal to the convincing force of the arguments adduced by him.

The author, in all this, has set a praiseworthy and disinterested example to others to follow upon similar lines by taking up the absorbing work of putting upon accessible and permanent record the unwritten history of the other dioceses throughout the land. He bequeaths in these volumes a noble inheritance to future generations—lay and clerical—in his own historic diocese. But, above all, he has erected a stately monument, that will never decay, to his own memory by the publication of the History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory.

✠ ABRAHAM BROWNRIGG,
Bishop of Ossory.

Kilkenny,
July 22nd, 1905.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE collection of the materials embodied in these volumes was commenced by me immediately after my ordination, in February, 1884, and was carried on in a desultory way and without any fixed purpose, for several years. The idea of a History of Ossory from time to time floated through my brain ; but, with slender resources and, apparently, no prospect of succeeding in the accomplishment of such a work, the idea no sooner began to take shape than it had to be regretfully laid aside.

So things went on till the Autumn of 1890, when, in the course of an interview with my Bishop, Most Rev. Dr. Brownrigg, his Lordship referred to what he was pleased to call my extensive knowledge of past events connected with Ossory ; intimated to me his wish that I should set about writing a Diocesan History ; and promised to give me every facility for acquiring information on the subject, and to be a most generous contributor towards the expenses to be incurred in bringing out the work. I readily acceded to the wishes of his Lordship, and, with the encouragement which he gave me, I threw myself in earnest into the work, devoting to it all my spare moments.

For the next seven years my antiquarian and historical investigations were carried on systematically, taking in townland after townland, and parish after parish, till every spot of interest in Ossory was thoroughly examined, its antiquities duly noted, and the local *seanachies* interrogated ; much time, also was devoted to investigating, and copying extracts from historical MS. collections, where any such, of value to the present work, were at all within reach.

The arrangement and disposition of the great mass of materials, collected during so many years, was begun early in May, 1897, on my appointment to the curacy of Durrow ; and in the Summer of 1903 the MS. of THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE DIOCESE OF OSSORY was placed in the printers' hands.

An apology is due to the Subscribers for the considerable delay in the appearance of the volumes; but, taking into account the magnitude of the work, and the difficulty in procuring the numerous illustrations and preparing them for the press, the delay has not been very much greater than might have been expected.

I give my best thanks to all who have, in any way, aided me in bringing this History of Ossory to completion.

I thank, in the first place, my Bishop, whose whole-hearted encouragement and sympathy ever cheered and sustained me in my difficult task; whose eloquent letter of approval of my work helped so much to secure me subscribers in all parts of the world; and who contributed so munificently towards defraying the expenses of publication.

I have to thank the many generous friends, both clerical and lay, in Ossory and elsewhere, who have done me the honour of allowing their names to be placed on the List of Subscribers.

My grateful thanks are given to the Right Rev. Dr. Crozier, Protestant Bishop of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin, for a three weeks' loan, and permission to make the fullest use of the contents, of the *Red Book of Ossory*, a priceless 14th-15th century MS., without drawing on which no History of Ossory, worthy of the name, could be complete.

I have also to gratefully acknowledge my obligations to that true friend of every student of Irish history, J. J. Mac Sweeney, Esq., Royal Irish Academy: to the Deputy Keeper and his assistants, Public Record Office, Dublin: and to the gentlemen in charge of the MS. Departments in Trinity College, Dublin, the British Museum, and the Bodleian Library.

I desire also to place on record my great indebtedness to James Coleman, Esq., 2 Rosehill Terrace, Queenstown, County Cork, (late H.M. Customs, Southampton), who read all the proofs, and to whom I am much obliged for many useful hints, while the work was going through the press.

Finally I have to thank the Printers, Messrs. Sealy, Bryers and Walker, and their employés, for their never-failing courtesy, and for their forbearance, which, I fear, I may have sometimes severely taxed.

DURROW, QUEEN'S COUNTY,
August 12th, 1905.

Principal Authorities Consulted in Preparing these Volumes.

I.—MS. WORKS.

In Ossory :

The Records of the See of Ossory, preserved in the Diocesan Archives, Bishop's House, Kilkenny. They range from the year 1748 to the present day, and consist of the Diocesan Registers kept by Drs. Burke, Troy, Dunne and Lanigan, and a mass of Roman and other documents of great interest.

The " Red Book of Ossory," a compilation of the 14th and 15th centuries, in the custody of the Right Rev. Dr. Crozier, Protestant Bishop of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin.

The Visitation Book of Dr. Edward Tennison, Protestant Bishop of Ossory, written in the years 1731 and 1732, and now, also, in the custody of the Right Rev. Dr. Crozier.

The Baptismal and Marriage Registers of the different Parishes of the Diocese of Ossory. The oldest Registers are those of St. Mary's, beginning with the year 1754.

Rev. James Graves's MSS. Two volumes, purchased by the present writer, about ten years ago from Mr. Hickie, second-hand bookseller, Bachelor's Walk, Dublin.

The Kelly and Frayne family papers, in the Museum of the R.S.A., Rothe House, Kilkenny.

St. Patrick's College, Maynooth :

The O'Renehan, Hughes and Shearman MSS.

Public Record Office, Dublin :

Book of Survey and Distributions.
Down Survey Volumes.
Innumerable Ossory Wills, &c.

Trinity College, Dublin :

The Book of Leinster.

A Vol. classed E. 3, 15, containing several most valuable documents relating to Ossory in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Royal Irish Academy, Dublin :

The Book of Lecain.
Mac Firbis's Book of Irish Genealogies.
The Ordnance Survey Letters.
Archdeacon Lynch's Latin Translation of Keating's History of Ireland.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD :

Archdeacon Lynch's "De Praesulibus Hiberniae," or History and Succession of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland from the earliest times to 1672, in or about which year the work was completed by the author.

BRITISH MUSEUM :

"De Ossoriensi Dioccesi," Bishop Rothe's fragmentary Treatise on the Diocese of Ossory. The work, which is in Latin and in the handwriting of the author, is classed Sloane, 4,796.

"Nomina reuerendorum patrum Episcoporum Ossoriensium," &c., as at p. 279 of present Vol. This MS., which is also in the handwriting of Bishop Rothe, having been transcribed by him from an older copy, is classed Sloane, 4,789.

A large MS., classed Lansdowne, 418, and including the following :

(*a*) "Ex Registro Chartarum Monasterii B. Mariae de Kenlis in Ossoria," or Abstract of the Chartulary of Kells Priory, made by Sir James Ware, Aug. 20th, 1628.

(*b*) "Ex Regesto Hospitalis S. Johannis Euangelistae iuxta Kilkenniam," or Abstract of the Register of St. John's Priory, Kilkenny, made by Sir James Ware, June 5th, 1638.

(*c*) "E Regesto Coenobii Duiskensis in Comitatu Kilkenniensi, scripto iussu Caroli Kavanagh, Abbatis dicti Monasterii, 26 Feb. 1513."

(*d*) "Ex Chartis Jacobi, Comitis Ormoniae," or Abstract of the Chartulary of James, Earl of Ormond, made June 25th, 1639.

(*e*) "Ex Annalibus Lageniensibus." (four pages only.)

(*f*) "Ex Annalibus cuiusdam anonymi ex scriptis Tigernaci usque ad 1088.

(*g*) "Ex Annalibus Galfridi O'Hogan et aliorum Franciscanorum Coenobii Nenaghtensis."

(*h*) "Ex Registro Decani Limericensis. Episcopi Limericenses."

Gualterio Papers, formerly the property of Cardinal Gualterio and purchased from the Marquis Gualterio by the Brit. Museum authorities in 1854.

Vols. 20,310, 20,311, and 20,312 (MS. Department), containing documents relative to Drs. Malachy Dulany and Patrick Shee, Bishops of Ossory.

II.—PUBLISHED WORKS.

Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi. Marquis of Bute. Edinburgh and London : 1888.

Annals of Clonmacnoise. Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J. Dublin : 1896.

Annals of Ireland from the year 1443 to 1468. Mac Firbis. Edited by John O'Donovan. Dublin : 1846.

Annals of the Four Masters. (7 vols). John O'Donovan. Dublin : 1856.

Annals of Loch Cé. (2 vols). W. M. Hennessy. London : 1871.

Annals of Ulster. (4 vols.). Rev. B. McCarthy, D.D., P.P. Dublin : 1888-1901.

Annals of Ireland. Three Fragments copied from various sources by Dubhaltach MacFirbisigh. John O'Donovan. Dublin : 1860.

Annals of Ireland by Clyn and Dowling ; also Annals of Ross. Very Rev. Richard Butler. Dublin : 1849.

Annals of Innisfallen (Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores). Rev. Charles O'Connor.

Annals of Tighearnach (Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores). Rev. Charles O'Connor.

Annals of Ireland. By James Grace, of Kilkenny. Very Rev. Richard Butler. Dublin : 1842.

Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork. (2 vols.). Charles Smith, M.D. Dublin : 1750.

Analecta of David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory. Cardinal Moran. Dublin : 1884.

Antiquities and Scenery of the County Kilkenny. J. G. Robertson. Kilkenny : 1851.

Antiquities of Ireland. Edward Ledwich. 1804.

Antiquities of Ireland. (2 vols.). Francis Grose. London : 1791.

Apologia Pro Hibernia, auctore Stephano Vito, S.J. Dublin : 1850.

Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction. (4 vols.). Sir John Gilbert. Dublin : 1879-80.

Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum. Dublin : 1786.

Book of Rights. John O'Donovan. Dublin : 1847.

Calendar of Carew MSS

Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland.
Calendar of Patent Rolls.
Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers. Bliss.
Calendar [or Feilire] of Oengus. Whitley Stokes. Dublin: 1880.
Cambrensis Eversus, by Archdeacon Lynch. (3 vols.) Rev. Matthew Kelly. Dublin: 1848.
Circuit of Ireland by Muirchertach Mac Neill. John O'Donovan. Dublin: 1841.
Chronicon Scotorum. W. M. Hennessy. London: 1866.
Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. (2 vols.). Sir John Gilbert. 1884-5.
Chronicle of Ireland. Hanmer. Dublin: 1809.
Chronological Catalogue of the Irish Members of the Society of Jesus, from the year 1550 to 1814. Father Edmund Hogan, S.J.
Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross. (3 vols.) Brady. Dublin: 1863.
Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh, or The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill. James Henthorn Todd, D.D. London: 1867.
Collections relating to the Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin. (3 vols.). Most Rev. Dr. Comerford. Dublin: 1883-6.
Collections on Irish Church History by Dr. Renehan. Edited by Most Rev. Dr. McCarthy. Dublin: 1861-74.
Confederation of Kilkenny. Rev. C. P. Meehan. Dublin: 1882.
Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler, prosecuted for Sorcery in 1324, by Richard de Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory. Printed for the Camden Society. London: 1843.
"Crede Mihi" The Most Ancient Register Book of the Archbishops of Dublin. Sir John Gilbert. 1897.
Cromwell in Ireland. Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J. Dublin: 1897.
Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland. J. P. Prendergast. Dublin: 1875.
Dublin Penny Journal. (4 vols.). 1832-6.
Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. (2 vols.). Rev. M. J. Brenan, O.S.F. Dublin: 1840.
Ecclesiastical History of the Diocese of Meath. (3 vols.). Rev. A. Cogan. Dublin: 1870
Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. (4 vols.). Rev. John Lanigan, D.D. Dublin: 1822.
Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore. Rev. W. Reeves. Dublin: 1847.
Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland. (3 vols.). Brady. Rome: 1876.
Epitaphs on the Tombs in the Cathedral Church of St. Canice. Dr. Peter Shee. Dublin: 1813.
Finn's *Leinster Journal*. Kilkenny: 1767-1814.
Fac-Similes of National MSS. of Ireland. Sir John Gilbert.
Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae. (4 vols.). Henry Cotton, D.C.L. Dublin: 1848.
General Armoury. Sir Bernard Burke.
Genealogical Memoirs of the Members of Parliament for the County and City of Kilkenny. G. D. Burtchaell. Dublin: 1888.
Gentleman's Magazine, 1762-88.
Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach. John O'Donovan. Dublin: 1844.
Genealogy of Corca Laidhe. John O'Donovan. Dublin: 1849.
Hibernia Dominicana (1762) and Supplement to same (1772). Thomas de Burgo, Bishop of Ossory.
History of the Catholic Archbishops of Tuam. Oliver J. Burke. Dublin: 1882.
History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Kilmacduach. Dr. Fahey, V.G. Dublin: 1893.
History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny. Rev. J. Graves and J. G. A. Prim. Dublin: 1857.
History and Antiquities of Kilkenny (County and City). Rev. W. Healy, P.P. Kilkenny: 1893
History and Antiquities of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. W. Monck Mason. Dublin: 1820.
History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation. Cardinal Moran. Dublin: 1864.
History of the Catholic Church in Australasia. (2 vols.). Cardinal Moran.
History of Sligo: Town and County. (2 vols.). T. O'Rorke, D.D., P.P.
Historical Account of the Diocese of Down and Connor. (4 vols). Rev. James O'Laverty. Dublin: 1878-87.
Historiae Catholicae Iberniae Compendium a D. Philippo O'Sullevano Bearro. Rev. Matthew Kelly, D.D. Dublin: 1850.
Historical Sketch of the Persecutions Suffered by the Catholics of Ireland under the Rule of Cromwell and the Puritans. Cardinal Moran. Dublin: 1884.
History of Ireland. (2 vols.). Francis Plowden. London: 1831.
History of the Irish Hierarchy, &c. Rev. Thomas Walsh. New York: 1854.

Hibernian Magazine, 1772-1809.

Irish Dominicans of the 17th century, by Father John O'Heyne. Rev. A. Coleman. O.P. Dundalk : 1902.

Irish Chieftains. Charles French Blake-Forster. Dublin : 1872.

Irish Brigade in the Service of France. J. C. O'Callaghan. Glasgow 1885.

Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars. Most Rev. Dr. Healy. Dublin : 1890.

Ireland in the Seventeenth Century. (2 vols.). Mary Hickson. London : 1884.

Irish Saints in Great Britain. Cardinal Moran. Dublin : 1879.

Irish Franciscan Tertiary, 1894-99.

Irish Ecclesiastical Record, 1864-76 and 1880-1904.

Irish Catholic Directories, 1836-1904.

Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Asservatarum Repertorium. Lagenia. 1826.

Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, from its first foundation as the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, in 1849, to the present time.

Journal of the Ossory Archaeological Society, 1874-86.

Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, 1894-1902.

Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society, 1900-1904.

Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, 1892-1904.

Journal of the Association for the Preservation of Memorials of the Dead. Ireland, 1888-1904.

Kilkenny. John Hogan. Kilkenny : 1884.

Kilkenny Journal, 1830-1904.

Kilkenny Moderator.

Kilkenny Independent, 1826.

Keating's History of Ireland.

King James's Irish Army List. (2 vols.). Dalton.

Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland. Sir Bernard Burke.

Life of St. Kiaran the Elder, of Seir. Rev. D. Mulcahy, P.P. Dublin : 1895.

Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore. Whitley Stokes. Oxford : 1890.

Lives of the Irish Saints. (10 vols.). Very Rev. John Canon O'Hanlon, P.P. Dublin : 1873-1904.

Life, Times and Cotemporaries of Lord Cloncurry. W. J. Fitzpatrick. Dublin : 1855.

Loca Patriciana. Rev. John. F. Shearman, P.P. Dublin : 1876.

Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History. Eugene O'Curry. Dublin : 1872.

Lodge's Peerage of Ireland. (7 vols.). Archdall. Dublin : 1779.

Memoirs of the Family of Grace. Sheffield Grace. London : 1823.

Maynooth College Centenary History. Most Rev. Dr. Healy. Dublin : 1895.

Maynooth College Calendars.

Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish. (3 vols.). Eugene O'Curry. 1873.

Memoir of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh. Cardinal Moran. Dublin : 1861.

Martyrology of Tallaght. Rev. Matthew Kelly, D.D.

Martyrology of Donegal by Brother Michael O'Clery. Dublin : 1864.

O'Flaherty's Description of West or H-Iar Connaught in 1684. James Hardiman. Dublin : 1846.

Origin and History of Irish Names of Places. (2 vols.). P. W. Joyce, L.L.D. Dublin : 1887.

" Ossorien. Parocchialis." An octavo vol. in the British Museum containing the many documents laid before the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda by Dr. Burke, Bishop of Ossory, and Father Molloy, during the early stages of their dispute about St. Mary's Parish, Kilkenny. It consists of 132 pages of printed matter, and 4 pages of notes in the handwriting of Dr. Burke. Rome : 1761 and 1762.

Peerage and Baronetage. Sir Bernard Burke.

Peerage of Ireland. Lodge. Dublin : 1754.

Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin. Sir John Gilbert. London : 1889.

Registry of the Priory of All Saints, near Dublin. Very Rev. Richard Butler. 1845.

Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland.

Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Records Relating to the Dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise. Very Rev. Dr. Monahan. Dublin : 1886.

Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries, and Memoirs of the Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century. Rev. C. P. Meehan. Dublin : 1872.

Roll of the Proceedings of the King's Council in Ireland, A.D. 1392-3. Rev. James Graves. London : 1877.

Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium. 1828.

Short History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1608. P. W. Joyce, LL.D. Dublin : 1893.

Spicilegium Ossoriense. (3 vols.). Cardinal Moran. Dublin: 1874-84.
Statistical Account of the Parish of Aghaboe. Edward Ledwich. Dublin: 1796.
Statistical Account or Parochial Survey of Ireland. (3 vols.). W. Shaw Mason. Dublin: 1814-19.
Statistical Observations Relative to the County of Kilkenny, made in the years 1800 and 1801, by William Tighe, Woodstock. Dublin: 1802.
Song of Dermot and the Earl. G. H. Orpen. Oxford: 1892.
Statute of the Fortieth Year of Edward III. [commonly known as the Statute of Kilkenny]. James Hardiman. Dublin: 1843.
Social State of the Southern and Eastern Counties of Ireland in the 16th Century. Dublin: 1868-9.
St. Ciaran, Patron of Ossory. John Hogan. Kilkenny: 1876.
Topographical Dictionary of Ireland. (2 vols.). Samuel Lewis. London: 1837.
Topographical Poems of O'Duggan and O'Heerin. John O'Donovan. Dublin; 1862.
Tour Through Ireland in 1779. (Philip Luckombe). Dublin; 1780.
Triumphalia Chronologica Monasterii Sanctae Crucis in Hibernia. Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J. Dublin; 1891.
Vita Sancti Kannechi a Codice in Bibliotheca Burgundiana extante, Bruxellis transcripta. Late Marquis of Ormond. London: 1853.
Waterford Mirror, 1802-32.

CONTENTS.

Vol. I.

	PAGE
Dedication	v
Preface by Most Rev. Dr. Brownrigg, Lord Bishop of Ossory ..	vii
Author's Preface	xix
List of Principal Authorities Consulted in preparing these Volumes	xxi

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.	—Extent of the Kingdom of Ossory—Its Civil Divisions, Ancient and Modern.	
	Section I. Extent of Ancient Ossory ..	1
	Section II. Civil Divisions of Ancient Ossory ..	3
	Section III. Existing Civil Divisions, or Baronies	20
,, II.	—Early Kings of Ossory—Kings of Ossory of the Corca-Laighdhe	27
,, III.	—Kings of Ossory from about A.D. 600 to A.D. 887.—Ronan Righ Flaith, Scanlan Mor, Faelan, Tuamsnamha, &c.	35
,, IV.	—Kings of Ossory from A.D. 887 to A.D. 976—Riagan, Diarmaid, Ceallach, Diarmaid, Cuilen and Donnchadh	41

PAGE

CHAPTER V.—Kings of Ossory from A.D. 976 to A.D. 1103.—Gillapatrick, Ceallach, Donnchadh Mac Gillapatrick, Gillapatrick, Domhuall, Donnchadh, and Gillapatrick Ruadh 47

„ VI.—Kings Who Ruled in Ossory from its Dismemberment, in 1103, to the Anglo-Norman Invasion, viz. :—Kings of Magh Lacha, Fionn, Murchadh, and Diarmaid O'Kealy; Kings of Tuaisceart Osraighe, Domhnall Ruadh, Donnchadh Balc, Donnchadh Bacach, Murchadh, Gillapatrick, and Donnchadh Mac Gillapatrick; Kings of Deisceart Osraighe, Cearbhall, Domhnall, Conchobhar, Cearbhall and Domhnall 52

„ VII.—Kings of Tuaisceart Osraighe from A.D. 1165 to A.D. 1194.—Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, and Maelseachlainn 59

„ VIII.—Flight of the Mac Gillapatricks to Upper Ossory, about A.D. 1192. Notices of the Family during the three succeeding centuries 69

„ IX.—The Lords Barons of Upper Ossory :—Sean Brian, First Lord; Brian Oge, Second Lord 79

„ X.—The Lords Barons of Upper Ossory (*Continued*) :—Fineen or Florence, Third Lord; Teige, Fourth Lord 87

„ XI.—The Lords Barons of Upper Ossory (*Concluded*) :—Brian, Fifth Lord; Brian, Sixth Lord; Brian, Seventh Lord; Brian, Claimed as Eighth Lord .. 96

„ XII.—The Fitzpatricks of Castletown.—John, Florence, and Colonel John Fitzpatrick 101

„ XIII.—Brigadier-General Edward Fitzpatrick; The Lords Gowran; The Earls of Upper Ossory; and the Lords Castletown of Upper Ossory 107

EXTENT, DEANERIES, BISHOPS, CHAPTER, AND COLLEGES, OF THE DIOCESE OF OSSORY.

		PAGE
CHAPTER	I.—Extent of Ossory Diocese—Deaneries—Parishes	1
,,	II.—The Bishops of Ossory.—St. Kieran	5
,,	III.—The Bishops of Ossory From the 6th to the 12th Century	17
,,	IV.—The Bishops of Ossory During the Second Half of the 12th Century	22
,,	V.—The Bishops of Ossory During the 13th Century ..	30
,,	VI.—The Bishops of Ossory During the 14th Century ..	44
,,	VII.—The Bishops of Ossory During the 15th Century ..	62
,,	VIII.—The Bishops of Ossory During the 16th Century ..	67
,,	XI.—Vacancy of the See (1602-18)	76
,,	X.—David Rothe (1618-50)	86
,,	XI.—Vacancy of the See (1650-69)	113
,,	XII.—James Phelan (1669-95)	116
,,	XIII.—William Daton (1696-1712)	126
,,	XIV.—Malachy Dulany (1714-31)	139
,,	XV.—Patrick Shee (1732-36)	143
,,	XVI.—Colman O'Shaghnussy (1736-48)	149
,,	XVII.—James Bernard Dunne (1749-58)	155
,,	XVIII.—Thomas Burke (1759-76)	158
,,	XIX.—John Thomas Troy (1777-86)	180
,,	XX.—John Dunne (1787-89)	202
,,	XXI.—James Lanigan (1789-1812)	211
,,	XXII.—Kieran Marum (1815-27)	217
,,	XXIII.—William Kinsella (1829-45)	223
,,	XXIV.—Edward Walsh (1846-72)	226
,,	XXV.—Patrick Francis Moran (1872-84)	229
,,	XXVI.—Most Rev. Abraham Bbownrigg, D.D.	232
,,	XXVII.—The Diocesan Chapter	234
,,	XXVIII.—Catholic Colleges, Kilkenny	257

APPENDIX.

Catalogue of The Bishops of Ossory	279
List of Subscribers	285

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Vol. I.

		PAGE
Most Rev. Dr. Brownrigg, Lord Bishop of Ossory. (Frontispiece.)		
King Heremon's Rath, Rathbeagh. View from West ..	(Introduction)	8
Grantstown Castle	„	71
Cullahill Castle. North-West View	„	80
Ballaghmore Castle	„	89
Seir-Kieran		2
Cape Clear Island—Birthplace of St. Kieran		4
Cape Clear—St. Kieran's Church and Strand		6
Ruins of Killyon Nunnery		14
St. Kieran's Strand, Cape Clear. View from Sea		15
Aghaboe		22
Jerpoint Abbey		26
Bishop O'Dulany's Tomb, Jerpoint Abbey		27
St. Canice's Cathedral and Round Tower. South-West View		32
St. Kenny's Well, Kilkenny		38
Bishop De Turvilles Grant of a Conduit of Water from St. Kenny's Well to the Friars Preachers, Black Abbey, Kilkenny		38
Richard De Ledrede		46
Supposed Tomb of Richard De Ledrede, St. Canice's Cathedral		56

PAGE

David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory 86
Silver Reliquary Cross, Presented by Bishop Rothe to the Congregation of Peace 90
Base of Same Cross 99
Bishop Rothe's Monstrance 101
Bishop Rothe's Cenotaph, St. Canice's Cathedral 102
Burse Belonging to Bishop Rothe's Vestments 105
Rothe Chalice Veil 112
Thomas Burke (De Burgo), Bishop of Ossory 158
John Thomas Troy, Bishop of Ossory 180
John Dunne, William Kinsella, and Edward Walsh, Bishops of Ossory .. 202
Dr. Marum's Seal 220
Dr. Kinsella's Seal 223
St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, A.D. 1874. South View 224
St. Mary's Cathedral, Kilkenny 227
His Eminence, Cardinal Moran 229
Thomas Rothe, Dean of Ossory 238
Old Academy, Loretto Convent 265
Maudlin Street College 265
Birchfield College 270
St. Kieran's College, South-East View 276
Map of the Diocese of Ossory 300

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

EXTENT OF THE KINGDOM OF OSSORY — ITS CIVIL DIVISIONS, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

SECTION I.—EXTENT OF ANCIENT OSSORY.

IN the earliest period of its history, that is, from its foundation about the second century of our era to the fifth, the Kingdom of Ossory is supposed to have attained its greatest proportions. A topographical poem, ascribed to Shane Mor O'Dugan, chief poet of Hy-Many, describes it as then embracing all the land from the Slieve Bloom Mountains to the sea at Waterford Harbour, and from the River Barrow to the Suir :

> "From the Bearbha to the Suir westwards
> Extends Osraidhe of high sunny land,
> From the soft Bladhma to the sea,
> The most irriguous fair part of Banba." [1]

This description of the poet cannot, however, be taken as strictly accurate. There is no certain evidence that any part of Leighlin Diocese west of the Barrow, with the exception of a few townlands in the civil parish of Abbeyleix, ever belonged to Ossory as a kingdom ; and there is satisfactory proof that, in early times, the Kingdom of Ossory approached no nearer to the Slieve Bloom Mountains than the River Nore, which was, originally, its northern boundary.

On the south-west, Ossory, at the period under discussion, extended far into

[1] See *Kilkenny Archæological Journal* for 1850.

Tipperary, taking in the famous Magh Feimhin,[1] a territory which embraced the Barony of Iffa and Offa East, and the portion of the Barony of Iffa and Offa West lying east of the River Suir. But the Ossorians were expelled from Magh Feimhin by the Desies, about the middle of the 5th century, and that district then became attached to the Desies' country. In their struggle with the Ossorians, the Desies were aided by some of their Munster neighbours, who soon after forced their way into central Ossory, conquered most of the territory, and gave it a succession of Kings "with opposition," till the old natives again succeeded in gaining the upper hand, about the middle of the 7th century.

To partially make up for the loss of territory in the south, the Ossorians, in the course of centuries, extended their possessions, in the north, by annexing the land between the Nore and the Slieve Bloom. The tract thus secured was, originally, part of the kingdom of Leix, and included the present parish of Kyle, in the Diocese of Killaloe, and the parishes of Castletown and Camross, and part of the parish of Borris, in the Diocese of Ossory. Its acquisition by the Ossorians dates from about the 10th century; and it was probably about the same time that Ossory wrested from Leix the part of the civil parish of Abbeyleix now comprised within the Barony of Clarmallagh.

These are the only changes, either by loss or gain, to be recorded of the Kingdom of Ossory, down to the 12th century, when, with the two small exceptions of the parish of Kyle and part of that of Abbeyleix, just mentioned, it was co-extensive with the modern Diocese of Ossory.

Soon after the Norman Invasion, the English took possession of southern and central Ossory,—made shire-land in 1210, under the name of Kilkenny,—and expelled thence the MacGillapatricks, the ruling tribe. The latter then effected a settlement in the north, or Queen's County part of Ossory, since known as Upper Ossory, and here they practically maintained their independence till the reign of Henry VIII., when the last trace of an independent Ossory disappeared.

Ossory must have formed part of Leinster from the beginning, and, hence, in the oldest Lives of St. Patrick it is described as the western portion of Leinster, "Occidentalis Laginensium plaga"; it is, moreover, sometimes referred to by early Irish writers as Laighin-deas-Gabhair, that is, [part of] South Leinster, literally, Leinster south of Gabhair. Nevertheless, the Kings of Munster claimed

[1] Magh Feimhin is described as extending from Corca Eathrach, otherwise Machaire Chaisil, on the north, to the river Suir, on the south (*Book of Rights*, p. 18, *n*). According to Roderick O'Flaherty, Corca Eathrach extended in length from Tripratfarran, near Holy Cross Abbey, on the north, to Dumha n-Dreas and Knockgraffon, about three miles above the town of Cahir, on the south (*Ogygia*, part iii., c. 81); from which it must be concluded that this territory was substantially identical with the present Barony of Middlethird, in the Co. Tipperary. If we are to credit Keating, the Barony of Middlethird was, also, at one time, included in Magh Feimhin.

jurisdiction over it, contending that it was forfeited to Munster by the Lagenians, as an eric for their murder of the Munster King, Fearghus Scannal, in 580, or, of the Ard-Righ, Eidersgeoil, father of the Ard-Righ, Conaire Mor, about the beginning of the Christian era. The *Book of Rights* sets forth this claim of the Munster Kings, in its poem on the "Seats of the King of Cashel in Munster":

'Knowest thou what is called
The eric of Fearghus Scannail?
I know it; I will give a knowledge of it.
From the Nore to Dumhach n-Dreasa,[1]

The eric of Fearghus the King,
Both in jewels and territory;
They obtained in full satisfaction for his death
Laighin-deas-Gabhair even to the sea."[2]

In reference to this matter, O'Donovan writes:—

"According to the ancient division of the provinces, Urmhumhain, Ormond, or East Munster, extended from Gabhran, now Gowran, in the east of the present County of Kilkenny, westwards to Cnamh-choill, now corruptly Cleath-choill, near the town of Tipperary, and from Bearnan Eile, now the Devil's Bit Mountain, on the frontiers of the baronies of Ikerrin and Eliogarty, in the County of Tipperary, southwards to Oilean Ui Bhric, or O'Brick's Island, near Bunmahon, in the present County of Waterford."

SECTION II.—CIVIL DIVISIONS OF ANCIENT OSSORY.

LEATH OSRAIGHE, that is, Half Ossory.—Towards the middle of the 11th century this name is found applied to a portion of north Ossory, which included O'Kealy's tribe-land of Magh-Lacha, as appears from the *Four Masters*:

"A.D. 1036. Muircheartach, the son of Gillapatrick, Lord of Leath-Osraighe, was treacherously slain by Ua Caellaighe (O'Kealy), one of his people."

During the following century Leath-Osraighe was another name for Tuaisceart Osraighe.

TUAISCEART OSRAIGHE and DEISCEART OSRAIGHE, that is, North Ossory and South Ossory.—These were two out of the three divisions into which Ossory was broken up, in 1103, after the death of its King, Gillapatrick Ruadh, in the battle of Magh-Cobha, in Ulster. They embraced all the Kilkenny portion of Ossory, together with the civil parish of Aghamacart, and the Queen's County parts of the civil parishes of Erke, Aharney, Glasharc, Durrow, Attanagh and Rosconnell. Tuaisceart Osraighe was far the more important of these two divisions.

[1] Dumhach n-Dreasa, or Dumha n-Dreas is a mound near Knockgraffon, Co. Tipperary (*Book of Rights*, p. 88, *n*).
[2] *Ibid.* p. 89.

It most probably stretched as far south as the Baronies of Ida and Iverk. These Baronies, with the southern extremity of the Barony of Knocktopher, appear to have been co-extensive with Deisceart Osraighe, and with the territory known in early Norman times as "Overk in Ossory."

The third of the divisions made in 1103, lay in the extreme north of Ossory, and consisted of the ancient tribe-lands of Magh-Lacha and Ui-Foircheallain. It may be regarded as co-extensive with the Deanery of Aghaboe, which, according to the *Red Book of Ossory*, included the civil parishes of Offerlane, Aghaboe, Kyledellig, Skirke, Donaghmore, Rathsaran, Coolkerry, Bordwell and Kylermugh.

Ui-Foircheallain.—This name, anglicized Offerlane and Offerclane, literally signifies the Descendants of Foircheallan (otherwise Foircheallach, son of Doborcon, who was eighth in descent from Aengus Osrithe); but here, as in innumerable instances in Irish topography, the name of the tribe became, in course of time, that of the tribe-land they occupied. At the English Invasion, Ui-Foircheallain lay along the north and south banks of the Nore, and was co-extensive with the present civil parish of Offerlane, and Barony of Upperwoods, in the Queen's County. Originally, however, it was confined to the south side of the Nore, for Anatrim, and Mundrehid, on the north side of that river, though now in the parish of Offerlane, are referred to, in the *Martyrology of Donegal*, as being formerly situated in Leix.[1] Even the parish of Kyle, which is still more to the west than Anatrim and Mundrehid, belonged to the Leixians in early times; and it was Berach, King of Leix, who granted St. Molua the site of his famous monastery of Kyle, or Kyle-Clonfert-Molua.

The *Four Masters* have two references to the Ui-Foircheallain:

"A.D. 899. Furbuidhi, son of Cuileannan, Lord of Ui-Foircheallain, was mortally wounded."
"A.D. 950. A victory was gained over the people of Leix and the Ui-Foircheallain, by Tuathal, son of Ugaire, in which many were slain; and Cuilen son of Gusan, was taken prisoner."

After the establishment of surnames the O'Delanys were the chief family of the tribe, according to O'Heerin:

"The high chief of the fruitful cantred
Of the delightful Coill Uachtorach
Is O'Dubhshlaine, hospitable the man,
From the mountain of most beauteous rivers."[2]

At present there are about eighty families of the Delanys in their old tribe-land. Among the most remarkable members of the sept, are Felix O'Dulany,

[1] See at Sept. 16, and Nov. 3.
[2] *Irish Topographical Poems*, edited by O'Donovan p. 95.

Cistercian Bishop of Ossory, who died in 1202 ; Malachy Dulany, also Bishop of Ossory, who died in 1731 ; and Daniel Delany, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, who died in 1814.

MAGH-TUATHAT.—This was the ancient name of the original Ui-Foircheallain, *i.e.*, the part of that tribe-land lying south of the River Nore.

MAGH-LACHA, or the Plain of the Lake.—This was the tribe-land of the O'Phelans, according to O'Heerin :

> " In Magh-Lacha of the warm-hill slopes
> Is O'Faolain of manly tribe ;
> Extensive is the district due to them
> Which the O'Faolains have filled." [1]

John O'Donovan, the great Irish scholar and topographer, locates Magh-Lacha in the Barony of Kells, County Kilkenny ; but in doing so he is certainly in error. [2] This territory is, in reality, identical with the two Queen's County Baronies of Clarmallagh and Clandonagh, if we take away from these Baronies the civil parish of Aghamacart and the Queen's County portions of the civil parishes of Erke, Glashare, Aharney, Durrow, Attanagh and Rosconnell. That Clarmallagh formed part of Magh-Lacha,[3] is proved from the following :—

(*a*) The name of the Barony still preserves that of the old territory ; for, Clarmallagh is merely an anglicized form of Clar-Maigh-Lacha, *i.e.*, the Flat Land (literally, the Board or Plank,) of Magh-Lacha.

(*b*) Father John Colgan gives a list of Irish churches dedicated to St. Bridget, and among them mentions " Kill-Brigde major, ecclesia parochialis Dioecesis Ossoriensis in regione Mag-Lacha & Kill-Brigde minor, capella in eadem regione et Dioecesi." Now the only church in Ossory ever known to be called " Kill-Brigde major," *i.e.*, Kilbridemore or Kilbreedymore, is situated in the Barony of Clarmallagh. At present it is called Kilbreedy, or St. Bridget's church, but in the Down Survey Maps drawn up in Colgan's own life-time, the townland in which it stands is expressly called "Kilbreedymore." The church is not now parochial, but there can be no doubt that it enjoyed that title in ancient times. The " capella" of " Kill-Brigde-minor " was St. Bridget's nunnery chapel of Ballybuggy, two miles west of Kilbreedy, in the Barony of Clandonagh.

(*c*) Duald MacFirbis, in his genealogical work on Irish families, gives a pedigree of

[1] *Irish Topographical Poems*, p. 97.

[2] Anyone who reads O'Donovan's Ordnance Survey letter on the Parish of Killree, Co. Kilkenny (—Vide Parish of Dunnamaggan, *infra*), can see at once that that writer's identification of Magh Lacha with any part of Kells Barony, is nothing more than a mere unsupported conjecture. Subsequent writers accepting his statement, without due investigation on their part, have helped to hand on his mistake.

[3] There was another Magh Lacha, in the Co. Meath, whose name is preserved in that of the civil parish of Moylagh, in the Barony of Fore (—*Book of Rights*, p. 178, *n.*).

the Lords of Ossory before and after their expulsion from Kilkenny to Upper Ossory in the closing years of the 12th century. In this pedigree he enters Donnell Mac Donnogh Mac Gillapatrick, King of Ossory, who died in 1185; and when he comes to his great-grandson, Donnell Mor, who was born in Upper Ossory, and spent all his life there, he sets him down as "Domhnall Mor Muighe Laca," that is, Donnell Mor of Magh-Lacha, a soubriquet derived, not from Kilkenny, whence his family had been expelled ere he was born, but from the Barony of Clarmallagh, or of Clandonagh, in which his whole life had been passed. Nor does it matter that MacFirbis, or the more ancient author from whom he copied, incorrectly glosses the word "Laca" in the text, by writing over it "i. Laoisigh," meaning that for "Muighe Laca" we should read "Muighe Laoisigh," that is, of the Plain of Leix. This only shows that Magh-Lacha, in its simple form, has long disappeared from the nomenclature of Upper Ossory, and that writers were unable to recognise it under its compound form, Clarmallagh.

(*d*) We should expect to find the tribe-land of the O'Phelans in that part of Ossory in which their name most abounds. Now, though the name is represented in every parish in the Diocese, there are, beyond doubt, more Phelans in Upper Ossory, particularly in Clarmallagh Barony, than in all the rest of Ossory taken together. Moreover, the castle of Kilbreedy, beside the church of "Kill-Brigde-major," was built by the O'Phelans, as local tradition testifies.

That the Barony of Clandonagh belonged to the same tribe-land as the Barony of Clarmallagh, and was therefore part of Magh-Lacha, appears from the following:

(*a*) There is here, in the townland of Ballybuggy, a nunnery chapel of St. Bridget, which we identify with Colgan's "Capella" of "Kill-Brigde-minor."

(*b*) About the year 1172, Earl Strongbow granted to Adam de Hereford,[1] half the vill of Aghaboe (which is in the Barony of Clarmallagh), and half the cantred of land in which the vill is situated, parcel of the possessions of Dermod O'Kealy. Clandonagh, as well as Clarmallagh, was included in this grant; for, in the year 1247, and in virtue of said grant, Adam de Hereford's relative, Stephen

[1] Adam de Hereford is described as a mere youth ("juvenis"), at his coming to Ireland with Strongbow, in 1170.

"Postea idem Adam habuit unum filium qui vocabatur Stephanus de Herefordia, qui erat ejus heres. Qui Stephanus, post decessum patris sui, procreavit unam filiam, que desponsata postea fuit Werrisio de Peche, seniori; qui Werrisius ex ea procreavit filiam, nomine Aliciam, que desponsata fuit postea Radulfo Filio Nicholai, de qua idem Radulfus procreavit Radulfum Pipard, qui nunc superstes est." (—*Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin*, Gilbert, p. 103.)

A half a mile south-east of Rathdowney, there stood, till about 1836, the ruins of a castle called Rathpiper, which most probably took its name from Pipard, Adam de Hereford's descendant.

Thomas de Hereford, perhaps a brother of Stephen fitz Adam, granted the church of Bordgall, or Bordwell, in the Barony of Clarmallagh, to the monks of St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin, in the time of Hugh, Bishop of Ossory (1202-18); he also granted to them the church of St. Olan, of Disert Olan, Diocese of Ossory, which is possibly identical with the church of Coolkerry, in the same Barony of Clarmallagh.

de Hereford, was still found to be possessed of lands of the value of two knights' fees, in and around Rathdowney, which is in the former Barony. It is plain, therefore, that in Strongbow's time Clandonagh belonged to the same cantred or tribe-land as Clarmallagh, and that it must, accordingly, have formed part of the ancient Magh-Lacha.

Rathdowney seems to have been the principal stronghold of the chiefs of Magh-Lacha. The *Four Masters* have :

"A.D. 874. Flaithri, son of Maelduin, Lord of Rath-Tamhnaighe (Rathdowney), died."
"A.D. 909. Maelpatraig, son of Flaithri, Lord of Rath-Tamhnaighe, died."
"A.D. 1069. Gillamolua, grandson of Bruaideadh, Lord of Rath-Tamhnaighe, died."

A Faelan (from whom, perhaps, the O'Phelans of Magh-Lacha are sprung,) and a Flathri, the former of about the 9th century, are mentioned in one of the Ossory pedigrees in the *Book of Leinster*, thus :

"Faelan mc Cellaig m Fhlathroi m Dondgaile m Fiannachtaigh m Fiannamla m Aicclich m Sarain m Senaig m Fergusa m Dega [m Mail] m Droida m Buain m Laigaire birn buadach m Aengusa Osrithi."

A mile and a-half west of Rathdowney, there is a fine rath called Rathsaran, which possibly has its name from the Saran of this pedigree.

A difficulty here presents itself. O'Heerin makes the O'Phelans the chiefs of Magh-Lacha, while from other sources, of equal and even greater authority, we know for a certainty that its chiefs were the O'Kealys. The O'Kealys first come under notice in the year 1036, when the *Four Masters* relate that Muircheartach, the son of Gillapatrick, Lord of Leath Osraighe, was slain by O'Kealy, one of his own people. In 1103 the O'Kealys rebelled against the MacGillapatricks, and established an independent principality in north Ossory, consisting of their own territory of Magh-Lacha, and of O'Delany's territory of Ui-Foircheallain, which they annexed to it. The first chief of this union was Fionn O'Kealy, whose successor was Murrogh O'Kealy. The latter was succeeded by Dermod O'Kealy, who died in 1172, about which time his patrimony was made over to Adam de Hereford, by Earl Strongbow. From all this it is evident that the ancient chiefs of Magh-Lacha were the O'Kealys and not, as O'Heerin states, the O'Phelans.

The solution of the difficulty appears to be, that, on the adoption of surnames, in the beginning of the 11th century, the ruling tribe in Magh-Lacha took the surname of O'Kealy, and that afterwards, for some unknown reason, they laid it aside, and adopted that of O'Phelan in its place. Instances of such changes of surname by old Irish families, are by no means rare. Thus, the Kavanaghs were originally MacMurroghs ; the Sinnachs or Foxes, O'Kearneys : the O'Byrnes of Wicklow,

MacFhaelains or O'Fhaelains; and even the Fitzpatricks, though formerly Mac Gillapatraics, are now never mentioned by Irish speakers in Ossory, under any other name than that of MacShaerha, O'Shaerha, or O'Sheerrha. That some such change occurred in the case of the O'Kealys of Magh-Lacha, we have the following reasons for believing:

(*a*) O'Heerin, writing in the 14th century, when the change of name might be supposed to have been already effected, makes the O'Phelans chiefs of the district, at the period of the Anglo-Norman Invasion, when the O'Kealys are elsewhere set down as its ruling tribe.

(*b*) The O'Kealys are nowhere to be found in lists of the inhabitants of Upper Ossory in the 16th and 17th centuries, while the O'Phelans were then, as they

RATHBEAGH.
King Heremon's Rath, Rathbeagh. View from West.

are now, well in evidence. The only Kealys in Magh-Lacha, at the present day, descend from an ancestor who removed thither from County Kilkenny about the year 1800.

(*c*) The tradition of Upper Ossory favours our theory. In 1156 or 1157 the Ulster prince, Muircheartach O'Loghlan, invaded the north of Ossory, defeated its people with great slaughter, and plundered and burned it on every side. Such were the barbarous cruelties practised during this fierce incursion that, as the *Four Masters* tell, many of the unfortunate Ossorians fled away in terror to Connaught. Strange to say, tradition has handed down, through more than seven centuries, the bitter memory of O'Loghlan's savage raid. The old people of Aghaboe parish still point to Ballinaghowl, a large field between Granston Manor

and Grantstown Lake, as the scene of "the great battle with the Oulthachs" *i.e.*, the Ulstermen. They relate that, in the route of the Ossorians, *their chief O'Phelan*, and his nine sons were driven into Grantstown lake and drowned; and they attribute the defeat to the delay of the MacGillapatricks, of Lower Ossory or Kilkenny, in coming, as they had promised, to O'Phelan's aid. Now, at the date of this battle, the chief of Magh-Lacha was, as we already know, O'Kealy, and not O'Phelan; and tradition in assigning him the latter name, would very naturally have done so in the supposition of its adoption later on, as a family name, by his descendants.

MAGH-AIRGID-ROIS, or the Plain of the Silver Wood.—This most ancient territory lay partly in the centre, and partly towards the north, of Ossory, along both banks of the river Nore. In less remote times it came to be known as Ui-Duach, or [the land of] the Descendants of Duach. In A.M. 3501, Eremon, son of Milesius, erected the fort of Rath-Beothaigh (Rathbeagh), over the Eoir (Nore), in Argat-Ros, and died there fifteen years later.[1] In the division of Ireland among his children, by the Ard-Righ, Ugaine Mor, in A.M. 4606, "Airgeatross on the Nore" fell to his son Cinga.[2] Mogh Corb is mentioned as chief of Airgid-Ros, in the will attributed to Cathair Mor, King of Ireland, who died in the second century of the Christian era. About a century previously, the two champions, Lughaidh mac na d-tri Con and Conall Cearnach, at a preliminary meeting held on the banks of the river Liffey, made choice of this territory, as the scene of their famous duel. "I shall go," said Lughaidh, "upon Bealach Gabhruain till I get on Belach Smechuin. Now go thou upon Gabhair[3] on Mairg Laighean, that we may meet in Magh Airgead-Ros."[4] Lughaidh fell in the conflict, and in the Plain of the Silver Wood his remains were laid and his carn was raised:

> "Lughaid's grave is though silent,
> Under the Carnn in Magh Argatrois."[5]

The Ui-Bairrche,[6] or Descendants of Bairrche (son of Nia Corb, son of Buan, son of Leogaire Birn Buadhach, son of Aengus Osrithe), were in possession of Airgid

[1] *Four Masters.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Gabhair.*—This was an ancient road that passed, in a south-westerly direction, over the Slieve Mairge Mountain, and was continued thence, through Castlecomer, into the Co. Kilkenny. Its position on the Slieve Mairge is marked by Kilgorey (called in Irish *Kill-Ghourà, i.e.*, Cill Ghabhra), the Church of Gabhair, on the eastern border of the parish of Clough. The Gabhair Road was the dividing line between Laighin-tuath-Ghabhair, that is, Leinster north of Gabhair, or North Leinster, and Laighin-deas-Ghabhair, that is Leinster south of Gabhair, or South Leinster.

[4] *Leabhar na gCeart, Introd.*, p. lx.

[5] O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, p. 479.

[6] The genealogy of the Ui-Bairrche mc Nia Corb, of Magh-Airgid-Rois, begins as follows in the *Book of Lecain*, p. 118:—

"Dubleanda m Conaill m Siadail m Maeluidir m Conceallaich m Meanchosaich m Conamla m Fhaelbi m Bairchi m Niad Cuirb m Buain m Laegairi birn buadach m Aengusa Osra di."

Ros about the middle of the fifth century, when the Munstermen, under Cucraidhe, son of Duach of Cliu, invaded and conquered the territory, and planted it with a strong colony of their own people. After the lapse of a couple of centuries the Munster [1] settlement declined, and the Ui-Bairrche returned to power, only, however, to be supplanted a few centuries later on by the O'Brenans. The native annals have the following entries relative to this territory:

"A.M. 3501. Rath-Beothaigh, over the Eoir in Argat-Ros, was erected by Eremhon." [2]

"A.M. 3516. The fifteenth year of the reign of Eremhon; he died at the end of this period at Rath Beothaigh over the Eoir in Argat Ross." [3]

"A.M. 3656. This was the seventeenth year above three score of Tighernmas, as King over Ireland. It was by him the following battles were gained over the race of Emhear, and others of the Irish and foreigners besides. These were the battles . . . . . the two battles of Cuil in Argat-Ross . . . . . two other battles at Argat-Ross . . . . . ." [4]

"A.M. 3817. After Enna Airgtheach had spent twenty-seven years in the sovereignty of Ireland, he fell by Raitheachtaigh, son of Maen, son of Aengus Olmucadha, in the battle of Raighne. It was by this Enna Airgtheach that silver shields were made at Airget-Ros; so that he gave them to the men of Erin, together with horses and chariots." [5]

"A.D. 850. Cathal son of Dubhan, Lord of Ui-Duach-Argad-rois [died]." [6]

"A.D. 851. Cahal mac Duvan, King of Oduoch Arcatrois, moritur." [7]

"A.D. 951. Duibhginn, son of Cuileannan, Lord of Ui-Duach, died." [8]

"A.D. 1026. Aimergin O'More, Lord of Leix and Cuduiligh, grandson of Beargdha, Lord of Ui-Duach, were mutually slain by each other; and the Ui-Duach and Leixians were mutually slaughtered, but the Ui-Duach were defeated." [9]

"A.D. 1156. Daurmhagh (Durrow) in Ui-Duach was burned." [10]

At the English Invasion, according to O'Heerin, the O'Brenans were lords

[1] The pedigree of Laignen mc Suibhne, descended from these Munster colonists, is preserved as follows in Mac Firbis's *Book of Genealogies* (Royal Irish Academy), p. 627, under the heading "Do ibh Duach," that is "Of the Ui-Duach":—

"Laignen, son of Suibhne, son of Duineannach, son of Suibhne, son of Aedh, son of Aengus, son of Cunat, son of Cucraid, (from whose daughter Mugen or Muan, wife of Diarmaid mac Cerbhaill, is Carn Mugana or Mugna in Airgedros), son of Duach of Cliu, son of Maine Muincain, son of Cairbre, son of Corc, son of Liughaidh."

Corc, son of Liughaidh, was fourth in descent from Eoghan Mor, whose father, Oilioll Olum, ruled as King over Munster about the year 200 of the Christian era, and was the common ancestor of the Eoghanachts of Munster, that is, of the McCarthys, O'Donoghues, O'Sullivans, O'Donovans, O'Briens, and most of the other great Munster families.

Hence it would appear that Ui-Duach, as applied to Airgid Ros, denotes, not the descendants of any Duach sprung from Aengus Osraithe, but the descendants of Duach of Cliu, whose pedigree is traced to the Munster Kings.

Another of the Munster families settled in Magh Airgid Rois, under Cucraid's regime, was descended from Fiachra of [the territory of] Eile. The following brief "Gnl. Fiachrach Ele no OEle," or account of the descendants of Fiachra of Eile, occurs in Mac Firbis's *Genealogies*, p. 627:

"The sons of Aengus, son of Fiachra Brigdhe, son of Fiachra OEile or Eile [were], Dau; Da Dergbeolach, of Magh Airgid Rois; and Dau Dibhech of Sruibech, or Srubach, in Cliu."

[2] *F. M.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Annals of Ulster.*
[8] *F.M.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*

of Ui-Duach-Airgid-Rois, having wrested the tribe-land from the Ui-Bairrche, perhaps ere the latter had time to recover from their defeat, by the Leixians, in 1026:

> " Ui-Duach of Osraighe of the warm soil,
> The fair, wide plain of the Feoir [*i.e.* Nore].
> Not easily passable is the wood of the plain,
> Its protecting chief is O'Braonain." [1]

The *Leabhar Breac* mentions St. Bridget and other saints who were venerated in the church of " Achad Thogartai hi crich.h.nDuach Muigi hAirgedross," *i.e.* Achadh Thogartai (now Barony Church, near Ballyragget,) in the territory of Ui Duach of Magh Airgid-Ross. The *Martyrology of Donegal* [2] gives the festival of St. Fintan Maeldubh of Dermhagh (Durrow), in Ui-Duach, in the north of Ossory; and the *Calendar of Cashel*,[3] that of St. Fintan Corach, of Leamhchoill (Lowhill) in the same district. The parish and church of Odagh, or Three Castles, are called Bawnonooach, *i.e.* Ban Ua n-Duach, the Bawn of Ui-Duach, because situated in this tribe-land. An Inquisition held at Kilkenny, in 1635, found that at that date, Ui-Duach, though very much contracted since the Invasion of the English, comprised the Catholic parishes of Clough and Castlecomer, with portions of Conahy and Muckalee. Hence it is clear that, in ancient times, Ui-Duach, or Magh-Airgid-rois, " the fair, wide plain of the Nore," extended along the west bank of that river, from Durrow, in the north, by Barony Church and Rathbeagh, to Threecastles, in the south; and that, on its east bank, it took in the whole Barony of Fassaghdinin.

From another source we can form a more accurate estimate of the actual extent of the ancient Ui-Duach. " It is an acknowledged fact in history, that the ancient ecclesiastical divisions of an old country often preserve the ancient tribe-names and districts. The Diocese and Kingdom of Ossory are allowed to be conterminous; and I have little doubt that the rural Deaneries, into which that Diocese has been divided, represent the old tribe-districts of the country. There is extant in the ' Red Book of Ossory ' a contemporary copy of a Taxation of the Diocese made before 1312. In that Taxation—a record the more valuable, as the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., preserved in the Carlton Ride, London, does not comprise the Diocese of Ossory—the rural Deanery of Odogh consists of the parishes of Castleodogh [Three Castles], Donaghmore, Rathelograngia [part of Grangemacomb], Glashacro, Comer, Macully, Mothill, Dysert, Dunmore, Acheteyr [parish of Aharney], Rathbeagh, Ardeluth, Athenagh, Mayne, Lawhill, Coulcrahyn, Kilcormock, Kilcolman, Durrow, Rosconill, Kilmenan and Kilmocar.

[1] *Irish Topographical Poems*, p. 95.
[2] Oct. 20th.
[3] Feb. 21st.

A glance at the Ordnance Index Map of Kilkenny will show the extent of territory comprised by the parishes I have enumerated. It extends over the entire Barony of Fassachdinin, including portions of the Baronies of Galmoy and Crannagh" [in the County Kilkenny, and of Clarmallagh in the Queen's County]. [1]

Soon after the Norman Invasion, the O'Brenans were forced into the north-east angle of the territory, around Castlecomer, and to this restricted area the name of the old tribe-land was, thenceforward, alone applied. Even to the present day, "Ee-Dhooach" is a well-known traditional name of the parishes of Castlecomer and Clough.

MAGH-SEDNA, or the Plain of Sedna or Setna (great-grandson of Aengus Osrithe), ancestor of the Ui-Broithe, or O'Brophys, who occupied this territory till the arrival of the English, according to O'Heerin:

"O'Broithe over free Magh Sedna."

It was also known as Aos-Chinn-chaille, *i.e.* [the territory of] the People of Ceann Chaille.[2] The *Annals of Ulster* thus record the death of its chief, Connor O'Brophy:—

"A.D. 1165 Domhnall Ua Gilla Patraic, King of North Ossory, and Conchobar Ua Broighthe, King of Ceann Chaille, and Paitin Ua Aedha, the candle of all Ui-Ceinnselaigh, were killed by Macraith Ua Mordha and the Leixians for evil causes."

John O'Donovan locates O'Brophy's territory in the Barony of Galmoy, and says, that some time after the English Invasion its chief was driven thence, and settled, under the protection of MacGillapatrick, at Baile-Ui-Broithe, now Ballybrophy, in Upper Ossory. Magh-Sedna or Ceann Caille, however, if embracing portion of Galmoy, was not confined to that Barony; it at least included Freshford, which is in the Barony of Crannagh, as appears from the following reference to St. Lachtain, in a fragmentary tract on the "Saints of Ireland," copied into the *Book of Leinster*:

"Lactain ī acud ur ī aes cīd Caille ī Oss."

that is, "Lachtain in Achudh-ur (Freshford), in Aos-Chinn-Chaille [3] in Ossory."

MAGH-AIRBH, or the Plain of Arbh, son of the Ard-Righ, Ugaine Mor, who

[1] Paper on the "Ancient Tribes of Ossory," by Rev. James Graves, *Kilk. Archæol. Soc.*, Vol. I., Part ii., pp. 231-2.

[2] *Irish Topographical Poems*, O'Donovan, p. 97.

[3] Another reference to Ceann Caille may be found in the charter of John, Lord of Ireland, by which he confirms all the grants made to Jerpoint Abbey down to his own time. Among these grants he mentions that of John fitz Robert, who gave the entire town of Clohan (*i.e.*, Cloran or Closhawn, now known as Garranamanagh, parish of Freshford), otherwise Duncro in *Congtella*, that is, Ceann Caille. Ceann Caille signifies the End, literally the Head, of the Wood.

gave him this plain as his inheritance. According to O'Heerin, its chief, at the time of the English Invasion, was O'Caibhdeanagh :

> " Over Magh-Airbh I now mention,
> Is O'Caibhdeanagh of the woody plain ;
> Head of every meeting is the steady chief,
> At the head of Coill O'gCathasaigh." [1]

The " Wells of the long-lived Britan " of Tubridbritain, in the parish of Urlingford, are referred to as in this territory, in the year 941 ; [2] and Grane, that is, Grane Hill, in the same parish, was also in the Plain of Arbh, for it is mentioned at the year 891, by the *Four Masters*, as Grian-*Airbh* :—" A.D. 891. A slaughter was made of the Eoghanachta at Grian-Airbh, by the Osraighi, *i.e.*, by the son of Cearbhall and the Leinstermen." In the Synod of Rathbreasail, held about 1118, Grian-Airbh was fixed as the western limit of Ossory Diocese. Probably Magh-Airbh of Ossory included most of the present Catholic parishes of Urlingford, Johnstown and Galmoy.

One should expect a great king like Ugaine Mor to bestow a more extensive and valuable inheritance upon his son than Magh-Airbh in Ossory, and it appears, too, that he did ; for, originally, Magh-Airbh extended far beyond the bounds of Ossory, through north Tipperary, and into the King's County. This we learn from the *Feilire of Aengus*, the text of which, at July 31st mentions " St. Colman, son of Daraine," and the scholiast adds : " Colman, *i.e.*, Colman, son of Oengus, son of Nathfraich, and in Doire Mor is he . . . In Doire Mor in Magh-Airbh he is, that is, between Ossory and Ele." Doire Mor, here mentioned as in Magh-Airbh, is, according to O'Donovan, now called Kilcolman, an ancient church and parish bordering on Seir-Kieran, in the King's County. The gift of all the land from the " Wells of the long-lived Britan " to Seir-Kieran, was truly a royal one.

Magh-Roighne or Magh-Raighne, *i.e.*, the Plain of Roighne or Raighne, who is said to have received the territory comprised within it, as his portion, from his father, Ugaine Mor. It is also frequently referred to as Raighne, without the prefix Magh. Its original name was Coill-an-Chosnamha, the Wood of Contention. These names are sometimes used to denote all Ossory. Thus in the " Colloquy," [3] mention is made of " Iubhar and Aicher, Aedh and Art, the four Kings of Coill-an-Chosnamha, at this present time " [*i.e.*, the time of St. Patrick] " called Ossory " ; and Donnchadh, King of Ossory, who died in 974 or 976, is called by an ancient poet " the happy King of Raighne," (*Righ rathmhar Raighne*). At A.M. 3817, the *Four Masters* record the battle of Raighne.[4]

[1] *Irish Topographical Poems*, edited with translation by O'Donovan, p. 97.
[2] *Circuit of Muircheartach MacNeill*, pp. 39-41.
[3] *Silva Gadelica*, pp. 210-11.
[4] See p. 10, *supra*.

"A.D. 860. The Fair of Raighne was celebrated by Cearbhall, son of Dunlang" [King of Ossory].[1]

"A.D. 910. Diarmaid, King of Ossory, and Aedh, son of Dubhghioll, King of Ui-Drona, destroyed the south of Magh-Raighne, and they destroyed Cill na gCaillech Finech et Rechtin," [*i.e.* the church of the Nuns Finche and Rechtin], "and the people of Aedh killed the priest of the place, which God afterwards avenged upon Aedh, son of that Dubhghioll, for some plebeians of the Osraighe killed him as he was returning to his house. This Aedh was King of Ui-Drona and of the Three Plains, and royal heir of Ui-Ceinsealaigh." [2]

About 928, the Danes of Limerick, under their chief, Imhar or Ivar, grandson of Imhar, made a settlement in Magh-Raighne,[3] at a place called Loch-Bethrach. In the following year, Imhar's cousin, Godfrey, the grandson of Imhar, with the Danes of Dublin, came down to dislodge them, and, during his stay in the country, destroyed a multitude of people who had fled for safety into Dearc Fearna (the Cave of Dunmore), in the neighbouring territory of Ui-Duach. The following references to these matters are found in our ancient Annals:

"A.D. 925. The Danes of Lymbrick resided at Moyreyne." [4]

"A.D. 926. Godfrey went to Ossery to banish Himar from Moyerayney." [5]

"A.D. 929. Genties [*i.e.* Gentiles] upon Loch Behrach in Ossory. Gofrith O'Hivar with the Genties of Dublin, broke down Derga-Ferna which was not hard [*i.e.* heard] of auncient tyme." [6]

"A.D. 929. The foreigners of Luimnech settled in Magh-Raighne. The siege and demolition of Derc-Ferna, where 1,000 men perished." [7]

"A.D. 914 [recte 928 or 929]. The Danes of Limerick encamped at Loch-Bethrach in Osraighe and Derc Ferna in Osraighe was demolished by them." (*Longphort la Gullu Luimnech cc Loch Bethra-h in Osraige agus Derce Fernna, in Osraige do thogail doib*). [8]

"A.D. 928. The foreigners of Luimneach encamped in Magh-Roighne." [9]

"A.D. 929. Godfrey went into Osraighe, to expel the grandson of Imhar from Magh-Roighne." [10]

"A.D. 928 [recte ? 929]. Godfrey, grandson of Imhar, with the foreigners of Ath Cliath, demolished and plundered Dearc Fearna, where one thousand persons were killed in this year, as is stated in this quatrain:—

"Nine hundred years without sorrow,
Twenty-eight, it has been proved,
Since Christ came to our relief,
To the plundering of Dearc-Fearna." [11]

"A.D. 929 [recte 934]. Godfrey, King of Danes, died a filthy and ill-favoured death." [12]

"A.D. 965. An army was led by Murchadh, son of Finn, King of Leinster, into Osraighe, where he remained four nights, after having plundered Raighne; but Mathghamhain and the men of

[1] *Three Fragments of Annals.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Magh Raighne would be pronounced *Mu-Rawina*, or *Mu-Ro-ina*. The statement sometimes made by writers, that Knockdrina, near Knocktopher, means the hill of Raighne, is incorrect. The local Irish pronunciation of Knockdrina is Knuck-*dhrinnia*, and not Knuck-*rawina*. Knuck-dhrinnia, *i.e.*, Cnoc Droine, means the Hill of the Dron, or Hump. Loch Bethrach was probably somewhere on the site of the present City of Kilkenny. The Cave of Dunmore is always called *Dhark-Awrna*, in the spoken Irish.

[4] *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Annales Ultoniae.*

[7] *Chronicon Scotorum.*

[8] *Annals of Innisfallen.*

[9] *Four Masters.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*

Munster overtook him, as did the Deisi and the Osraighi from Ath-Buana to Commur; and Murchadh escaped from them in safety, without leaving horse or man behind."[1]

Besides Cill na gCailleach, there are references, in ancient authorities, to other churches in Magh-Raighne. The *Tripartite Life* of St. Patrick states that after our national Apostle had preached to the Ossorians, and founded churches in their midst, he took his leave of them, having "left the relics of holy men with them, and some of his people, in the place where Martar-tech is this day in Magh-Raighne." At Feb. 2nd the *Martyrology of Aengus* mentions the holy Bishop St. "Finnech Duirn"; and the scholiast adds: "Findech Duirn of Cell Finche in Ossory, *i.e.*, of Ath-Duirn-Buide, *i.e.*, Dorn Buide *nomen collis magni* in Mag Raigne." The same *Martyrology* at Nov. 5th commemorates St. "Colman of Glenn Delmaic," *i.e.*, (gloss) "in Disert in Mag Raigne in Ossory." Towards the end of the 6th century, when St. Canice had already established his monastery at Aghaboe, there was a church in Magh Roighne called "Domhnich moir Roighni," the Donoughmore, or great church, in Roighne, which must have derived its name, like every other Donnoughmore in Ireland, from a church founded there by St. Patrick.[2]

The identification of the churches and localities mentioned above as situated in Magh-Raighne, is the only means we have of discovering the position and extent of this territory. Cill na gCaillech Finech et Rechtin is now unknown under that name; the same must be said of Loch Bethrach, the Birch-abounding Lake. As to Cill-Fhinche or Killiny, there were formerly three churches bearing this name in Ossory, viz., the church of Toberboe, in the parish of Durrow; the church of Killiny, near the town of Kells; and the church of Newchurch, in the parish of Kilmoganny, at the southern extremity of Kells Barony. As the last-mentioned church was situated on the lofty range of hills over Kilmoganny village, there can be no difficulty in identifying it with St. Finnech's Church on Dorn Buidhe, "the great hill in Mag Raigne." Killiny, near Kells town, is some miles distant from any hill of note, and cannot, therefore, have been the church on Dorn buidhe; it may, however, have been Cill na gCaillech, the present name, perhaps, preserving that of Finche, one of the two Nuns, or Cailleachs.

The church of St. "Colman of Glenn Delmaic, *i.e.*, in Disert in Mag Raigne," is the church of Dysert, formerly Disert-Mocholmoc, beside the River Nore, in the parish of Thomastown. "Domhnich moir Roighni," or Domhnach mor of [Magh] Roighne, which is in all likelihood the Martar-tech, or Church of the Relics, in Magh Raighne, mentioned in the *Tripartite Life*, can be identified with but one church in central or southern Ossory, and that is the church of St. Patrick's, anciently called the church of Domhnach mor, in Kilkenny city.

[1] *F.M.*
[2] *Vita S. Kannechi*, chap. xliv

Hence, on the east side, Magh-Raighne originally extended along the west bank of the Nore, from Kilkenny city to near Inistioge ; its western boundary was, it may be assumed, identical with that of the Kingdom and Diocese of Ossory. "It is more than probable," writes O'Donovan, "that Ceanannus or Kells, which was made a place of considerable strength after the English Invasion, was in ancient times the principal seat [1] of Righ Roighne, which was a usual designation of the Kings of Ossory."

Magh-Raighne seems to have been split up, and to have lost its identity as a separate district, long before the coming of the Anglo-Normans.

Ui-Caithrenn, *i.e.*, [the land of] the Descendants of Caithrenn, who was fifth in descent from Aengus Osrithe. The church of Cill-Lamhraighe, of which St. Gobban [2] was patron, is placed by both the *Martyrology of Donegal* and the scholiast on the *Feilire of Aengus*, in Uibh Caithrenn or Uibh-Cairthenn, in the west of Ossory. Cill-Lamhraighe is now Killamery. Ui-Caithrenn was a small territory, and probably did not extend far beyond the limits of the parish of Windgap.

Sliabh-Dile was the original name of the district comprised in Ui-Caithrenn. Ballinasoggarth, in Lamoge, parish of Windgap, is mentioned in an *Inquisition* of April 2nd, 1608, as "Ballenasagart in Slieave Dylye."[3] Even still the old people of the district sometimes call Windgap parish "Shleea Dheela." But Sliabh-Dile was not confined to Ossory. It extended westwards from Windgap, over the parish of Grangemockler, in the County Tipperary ; and the townland of Garryduff, which is about two miles from the borders of Ossory, and in the parish just mentioned, is, to the present day, called "Garryduff in Shleea Dheela," to distinguish it from Garryduff in the parish of Templeorum. O'Donovan thinks it not improbable that Sliabh Dile was the ancient name of Slievenamon itself. Evidently the name was in use long before the time of Aengus Osrithe, or, at least before the western boundary of Ossory was determined.[4]

[1] As the King of Munster had *upwards of sixty* residences or seats, that is, royal raths or duns, in his Province (*Book of Rights*, pp. 87-9), it is only reasonable to suppose that the King of Ossory for the time being, had, likewise, several residences in his own territory.

[2] Dec. 6th.

[3] *Inquis. Lag.*, Kilkenny, 6 James I,

[4] The following document, which I came across only after the above had been written, helps to throw additional light on the extent of Sliabh-Dile. It shows that it included the townlands of Curraghmore, and Cahernane otherwise *Bally-eye-nawn*, now Beatin, near Owning ; also Ahinny and Kilclispeen, in the same neighbourhood. The document runs thus :—

"Sciant, &c., quod ego, Ricardus Butler, filius et heres Wilhelmi, filii Johannis Butler de Polleghore, dedi, &c., nobili viro Domino Petro le Butler, Comiti Ormonie, et Margarete, ejus comitisse, omnia messuagia, terras, tenementa &c., que habeo in Coraghmore et Cahernane, apud Sleywe Dile, in comitatu Kilkennie ; et omnia messuagia, &c., que habeo in Ahenne et Kilclispin apud Sleywe Dyle predictum in comitatu Tipperarie ; nec non totum illud jus et titulum que habeo in Garridufe apud Sleywe Dyle in comitatu Tipperarie predictum, &c. D. &c., anno regis Henrici octavi xvi°" (1524-5). See *Transac. Kilk. Archæol. Soc.* for 1851, p. 359.

NA CLANNA, or the Clans.—MacBreen was its chief, according to O'Heerin :—

> "Mac Braoin of the firm hand
> Is over the Clans I commemorate." [1]

The position of the Clans is not determined. O'Donovan thinks it may be identical with the Barony of Knocktopher ; and probably he is right, as otherwise this large district would remain unnoticed by O'Heerin.

MAGH MAIL, or the Plain of Mal, who was fifth in descent from Aengus Osrithe. O'Heerin makes this the territory of O'Donnchadha or O'Dunphy [2] :

> "O'Cearbhaill for whom the trees are ruddy,
> O'Donnchadha of honest aspect,
> Whose rock-like hosts possess the fruitful land,
> Are two Kings of the same territory.
>
> Near the Bearbha [Barrow] of the fruitful border,
> The King of the district ye have heard,
> It is he who is elected over Magh Màil
> O'Donnchadha of fine Gabhran" [Gowran].[3]

Magh Mail lay near the Barrow, and included the town of Gowran ; and, as its chief held a very prominent place in Ossory, it must have comprised almost all the Ossory part of Gowran Barony.

In the Ossory Genealogies, in the *Book of Leinster*, it is stated that the "free clans of the Ui Mail" (*serchlan. h. Mail*), are descended from Cass, the son of Mal ; and then follows the pedigree of the chief of the tribe, about the eighth or ninth century :—

> "Loegaire m Duibeitig m Ailleccain m Dondgusa m Fergussa m Brain m Nassadaig m Doborchon m Fergusa m Ciarain m Caiss m Mail m Droida" [m Buain m Loegaire Birn Buadhach m Aengusa Osrithi].

CLUAIN UI CEARBHAILL, or O'Carroll's Plain.—O'Heerin locates O'Carroll here

> "From Cill Chainnigh [Kilkenny] of the limestones
> To Sliabh-gCaithle of the fine sloping hill,
> Is the Cluain of Ua Cearbhaill for whom the sea is smooth
> Land of the green, rich, grassy carpet." [4]

O'Carroll's territory lay in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny city, most probably on the west side of the Nore. Sliab-gCaithle,[5] the hill to which it extended, has

[1] *Irish Topographical Poems*, p. 97.
[2] In Irish O'Carroll is pronounced *O'Carrool*, and O'Dunphy *O'Dhunnaghoo*, with accent, in each case, on the last syllable.
[3] *Irish Topographical Poems*, p. 95.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Sliabh-gCaithle or Sliabh an Caithligh may possibly be yet identified on or near the western borders of Kilmanagh parish.

not been identified; it appears as Sliabh an Caithligh in the following entry in the *Four Masters*:—

"A.D. 1127. An army was held by Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair, and he gave the Kingdom of Ath Cliath and Leinster to his son Conchobhar; he afterwards proceeded [to the south] and defeated Cormac MacCarthaigh, and burned his camp at Sliabh an Caithligh. The same King had a great encampment in Ormond from Lammas to the festival of Brighit; and he plundered from that camp, on one occasion, Ui-Connaill, and, on another, as far as Moin-moi and to Gleann Maghair, and another, as far as the south of Osraighe, and he made a slaughter of the Osraighi, together with Ua Carog, and carried off the hostages of Osraighe on that occasion."

The O'Carrolls of Cluain Ui Cearbhall, were descended from Aengus Osrithe, and took their name from their ancestor, Cearbhall, one of the bravest of the Kings of Ossory, who died in 885 or 887. They are quite different from their namesakes of Eile O'Carroll, King's County; but it is now impossible to distinguish the members of either tribe from those of the other. From the above Cearbhall's grandson, Donnchadh, King of Ossory, who died in 974 or 976, and who is eulogised as a very religious prince, are descended the Ui-Donnchadha or O'Dunphys, chiefs of Magh Mail; while Gillapatrick, King of Ossory, slain in 996, the son of King Donnchadh, was ancestor of the chief ruling tribe in Ossory, the MacGillapatricks, whose name has been anglicised Fitzpatrick.

Ogenty, in Irish, Ui-Geintigh, and Tir-Ua-nGentigh, *i.e.*, the Territory of the Descendants of Geintech, who was great-grandson of Aengus Osrithe. In this district was Jackstown, or Baile-Ghiag, parish of Thomastown, described as "Ballyago als. Ballygiag, in Ogenty, in the county of Kilkenny," in *Inquis.* 20 James I, anno, 1618.[1] It also included the Den and Archdeacon property, in and around Thomastown, called "Ogensy" *i.e.*, Ogenty, in *Calendar of Documents, Ireland* (1252-84), No. 1618. Father Shearman states that the church of Kilfane was also in Ogenty.[2] At the English Invasion, therefore, Ogenty would appear to have formed the southern division of O'Dunphy's territory of Magh Mail, and to have included, besides, a small portion of the ancient Magh-Raighne.

O'Skellan, or Ui-Scellain, *i.e.*, [the tribeland of] the Descendants of Scellan, who was sixth in descent from Aengus Osrithe. According to the gloss on the *Feilire of Aengus*,[3] Hui Scellain was in Sliabh Mairge, the mountain district which, extending into Kilkenny from Carlow and Queen's County, embraced the Castlewarren, Johnswell, and Kilmogar hills, in the north of the Barony of Gowran:

"Findech Duirn, *i.e.* of Cell Finche in Ossory, *i.e.* of Ath Duirn Buidhe, *i.e.* Dorn Buidhe nomen collis magni in Mag Raigne; or it is in Hui Scellain of Sliabh Mairge is Findech of Dorn Buidhe, ut alii putant."

[1] *Inquis. Lageniæ.*
[2] *Loca Patriciana.*
[3] Feb. 2nd.

O'Skellan, then, lay in the north of the Barony of Gowran, and formed part of O'Dunphy's territory at the English Invasion. On the 26th Nov., 1358, William Lye and Thomas Moygne were appointed to raise troops in the "Cantreds of Osquellan and Ognenoy" (Ogenty), in the County Kilkenny, for the war against the Irish of Leinster. Similar appointments were, at the same time, given to Richard Forestoll and Walter Sillame, for the "Cantred of Sileyrthir; to Adam Tombrige, Gilbert Smythe, and John Herberd, for the "Cantreds of Odoth and Galmoy;" to John McHede, for the "Barony of Cnoketofre;" to Walter Coterell, for the "Barony of Kenlys;" to John Bertyn (Barretyn), for the Barony of Derleye; to Richard Eyleward for the "Baronies of Dowth (Ida), Rower, and Gargon" (Ibargon or Iberchon); and to John Roch Dacon (Archdekin ?), for the "Barony of Overk." An examination of this, the earliest list of Kilkenny Baronies, will show clearly that what is now Gowran Barony, is here represented by the ancient Cantreds of Osquellan and Ognenoy or Ogenty, the latter constituting its southern division, as the former did its northern.

Uibh-Eirc, *i.e.*, [the territory] of the Descendants of Erc, who was himself the thirteenth in descent from Aengus Osrithe. Substantially it must have been, at first, co-extensive with the present Barony of Iverk.[1] After the establishment of surnames in the 11th century, the chiefs of this territory took the surname of O'Bruadair[2] (now anglicized Broderick and Brawthers). as we learn from O'Heerin:

> "King of Ui-Eirc of slender steeds
> Is O'Bruadair, scion of the flood;
> A sandy territory of heavy floods,
> Like the champaign lands of Maonmhagh."[3]

Ida, Igrinn and Iberchon, three tribe-lands in the south-east of Kilkenny, now merged in the Barony of Ida. A few centuries ago this union was known as the Barony of Iberchon, and in ancient Taxations of the Diocese it constituted what was known as the Deanery of Obargon or O'Bercon. Ida, which now sinks the other two denominations, appears in Gaelic documents as Ui-Deagha, and signifies [the tribeland of] the Descendants of Deagha, who was either the son of Droida, great-grandson of Aengus Osrithe, or the son of Mal, son of the same Droida. In the Ossory Genealogies in the *Book of Leinster*, the descendants of Deagha, son of Droida, are called the Ui-Deagha "Tamhnaighe," and the descendants of Deagha, son of Mal, son of Droida, the Ui-Deagha "Draighnech."

[1] "Overk in Ossory" of early Anglo-Norman records, included the present Baronies of Iverk and Ida, and the southern extremity of the Barony of Knocktopher. (See *K. S. A. Journal*, 1893, pp. 181-3.) It was probably identical with Deisceart Osraighe. (See p. 4, *supra*.)

[2] Local Irish pronunciation, *O'Brooadhizh*.

[3] *Irish Topographical Poems*, p. 97.

Igrinn was the territory of the Ui-gCroinn, or Descendants of Cronn, who was sprung in the fifth degree from Aengus Osrithe. Tory Hill, in Irish Sliabh-Ui-gCroinn, and now always pronounced *Shleea-greeng*, as if written Sliabh-gCroinn, is situated in this territory.

Iberchon signifies [the land of] the Ui-Berchon or Ui-Bearrcon, a tribe sprung from Iachtchair, a descendant of Aengus Osrithe. Under A.D. 851, the *Four Masters* record the death of Oengus, son of Niall [fifth in descent from Iachtchair], Lord of Ui-Berchon. Rosbercon, in this territory, is called in Irish *Russbarracun*, *i.e.*, Ros Bearrcon, an abbreviated form for Ros-Ui-Bearrcon. According to O'Heerin, the O'Kealys were the ruling tribe in Iberchon at the time of the English Invasion :

> " Of Ui-Berchon of the yellow mantle,
> King of the territory is O'Caollaidhe,
> The plain of the tribe who return heavily,
> Is the land over the bright-flowing Bearbha " (Barrow).[1]

From a document in Kilkenny castle, dating from 1587, and entitled a " Booke of the ploughlands otherwise horsemen's beds in the county Kilkenny, in sorte as they were laid down by the sariantes (sergeants) of ffrancis Lovell, gent., late sheriffe of the said county," we are enabled to form a correct estimate of the extent of Iberchon, as distinct from Igrinn and Ida. According to this record, the "Barrony of Iberchon " extended over the civil parishes of Kilmakevoge, Kilbride, Kilcoan, Ballygurrim, Shanbogh, Rosbercon, Listerlin, Dysartmoon, The Rower, Cloneamery, and part of Inistioge ; while the " Barrony of Igrinn and Ida " embraced the civil parishes of Kilcolumb, Rathpatrick, Kilculliheen, Gaulskill, Dunkit, the portion of Rossinan parish in the present Barony of Ida, and the townland of Granny, in the parish of Kilmacow. The " Barrony " of Ida, as distinct from that of Igrinn, certainly took in the parishes of Kilcolumb, Rathpatrick, and Kilculliheen. The remainder of the " Barrony of Igrinn and Ida " may be assigned to Igrinn.

SECTION III.—EXISTING CIVIL DIVISIONS, OR BARONIES.

The territory formerly comprised within the Kingdom of Ossory is, at present, broken up into fourteen Baronies, three of which lie in the Queen's County, the remaining eleven in the County Kilkenny. The three Queen's County Baronies

[1] *Irish Topographical Poems*, p. 97.

formed by the directors of the Ordnance Survey, on the suppression of the old Barony of Upper Ossory in 1846, are :—

(I.) UPPERWOODS, or, more correctly, Upperwood (Coill-Uachtarach.)

(II.) CLARMALLAGH, the Level Land (literally, the Board or Plank) of the Plain of the Lake.[1]

(III.) CLANDONAGH, [the territory of] the Clan or Children of Donnagh.

Even as early as 1657, these appear to have been recognised divisions of Upper Ossory ; for, in the Down Survey of the Queen's County, made in the year just mentioned, it is stated that, " The Baronie of Vpper Ossory in the Queenes County is commonly divided into three cantreds or hundreds, viz :—Claremallagh, Clondonnogh, and Vpperwoods." They only, however, became Baronies, in the true legal sense, two hundred years later.

As to the eleven Kilkenny Baronies, we shall treat of them in order, beginning with the north of the county and ending with the south.

(IV.) GALMOY.—In Irish it is called *Gowl-ae*[2] (accent sometimes on the first syllable, sometimes on the second). According to O' Donovan, the Irish orthography of the name is Gall-mhagh, that is, the Plain of the Stones or of the Foreigners ; or Gabhal-mhaighe, the Forked Plain (literally, the Fork or Angle of the Plain). O'Curry would have the orginal form of the name to be either Gabhal-mhuighe, that is, the Plain of the Branch, or Gabhal (Gowl), river, which is a Branch (Gabhal) of the Nore ; or Gabhlaidhe. We extract the following from the latter's *Ordnance Survey* letter on the Barony of Galmoy :

" A small stream runs through this Barony near Urlingford, out of the Bog of Allen, separating the parishes of Erke and Feartagh, striking the Queen's County at Ballybrass (Ballinafras), continuing from that to Newtown (Butler), and, uniting with the River Erkin above Durrow, becomes one of the heads of the Nore. Some of the inhabitants here call this river by the name of Gabhall, that is, the Branch, while others call it Gabhlaidhe, or the Branches, or Branchy. The first name with the addition of Moy, or Plain, would fully bear out the present name—thus Gabhalmhuighe, *i.e.*, the Plain of the Gabhal or Branch ; and Ireland does not present a more level plain than that through which it [*i.e.* the Gabhal] takes its short course within this county. Thus Gabhal Mhoighe, anglice Galmoy, would be very well borne out.

" The second form of the name is also admirably sustained by the character of the stream, which, from the dead level through which it passes, is constantly branching off from its bed into innumerable channels, as wide and as deep as the parent one, and which, flowing on for a short distance, again fall into the same channel, thus forming a series of channels and islands, the like of which I have seen nowhere else. The name Gabhlaidhe, pronounced as well as Gabhalmhoighe, *Goll-wee*, you will perceive, is well borne out by the natural features just described ; so that, between these two names, I am almost certain, the original one of the Barony must be found. But I am inclined to adopt Gabhlaidhe,

[1] The lake from which Clarmallagh has its name is probably either Loch-a-Barra, in Tintore, or Grantstown Lake. The Irish sound of Clarmallagh would be *Clawrmallaha*, that of Clandonagh would be *Clondhunnagha*. Owing to the complete extinction of the Irish language in the Queen's Co. the Irish sounds of townland and other names here cannot, for the most part, be recovered. The Irish names of the more prominent places, such as Rathdowney, Durrow, Aghaboe, &c., have, however, been taken down by the writer from Irish speakers in Co. Kilkenny.

[2] The Chapel of Galmoy is called in Irish *Shay-peeoll Ghowlae.*

i.e., the Branchy, for what reason I cannot well explain ; probably from finding the locality particularly called Galmoy, bordering on that part of this river the most conspicuous for its branchiness."

Notwithstanding the high authority of O'Donovan and O'Curry on all matters relating to Irish topography, we feel bound, in the present instance, to differ from the conclusions of both. O'Curry's Gabhlaidhe is palpably incorrect, inasmuch as Galmoy appears in all ancient and modern documents, with two or three exceptions, with the letter *m* inserted in the middle of the word, showing conclusively that this letter must have held a similar position in the original Irish name. Neither is it true, as O'Curry writes, that Galmoy is called *Goll-wee* in Irish. Its Irish sound, as I have heard it, over and over again, from native born Irish speakers through north Kilkenny, is *Gowl-ae*, with the accent placed on the first syllable by some, and on the second syllable by others. As regards Gall-mhagh, Gabhal-mhaighe, Gabhal-mhoighe, and Gabhal-mhuighe: the first would be pronounced *Gowl-u*, the others *Gowlee* ; none of them would be pronounced *Gowlae* ; and, therefore, none of them can have been the original of Galmoy.

The true Irish form of Galmoy is Gabhal-mhaoth, which any good Irish speaker will at once pronounce *Gowlae*. *Maoth* is an adjective signifying spongy or soft. *Gabhal* signifies a fork or angle, and is applied topographically to a piece of land between two convergent streams, at their point of meeting. Gabhal-mhaoth, or Galmoy, therefore, means the Spongy, Soft, or Boggy Angle.

The civil parish of Erke, which is partly in County Kilkenny and partly in the Queen's County, is the district originally known as Galmoy. It appears as the parish of "Gawlmoy" in the earliest list of parishes in the *Red Book of Ossory*. Castlepierce, in this parish, is mentioned as "Fasoghe-Gowley in Rathpatrick," that is, the Wilderness of Galmoy in Rathpatrick, in a deposition made by Jonas Wheeler, in 1643, in reference to supposed murders committed by the Irish, at the great Uprising two years before. The townland of Kylegortryan, now Kyle, also in this parish, but in the Queen's County, occurs in a record of 1542, as "Kylgortryan in Gowley, otherwise called Galmoy." [1]

The river Gowl flows along the east side of the parish of Erke, separating it for about three Irish miles from the parish of Fertagh. In its course it has various small tributaries in the former parish, and forms with each a Gabhal at the meeting point. Which of these Gabhals was the original Gabhal-mhaoth, I am unable to decide, but I rather think that it was the remarkable one at the southern extremity of the parish of Erk, where the Bawnmore stream empties itself into the Gowl.

[1] See Indenture made between James, Earl of Ormond, on the one part, and Remond fitzRobert and Edmond fitzJohn Archdekin, otherwise M'Code, of Fossey, on the other part. *Muniment Room*, Ormond Castle.

The same Gabhal that gave name to Galmoy, also gave name to the Gowl river. The Irish name of the river is *Oun-ghyla*, *i.e.*, Abhan Ghaibhle, the river of the Gabhal or Gowl. There was a famous Fiodh Ghaibhle, or Wood along the Gabhal river, in Offaly, in ancient times. The "Figgile river," which courses along through the site of the ancient wood, still preserves the old name.

The Barony of Galmoy appears as such, for the first time, in a document of the year 1358.[1]

In the 16th century the eastern division, if not the entire, of this Barony appears under a different denomination.

Thus, in 1518, Gerald, Earl of Kildare, according to his *Rent Roll*, in the British Museum,[2] received certain rents out of Seskinballycloy (now Seskin, Lisdowney), Archdekynston and Rathmedagg, "in the Barony of Athetegritt," in the County Kilkenny; and Peter the Red, Earl of Ormond, by deed of Feb. 12th, 1526, appointed Rowland FitzMaurice, Baron "de Ecclesia Cremata," or of Burnchurch, his attorney, to give possession and seisin to John Tobin and Nicholas Mothing, chaplains, of the lands of Aghnanorlyn (Urlingford), Ballyspealan, Ballyn (Balleen), Seskynballynlogh (Seskinballycloy above), Molaane and Clonetubride, in the "Barony of Aghteyre," in the same county. Walter Shortall, of the "Barony of Aghteirte," was pardoned in 1548.

Athetegritt, Aghteyre and Aghteirte, and the many other forms under which this name appears, represent the Irish Achad Thogartai, the original name of Barony Church otherwise *Thomple na Baroonthachta*, near Ballyraggett. Achad Thogartai having at one time given its name to a Barony, it is easy to understand how the church, in course of centuries, became known as "Barony" Church.

(V). CRANNAGH.—The "Barrony of Cranagh" appears for the first time in a "Booke of the ploughlands otherwise horsemen's beds in the County Kilkenny,"[3] in the year 1587; though probably the Barony, as such, dates, from a much earlier period. In 1608, John de Rocheford, of Killary, and George St. Leger, of Woncestowne (Bouncestown), are returned as Constables of the Barony of Cranagh.[4] The name of the Barony, in Irish, Crannach, signifies [the district] Abounding in Trees, or the Woodland, from *crann*, a tree, and the collective termination *ach*.

(VI.) FASSAGHDININ.—In Irish, Fasach a' Deighnin (pronounced *Fawsach-a-Dyneen*), *i.e.*, the Desert or Wilderness along the Dinin river. In 1358, this Barony was still known by its ancient name, the Barony or "Cantred of Odoth" *i.e.*, of

[1] See p. 19. *supra.*
[2] *Harleian Miscel.*, 3756.
[3] See p. 20., *supra.*
[4] Irish pronunciation, *Cronnoch.*

Ui-Duach.[1] In 1587 it appears as the Barony of "Fasaghdenyn and Idoghe." In 1608, Robnett Purcell, of Foulksrath, and William O'Brenan of Ballyhomin (Ballyhimmin), were Constables of the Barony of "Fasaghdenyn and Odoghe." These are the earliest references to Fassaghdinin as a Barony, or as part of one. During the 17th century Odoghe became obsolete as the Barony name, and Fassaghdinin has ever since taken its place.

(VII.) Gowran.—In Irish Gabhran (pronounced *Gourawn*). "This name," writes Dr. Joyce, "is written *Gabhran* in ancient Irish authorities; and in old Anglo-Irish records the place is spelled (with some unimportant variations of spelling) Ballygaveran. In very early times it was a residence of the Kings of Ossory; and it retained its importance long after the English invasion. The word Gabhar signifies either a steed or a goat; and it is a question which signification it bears here; but on account of the early celebrity of the place, and as it must have been constantly the scene of royal and military gatherings, we may fairly conclude that it received its name from horses rather than from goats:—Gabhran, a place of steeds."[2]

By deed of Jan. 10th, 1352, Nicholas Norton and Margery Caddell appointed Edmund Preston, Portreeve of Ballygauran, as their attorney to give Robert Cas and William, his son, full seisin of all the lands, etc., they held "in villa vel extra villam de Ballygauran cum tota Baronea ejusdem."[3] Hence it would appear that, even at this early date, the Barony had taken its name from Ballygauran or Gowran. In 1358 Gowran is not mentioned among the Baronies of the County Kilkenny, but its place is taken by the cantreds of Osquellan and Ognenoy.[4] At present, and since 1587, at least, the Barony of Gowran includes, together with the old Ossory tribe-lands of O'Skellan and Ogenty, the portion of O'Ryan's country of Ui-Drone, lying west of the Barrow, and forming the Kilkenny division of the Diocese of Leighlin.

(VIII.) Kilkenny Barony, or the Municipal Borough of Kilkenny.—In Irish Kilkenny is written Cill-Chainnigh, which is pronounced *Kill-Chinnia*, and signifies the Church of St. Canice.

(IX.) Shillelogher.—This name appears under many forms in ancient records thus: "Sillr," "Sylerker" and "Shyllekyr"[5]; "Sileyrthir"[6]; "Shillegher," otherwise "Shilleligher," in 1587; "Shillekyr" and "Shillecher," in 1608; "Sheelogher," in 1657;[7] and "Sleewlogher," "Shellelogher" and "Shilliligher."[8]

[1] See p. 19, *supra*.
[2] *Irish Names of Places*, Vol. II., p. 24.
[3] Graves's *MSS. penes me.*
[4] See p. 19, *supra*.
[5] *Red Book of Ossory.*
[6] *Pat. Rolls.*, of the year 1358.
[7] *Book of Survey and Distribution.*
[8] *Inquisitions* of the 17th century.

All these, as well as the present form of the name, are anglicized variations of the old Irish name, Sil-Fhaelchair, which signifies [the territory of] the Descendants of Faelchar. Faelchar was a King of Ossory, descended from Aengus Osrithe, and was slain in a pitched battle with the Leinstermen in 690. His son, Ceallach Roighne or Ceallach of the Plain of Magh Raighne, afterwards became King of Ossory, and was slain with 3,000 others, in the battle of Bealach-Ele, fought in A.D. 730, by the Ossorians and Munstermen, on the one side, and the Leinstermen on the other. The descendants of Faelchar were seated in part of the ancient Magh Raighne and gave their name to the district they occupied, but what the extent of that district was, or whether it was identical in area with the Barony of Sil-Fhaelchair or Shillelogher,[1] or not, there is nothing to show. Sileyrthir is first mentioned as a Barony in 1358. [2]

(X.) CALLAN.—The name of this Barony, in Irish, Callainn (pronounced *Colling*), is formed from the Irish *cala* or *caladh*, and signifies the callow land, *i.e.* land on a river bank, covered over with water in winter, and dry in summer, when it produces a crop of long, coarse, sedgy grass. The Barony of Callan is co-extensive with the civil parish of the same name. O'Gloiairn was lord of Callan and its neighbourhood at the English Invasion, according to O'Heerin :

> "O'Gloiairn, the fruit branch has got,
> A cantred of a sweet country,
> A smooth land along the beauteous Callainn,
> A land without a particle of blemish."

(XI.) KELLS.—The Irish form of this name is Ceanannus (pronounced *Kannanas*, accent on first syllable), by which it is still always called in the spoken Irish. Ceanannus, according to O'Donovan, signifies Head-fort or seat. After the Norman Invasion the name was corrupted into Kenlis, and later on into its present form, Kells. In 1358 the Barony of Kenlys or Kells, was very small, being apparently confined to the eastern portion of the present Barony ; while the western division constituted another Barony, known as the Barony of Derleye (*i.e.*, D'Erleye) or Erley.[3] The Barony of Erley must have formerly included, and received its name from, the parish of Earlstown or Erley (now in the Barony of Shillelogher) ; for this parish belonged to the Sweetmans, who were Barons of Erley, and whose principal stronghold, Castleeve Castle, was situated within it. The townland of Frankford (called by Irish speakers *Macleeara*), in the parish of Windgap, and on the borders of Co. Tipperary, also belonged to

[1] At present the Irish pronunciation assumes the abbreviated form *Sheelochar* (accent on middle syllable, which is short).

[2] See p. 19, *supra.*

[3] See p. 19, *supra.*

the Barony of Erley; for, on the 14th January, 1387, William, son of Richard Tobin ("de Sancto Albino"), granted to James Botiller, Earl of Ormond, one messuage, with two carucates and 20 acres of arable land in Moyclere *in the Barony of Erley*.[1] The Barony of Erley has been merged in that of Kells for several centuries.

(XII.) KNOCKTOPHER.—In Irish Cnoc a' tochair,[2] the Hill of the Causeway. The "Barony of Cnoktofre" is first mentioned in the year 1358.[3]

A considerable portion of this Barony, roughly speaking, the Catholic parishes of Ballyhale, Aghavillar, Mullinavat and Templeorum (except the Piltown district), together with the districts of Kilmoganny and Tullahought, in the Barony of Kells, make up what is known as the Walsh Mountains, or *Shleea Brannach*—a name derived from the Walsh or Breathnach family, who secured large possessions here, soon after the English Invasion.

(XIII.) Ida.[4]—(See p. 19. *supra*.)

(XIV.) Iverk.[5]—(See p. 19. *supra*.)

[1] Graves's *MSS*.
[2] See p. 19., *supra*.
[3] Local Irish sound, *Knuck-a-thochizh*.
[4] Irish pronunciation, something between *Ee-Deaw* and *Ee-Dheaw*, each pronounced as a dissyllable
[5] Irish sound, *Ee-Verk*.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY KINGS OF OSSORY.—KINGS OF OSSORY OF THE CORCA-LAIGHDHE.

AENGUS OSRITHE, the founder and first ruler of the Kingdom of Ossory, flourished some time about the latter half of the second century of the Christian era. His father, Crimhthann Mor, was eighth in descent from Connla, the "Pater Ossoriorum," from whom the Ossorians are frequently designated the "Clann Connla," or Children of Connla, and whose descent is traced, through eighteen generations, to Ugaine Mor, Ard-Righ of Erin. His mother was Cennait, daughter of Daire mac Dedaid, and sister of the renowned champion, Curoi mac Daire.

According to the *Book of Leinster*,[1] Aengus was surnamed "Osrithe" or "Osfrithe," *i.e.*, the Deer-found, because "he was found among the wild deer" (*etir ossu allta fo fhrith*); which probably means that he was born, or brought up in early life, in a place where deer abounded. Whatever circumstance it was that connected his name with the *os*, or deer, there can scarcely be a doubt that it is to it the origin of the name Ossory must be traced. According to the etymology of the word, Ossory, in Irish, Os-raidhe and Os-raighe, will admit of but one natural and reasonable explanation, and that is, the Raidhe, or Descendants of [Aengus] the Deer [-found]. This name, at first applied to the descendants of Aengus, became afterwards affixed, as in innumerable other instances, to the territory which those descendants occupied.

History gives no insight into the means, by which Aengus succeeded in bringing into subjection the aboriginal tribes who inhabited this district, and in fixing his

[1] P. 399.

throne so firmly amongst them, that his descendants ruled, as Kings, over the conquered territory, with but little interruption, for a thousand years after his own death. When his life's struggle was over, he was laid to rest, after the manner of his fathers, beneath a monumental heap, on the summit of a hill overhanging a spot on which was afterwards erected a Christian temple called Cill-Chuilinn [1] *i.e.* Kilcullen, or the Church of the Holly :—"Lecht Oengusa Osrui, issind ard os Chill-culind," *i.e.*, the burial mound of Aengus Osrithe is on the height over against Cill-Chuilinn.[2]

By Side, daughter of Delbath, the druid, brother of Mogh Ruth, he left a son, Leaghaire Birn, surnamed Buadhach, or the Victorious. Of Leaghaire Birn's military exploits history, too, is silent. From him the Ossorians received the designation of Dal-mBirn, or Tribe of [Laeghaire] Birn.[3]

After the death of Laeghaire Birn, the kingly succession in Ossory for about two centuries becomes almost a blank. In the Genealogies of the Ossorians in the *Books of Leinster* and *Lecain*, his descendants are traced for many generations, and among them his successors on the throne of Ossory, during the 3rd and 4th centuries, must be sought. The *Colloquy* [4] mentions "Iubhar, Aicher, Aedh and Art, the four Kings of Coill-an-Chosnamha, at this present time" [*i.e.*, the time of St. Patrick] "called Ossory." These Kings belonged to the period of the Fianna, or Fenians, and were, with many others, drowned by Loch Lurgan's bramble bush. The *Colloquy* mentions another of our old Fenian Kings, viz. : "Scanlan, the son of Ailell, King of Ossory," who is supposed to have lived to an age, protracted very much beyond the span of ordinary mortals ; to have accompanied the aged story-teller, Caeilte, in an interview with St. Patrick ; and to have been regenerated in the waters of Christian Baptism by the Saint, soon after the commencement of his mission in Ireland. Whether these five Kings were realities, or mere creations of bardic imagination, it is impossible to tell. They are not mentioned by the Irish Annalists.

The next references to Ossory in our ancient writings, bring us to about the middle of the 5th century, when two events of the gravest concern to the descendants of Aengus Osrithe and their principality, have to be recorded : these were, the

[1] There is no church in Ossory now known as Cill-Chuillinn. A very ancient churchyard in Coolcullen, parish of Muckalee, may have formerly borne this name, though its Irish designation in modern times is *Reilig na nGearlach*, or the [unbaptized] Children's Churchyard. Should this be the Cill-Chuillinn of the *Book of Leinster*, then some hill overlooking it holds the mortal remains of Aengus Osrithe. Kilcullen, a church in the parish of Thomastown, is, in Irish Cill-*Choilean*, not Cill-*Chuillinn*.

[2] See "Lay of the Graves," *Book of Leinster*.

[3] The statement that he is buried in Tullabyrne, otherwise Tullabrin, and that the townland has its name from him has no foundation. Tullabyrne is called *Thullabring* in Irish, that is, Tul' Ua Brainn, and signifies the Hill of the O'Byrnes.

[4] *Silva Gadelica*.

enforced surrender of the south-western portion of Ossory to the Desies, and the partial subjugation of the remainder of the territory by other Munster tribes. The story of the former, as told by O'Curry, in his *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, may be summarised as follows :—

The Desies, of County Waterford, were originally a tribe located in the present Barony of Deisi or Deese, in Meath, which territory derives its name from them. Having been banished from Meath by the Ard-Righ, Cormac Ulfada, they sojourned for a short time in some other portion of Leinster, whence they afterwards passed into Munster, to King Oilioll Olum, who was married to Sabia, daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles and a cousin to the Desian chief. Oilioll Olum gave them the territory which still bears their name, in the present county of Waterford ; and here they deemed it advisable to settle down. About two hundred years after their settlement in Waterford, they felt the need of a more extensive territory to meet the wants of their growing numbers. They accordingly consulted their Druid, who told them that the wife of Crimhthainn, King of Leinster, was pregnant, and would soon give birth to a daughter ; that they should contrive to procure that daughter in fosterage ; and that when she should get married, her husband would extend their territory. All this was done according to the Druid's directions. The Desies received the young princess, whose name was Eithne (pronounced *Inna*) in fosterage ; and under their assiduous care she grew up to become eminent for ability as well as beauty. Having grown to womanhood, she attracted the notice of Aengus mac Nathfhraich, King of Munster, who sought her hand in marriage. His suit was promoted by the Desies, and gladly accepted by her father, and they were forthwith married ; after which Aengus did grant the Desies an addition of territory, lying north of the river Suir, in the present County Tipperary, but at that time in Ossory, provided that they drove out the Ossorians, who then possessed it. The result was that the Desies, aided by King Aengus himself and other Munster allies, drove the Ossorians from the coveted territory, then known as Magh-Femhin, having completely routed them in a battle fought at Inneoin, now Mullaghinony, near Clonmel. The Ossorians fled like wild deer, and they were followed till they reached a place called Luininn,[1] where the close of the day put an end to the pursuit ; and this place became the boundary for ever after between Munster and Leinster. And the Ossorians, concludes the ancient narrative, who were previously called the descendants of Bresal Belach (*recte* Bresal Breac), after a remote ancestor of theirs, were from this time down called Ossairghe, from *Os*,

[1] Now the river Ling-awn, which, for a considerable distance, separates the parishes of Windgap and Templeorum from the Co. Tipperary. Bawn-a-Lingawn is a small townland, on the Kilkenny side of the river, at the village of Sceach. There is a tradition of a fierce battle having been fought here from Bawnalingawn, through Castletown, Garrynarea, Kilonerry and Bawngorriv.

a wild deer, and the wild deer-like precipitance of their retreat.[1] The date of this expulsion of the Ossorians from Magh-Femhin may be approximated from the fact that Aengus mac Nathfhraich and his queen, the above Eithne, surnamed Uathach, or the hateful, were both slain in the battle of Cell-Osnadha, now Kellistown, County Carlow, on the 6th Oct., 489.[2]

Content with the annexation of Magh-Feimhin, the Desies sought no further appropriation of Ossorian territory at this period. It was not so, however, with some of their Munster neighbours and, probably, allies, in their late aggressive war. They penetrated into the interior of Ossory; drove the old natives out of Magh-Airgid-Ros and other tribe-lands: planted their own clansmen in their stead: and succeeded, for a century and a half or thereabouts, in, at least partially transferring the crown of Ossory from the lawful dynasts to CUCRAIDHE or CONCRAIDHE, the son of Duach of Cliu, and other Munster princes. "It is that Concraidh, the son of Duach of Cliu, who occupied that country [Ossory], in spite of the children of Condla, son of Besal Breac, and it was he that killed the chief of the Ui-Duach, viz., O'Bearga. For the three principal chieftains of Osraighe at that time were O'Bearga, chief of Ui-Duach, and O'Bruadar, chief of Ui-Erc, and Mac Braen of the Clanns."[3]

Cucraidhe and six others of his kindred who succeeded him as Kings in Ossory, are known as the "Seven Kings of the Corca-Laighdhe."[4] The long period of their usurpation must have been marked by many a field of blood. The old Ossorians, if beaten, were not completely subdued. Retiring into the fastnesses of their territory, whence it was impossible to dislodge them, they kept up a succession of chiefs of the Clann-Connla, side by side with the usurpers, till at length

[1] This explanation of the name Ossory seems entirely devoid of probability, though it is repeated in almost the same words in an ancient Gaelic tract published in the *Silva Gadelica*, thus:—"Osraighe, *i.e.* Oscirghe, *i.e.* deer-pace, *i.e.* it was the pace of deer they showed in flight before the Decies, when they voided the country in which to-day the Decies are seated"; and then there is added:—"Or again, Osraighe, *i.e.* Osfhrithe, *i.e.* deer-waif, *i.e.* it was amongst wild deer that Aengus, progenitor of the Ossorians, was picked up." The explanation of Osraighe in the text above (p. 27), is that given by O'Donovan, and there can be little doubt of its being the correct one. The name sometimes appears under the forms Osraidhe, Osruidhe and Osruighe. In the *Book of Leinster*, Ossory is frequently mentioned, and always as *Ossairge*. The same volume mentions the founder of the kingdom of Ossory as Oengus Osfrithe, in the nom. case, and as Oengusa Osrithi, Oengussa Osfrithi and Oengusa Osreti, in the gen. case.

[2] *Four Masters.*

[3] Mac Firbis's *Genealogies*, p. 627. *R. I. A.*

[4] The tribe-land of the Corca-Laighdhe comprised, but was not entirely restricted to, the Diocese of Ross, in the Co. Cork. Cape Clear, in this territory, was the birth-place of St. Kieran, patron of Ossory, whose mother, Liadhain, was of the Corca-Laighdhe. There is no explanation of the strange fact that Cucraidhe and those of his family who reigned in Ossory, are called "Kings of the Corca-Laighdhe," in ancient writings, while at the same time their descent is traced by our genealogists from the Eoghanachts of Munster, who were quite a different tribe from the Corca-Laighdhe. In the beginning of the 11th century the principal family of the Corca-Laighdhe adopted the surname of O'Driscoll.

they succeeded in subduing the tribe of the Corca-Laighdhe, and expelling them,—except a small remnant left in Magh-Airgid-Ros,—over the western frontier of Ossory.

King Cucraidhe was the contemporary of Aengus mac Nathfhraich, King of Munster, and Eithne, his wife, who were both slain, as already stated, in A.D. 489. He was also the contemporary and friend of St. Kieran of Saighir, whose mother was of the same tribe of the Corca-Laighdhe. His daughter, Mughaine, is stated to have been the wife of Dermod mac Carroll, King of Ireland, slain in 565.

Feradhach Mac Duach, another of the Kings of the Corca-Laighdhe dynasty, was slain, in 582, by the Clann-Connla, *i.e.*, the true Ossorians, according to the *Three Fragments of Irish Annals* :—

"A.D. 582. The killing of Feradhach Finn, son of Duach, King of Osraighe. He was the third king, who, in the time of Colum Cille, went to Heaven; and this was the reason, as Colum Cille had told to Aedh, son of Ainmire.

"Feradhach was seized with great sickness; and the race of Connla came to take a house upon him, because Feradhach son of Duach, was of the Corca-Laighdhe, for seven Kings of the Corca-Laighdhe assumed the Kingship of Osraighe, and seven Kings of the Osraighi took the Kingship of Corca-Laighdhe.

"He afterwards waged war with the race of Connla; and he was in his couch, having all his valuables there, as was the custom of Kings to have couches of yew around them, in which they had a collection of their bars and ingots of silver, and their cups and vessels, to give them for service by night, and their chessmen and chess-boards, and their hurlets of bronze for day service.

"Many were the valuables in the possession of Feradhach, and great was his love of them; but in an evil way did he acquire them, for he had not heard of rich or poor in Osraighe, having little or much of gold or silver, that he did not seize, to take such property from him to ornament these valuables. His sons came to Feradhach to his bed, to carry away the valuables with them. 'What is your desire, O, my sons?' said Feradhach. 'To carry away the valuables with us,' replied the sons. 'Ye shall not carry them away,' said Feradhach, 'for they were ill-gotten. I have oppressed many in procuring them, and I consent to be oppressed myself by my enemies on account of them.' His sons departed from him and he took to earnest penance. The race of Connla afterwards came and slew Feradhach, and carried away the valuables, and Feradhach went to Heaven."

Colman, the son and successor of Feradhach mac Duach, was the bosom friend of St. Canice of Aghaboe, to whom he presented, by way of a pious offering, one of his principal residences ("magnum de castellis, propter celum, Kannecho dedit").[1] The saint once rendered him a signal service. The Clann-Connla, determined to shake off the yoke of the stranger, rose up in arms against Colman, and under the leadership of two of their chiefs, Maelodhar and Maelgarbh, achieved such success in the effort, that the king had to shut himself up in his stronghold, which they closely invested. St. Canice, learning of the perilous position of his friend, set out from Aghaboe to his assistance. On his arrival at the beleaguered stronghold, he found it already in flames and about to fall into the besiegers' hands. Entering the burning pile, unknown and unobserved, he sought out Colman, and led him forth unscathed, amidst showers of

[1] *Vita S. Kannechi*, c. xliii.

arrows and darts from his enemies, and conducting him to a place of safety he thus addressed him: "Remain here; and although you are alone to-day, you shall not be so to-morrow. Three men will come to you at first in this place, after them three hundred, and on the third day you shall be again King of all Ossory." And so, adds the Saint's Life, it came to pass.[1]

At A.D. 601, the *Four Masters* relate that "Colman, son of Feradhach, chief of Ossory, died." This entry, if accurate, would give Colman a reign of about nineteen years. Its accuracy, however, is more than doubtful. It would well seem that for "Colman, son of Feradhach," we should here read, "Colman, son of Bicne Caoch," (of whom later on), and that the death of the former Colman occurred, after a short reign, several years previous to A.D. 601. This view is borne out by some ancient accounts of the Synod of Drom Ceat; also by the translator of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, who writes that, *in the interval* between the death of the Ard-Righ, Dermod Mac Carroll, and that of the Ard-Righ, Aed mac Ainmire, that is, *from A.D.* 565 *to* 599, Colman, and (*after* him) Ceanfoyla, reigned in Ossory.[2]

CEANNFAELADH, or "CEANFOYLA," who succeeded Colman, was another of the Corca-Laighdhe line of Kings. The date of his death is not recorded.

AEDH OSRAIGHE, also called Aedh Finn, and Aedh the Cleric, was likewise of the Corca-Laighdhe dynasty, and ruled in Ossory, probably in the first years of the 7th century. He appears to have become an ecclesiastic late in life, which would account for his being called the "Cleric." He had two daughters (*a*) Duinsech, who was Queen of the Ard-Righ, Donnell, son of Aedh, and died in 635; and (*b*) Croinsech, Queen of Maelcobha, who was Ard-Righ about 612.

NUATA.—His name occurs in the List of Ossory Kings in the *Book of Leinster*.

SCANLAN, SON OF CEANNFAELADH, was the last Ossory King of the tribe of the Corca-Laighdhe. The Ard-Righ, Aedh mac Ainmire (572-99), suspecting Ceannfaeladh, King of Ossory, of disaffection, compelled him to give up his son, Scanlan, as a hostage for his fidelity, on condition that at the end of a year he should be released, St. Columbkille becoming security for his safety. When the year had elapsed, however, the Ard-Righ, instead of liberating Scanlan, cast him into a loathsome dungeon, tied down with iron chains and guarded by soldiers. This cruel and unjust treatment of Scanlan, and the insult offered thereby to his guarantee, St. Columbkille, were among the various causes that led to the holding

[1] *Vita S. Kannechi*, cc., xliii. and xliv.
[2] *Ann. of Clonmacnoise*, edited by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., p. 81.

of the Synod of Drom Ceat, near Limavady, County Londonderry, in the year 573,[1] 587,[2] or 590.[3]

St. Columbkille himself attended the Synod, and there pleaded earnestly before the King, for justice to the son of the King of Ossory. He afterwards visited the young prince in prison,

"And when he had blessed him, he comforted him, saying: 'Son, be not sorrowful, but rather rejoice and be comforted; for King Aedh, who has you a prisoner,[4] will go out of this world before you, and, after some time of exile, you shall reign in your own nation thirty years. And again you shall be driven from your kingdom, and shall be an exile for some days; after which, called home again by your people, you shall reign for three short terms.' All which was fully accomplished, according to the prophecy of the Saint. For after reigning for thirty years, he was expelled, and was in exile for some space of time, but being invited home again by his people, he reigned, not three years, as he expected, but three months; after which he immediately died." [5]

Ere taking leave of Scanlan, at the close of the Synod of Drom Ceat, St. Columbkille gave him his pastoral staff, to be his protection on his homeward journey to Ossory, directing him, at the same time, to leave it, on the way, with his disciple, St. Laisren, who then ruled as Abbot over the great Columbian monastery of Durrow, in the King's Co. ("monens ipsum demum baculum S. Laisreno discipulo suo, Monasterii Dermagensis tunc rectori, retradat)".[6] The Saint's commission Scanlan faithfully discharged.

There is a great deal of confusion as to the identity of the Ossory prince, whose release from the Ard-Righ's fetters was a matter of such anxiety to St. Columbkille. Thus, in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, he is called "Scanlan, son of Colman," and is promised a reign of thirty years and more, as above; in the *Trias Thaumaturga*, he is "Scandulanus Magnus, filius Kenfelii principis Ossoriae," and is similarly promised a reign of more than thirty years; the *Yellow Book of Lecan* calls him "Scanlan," and says that on the day of his return to Ossory, his father died, and that he subsequently became King; he is called "Sganlan Mor, (son of Ceannfaeladh), *King* of Ossory" in O'Mahony's *Keating*, which further states, that one of the reasons for the assembling of the Synod of Drum Ceat, was to secure his deposition from his Kingdom for refusing to pay head-rent to the Ard-Righ, and the appointment of his son Illan, as King in his stead; and in Lynch's *Keating*, where a similar statement is made regarding the convoking of the Synod, he is called "Scanlanus Mor, Ossiriae regulus" (that is, chief of Ossory), and his son's name is written "Iollanus."

[1] *Ann. of Ulster.*
[2] *Ann. of Clonmacnoise.*
[3] *Ann. of Tighernach*, which according to O'Donovan, give the true date.
[4] From this it would seem that Scanlan was *not* liberated at the Synod of Drom Ceat. Probably, he remained in prison till the death of the monarch, Aedh, who was slain Jan. 10th, 599.
[5] *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, translated by Most Rev. Dr. McCarthy, Bishop of Kerry, Book I., c. ii.
[6] *Trias Thaum.*, p. 433.

All this confusion arises from there being, about this period, two Kings or Chiefs of Ossory, both named Scanlan, viz., Scanlan, son of Ceannfaeladh, of the race of the Corca-Laighdhe, and Scanlan Mor, son of Colman Mor, of the race of the Clann-Connla. To make confusion worse confounded, two Colmans also appear on the stage of Ossory history about the same time, viz.: Colman, son of Feradhach, one of the Corca-Laighdhe Kings, and Colman, otherwise Colman Mor, the father of Scanlan Mor, and son of Bicne Caoch.

After as full an investigation of the subject, as the authorities to hand will permit, we have unhesitatingly identified the Ard-Righ's prisoner with Scanlan, son of Ceannfaeladh, rather than with Scanlan Mor, son of Colman Mor, for this reason, among others, that the extraordinary interest taken in his case by St. Columbkille can only have been aroused by that Saint's dearest friend, companion and fellow-labourer in the conversion of the Picts, viz., St. Canice of Aghaboe, whose sympathies, as we have already seen, lay so strongly on the side of the Corca-Laighdhe Kings, and who might very naturally be expected to secure the powerful influence of St. Columbkille, on behalf of the son of the existing ruler of that line.

Scanlan, son of Ceannfaeladh, died about 620 or 630. He was the last of the Corca-Laighdhe Kings of Ossory.

CHAPTER III.

KINGS OF OSSORY FROM ABOUT A.D. 600 TO A.D. 887. RONAN RIGH FLAITH, SCANLAN MOR, FAELAN, TUAMSNAMHA, ETC.

RONAN RIGH FLAITH.—Towards the close of the 6th century the power of the Corca-Laighdhe usurpers in Ossory began to decline, and that of the native chiefs of the Clann-Connla to be again in the ascendant. Among the latter, the descendants of Laighnech Faeladh came into special prominence about this period. His grandson, Maelgarbh, son of Seanchan, together with Maelodhar, were, as we have seen, the leaders in the war against Colman, son of Feradhach. Another grandson of his, Colman Mor, son of Bicne Coach was probably the Colman[1] (misnamed "son of Feradhach"), King of Ossory, who died in A.D. 601.[2] Colman Mor had four sons, Ronan Righ Flaith, King of Ossory; Scanlan Mor, King of Ossory; Maelaicthen; and Bran. Ronan Righ Flaith, or Ronan the Royal Prince, is mentioned in the List of Ossory Kings in the *Book of Leinster*. The date of his death is unknown.

SCANLAN MOR, was the brother and successor of Ronan Righ Flaith. Some Fragmentary Annals in the *Silva Gadelica* give him the credit of banishing "the entire tribe of Corca-Laighdhe away out of the land of Ossory." He died, according to the *Four Masters*, in 640.

[1] In the *Annals of Tighernach* he is called Colman, son of Aedh, and his death is assigned to the year 605, thus:—
"A.D. 605. The death of Colman, son of Aedh, King of Ossory. (*Bass Colmain mc Aedha Ri Osraidhi.*)"
[2] *Four Masters.*

FAELAN, son of Crundmael, son of Ronan Righ Flaith. His death is entered in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, thus :

"A.D. 656. Faelan, King of Osraighe, was mortally wounded by the Leinstermen."

TUAMSNAMHA, otherwise CICAIRE, great-grandson of Colman Mor. The *Three Fragments of Annals* have :

"A.D. 678. A battle was fought between the Ui-Ceinseallaigh and the Osraighe, in which Tuaim-snamha, *i.e.* Cicaire, King of Osraighe, was slain. Faelan Senchostal, King of Ui-Ceinsellaigh, was the victor. On which was said :—

"The battle by Tuaim-snamha could not be gained ;
Which he fought against his will.
Faelan respite with difficulty,
To him gave, in appearance ; his grant was betrayal,
So that he took the hostages of Osraighe from Buana to Cumor.

According to the List of Kings of Ui-Ceinseallaigh, in the *Book of Leinster*, Faelan Senchostal fought seven battles with the Ossory men, and it was in the last of these that Tuaim-snamha was slain.

FAELCHAR UA MAELODHRA.—In the list of Ossory Kings in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* he is called "ffoylcha," *i.e.*, ffoylchar. He was son of Forandle, son of Maelodhar, son of Scanlan Mor. His descendants, known as the Sil-Fhaelchair, gave name to the Barony of Shillelogher. His death is thus recorded :

"A.D. 688. There was a battle between the Leinstermen and those of Ossory, wherein ffoylcher O'Moyloyer was slaine." [1]

CUCEARCA, son of Faelan, son of Crundmael, succeeded, and was king for nineteen years, according to the *Book of Leinster*. He died in 710 or 711. [2]

FLANN, brother of Tuamsnamha, and son of Cungail, son of Maelaicthen, son of Colman Mor ; and

AILILL, brother of Cucearca, had each but a short reign.

CEALLACH ROIGHNE, [3] son of Faelchar Ua Maelodhra :

"A.D. 730. The battle of Bealach Ele was fought between Cathal, son of Finguine, King of Munster, and the Leinstermen, where many of the Leinstermen were slain. There fell of the Munstermen here Ceallach, son of Faelchar, chief of Osraighe, and the two sons of Cormac, son of Rossa, chief of the Desies, with three thousand along with them." [4]

FORBASACH, son of Ailill :

"A.D. 737. fforbosach mcAileala, King of Ossery, was killed." [5]

[1] *Ann. of Clonmacnoise.*
[2] *Four Masters.*
[3] That is, Ceallach, of the Plain of Magh Raighne.
[4] *F. M.*
[5] *Ann. of Clonmacn.*

ANMCHADH, a hardy warrior, son of Cucearca, succeeded.[1] In 741 he fought the battle of Rath-cuile, in which Uargus, son of Factna or Fichra of the Desies, was slain; in 742, a battle in which Cairbre, Fearghus, and Caicher, sons of Cumascach, were slain and sixteen chieftains along with them; in 745, the battle of Inis-Snaig; in 754, the battle of Gabhran (or Gowran), which he gained over the Leinstermen; and in 756, the battle of Bealach-Gabhrain (probably identical with the preceding battle), which he also gained over the Leinstermen, and in which Donngal, son of Laidhgnen, Lord of Ui-Ceinsealaigh, and other chieftains along with him, were slain.[2] The date of the valiant Anmchadh's death is not given, but it must be about 760.

TUAMSNAMHA, son of Flann, son of Cungail, fought the battle of Ard na mBreac (Height of the Trouts), in 762. In 764 he gained a victory over some of his rebellious subjects, led by the sons of Ceallach Roighne, son of Faelchar, but in the following year they deprived him of both his crown and life.

DUNGHAL, the son of Ceallach Roighne, and probably leader in the late insurrection, next became King; he died in 767.

FAELAN, son of Forbasach, son of Ailill, also fell a victim to his rebellious subjects, for it is recorded that he was slain by the Osraighi themselves, in 786.

MAELDUIN, son of Cumascach (and probably brother of the sons of Cumascach, slain, as above, in 742), was slain in the battle of Cluain-Miolain, in 790, by Fearhgal, son of Anmchadh, son of Cucearca.

FEARGHAL, son of Anmchadh, having imbrued his hands in the blood of his predecessor, mounted the throne, and after a reign of twelve years, died in 802.[3]

DUNGHAL, also called DUNLANG, the son of Fearghal, succeeded, and reigned 40 years, according to the List in the *Book of Leinster*:

"A.D. 842. Dungal, son of Fergal, King of Osraighe, moritur."[4]

CEARBHALL, son of Dunghal or Dunlang, son of Fearghal, succeeded, and may justly claim to be considered the most famous of the Kings of Ossory. In 844, he defeated the Norsemen or Danes at Cuil-moine; and in the following year he slew twelve hundred of the Danes of Dublin, at a place called CRAN-BRAMMIT.[5] In 851, Eachtighern, lord of South Leinster, was treacherously slain by Bruadar, son of Aedh, and Cearbhall, son of Dunghal.

[1] List in *Book of Leinster.*
[2] *Four Masters.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Chron. Scot.*
[5] *Four Masters.*

"A.D. 852. . . . . Nearly at this time Rodolph [a chief of the Danes or Lochlanns] came with his forces to plunder Osraighe. But Cearbhall, son of Dunlang, assembled a host to oppose them, and gave them battle, and defeated the Lochlanns. A large party of the defeated, however, went on horseback, to the top of a high hill, from which they viewed the slaughtered around them, and saw their own people slaughtered like sheep. They were seized with a great desire of revenge, and what they did was to draw their swords and take their arms and come down to the Osraighi, a party of whom they slew. They were nevertheless driven back in defeated rout. This defeat was given them at Ath-Muiceadha. Here Glifit met Cearbhall himself at the time of the defeat, his people having separated from him. A party of the Lochlanns came up with him and took him prisoner; but by the Lord's assistance he was relieved. He himself tore his clothes and the bonds that were upon him, and escaped in safety from them. Great, indeed, was the slaughter that was made of the Lochlanns there."[1]

This "great slaughter" of the foreigners, the site of which has been hitherto unidentified, occurred along the line of the Ballynaslee road, near the bounds of Ballyconra. Human remains have been turned up here in large quantities, even within recent years. Ath-Muiceadha, now "Ballamuicca" (Beul-Atha-Muiceadha), is the adjacent ford over the Nore, at the northern extremity of Anker's Island, which is the point of junction of Ballynaslee and Ballyconra.

"A.D. 852. At this time also came the Danes, *i.e.*, Horm and his people, to Cearbhall, son of Dunlang, and Cearbhall assisted them against the Lochlanns, for they were afraid of being overpowered by the stratagems of the Lochlanns. Cearbhall, therefore, took them to him honorably, and they frequently accompanied him in gaining victories over the foreigners and the Gaeidhil."[2]

In this year also Cearbhall aided the Danes and the men of Munster, in gaining a victory over the Lochlanns, at Crohane, in the Barony of Slieveardagh, County Tipperary.

"A.D. 857. A victory was gained by Cearbhall, Lord of Osraighe, and by Imhar, in the territory of Aradh-tire [now the Barony of Arra, or Duharra, in the north-west of the Co. Tipperary], over the Cinel-Fiachach with the Gallgaeidhills of Leath-Chuinn. Four hundred above six thousand was the the number which came with Cearbhal and Imhar. The plundering of Leinster by Cearbhall, son of Dunlang."[3]

In 859, a great army was led by Cearbhall and his Danish ally, Amhlaeibh, into Meath, which they spoiled for the space of three months, although their hostages were in the hands of Maelseachlainn, its King; nor did they desist until they had stripped all the territory of its property. Peace was soon after made between both chieftains, at the Synod of Rath-Hugh, by the Archbishop of Armagh and the Coarb of Finnian of Clonard; and Cearbhall submitted to the successor of Patrick, and made a league with the men of the north of Ireland. In the same year he renewed the Fair of Roighne; and made a slaughter of the people of Rodolph, *i.e.*, the foreigners of Sliabh-Mairge, "and he slew them all except very few who escaped to the woods."[4] About this time, so great was his fame, that "many of

[1] *Three Fragments of Annals.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Four Masters.*
[4] *Three Fragments.*

the literati of Erin composed laudatory poems on Cearbhall, in which they commemorated every victory which he gained; and Aengus, the high, wise man, successor of Molua [*i.e.*, Abbot of Kyle, near Borris-in-Ossory], did so most of all." [1]

"A.D. 860. Cearbhall gave a great overthrow to the fleet of the Lochlanns, at Achadh-mic-Earclaidhe, in Ossory, more than half of the enemy having been killed in the engagement, and such as escaped fled to their ships." [2]

"A.D. 861. The killing of the foreigners at Fearta-na-gCaireach, by Cearbhall, so that forty heads were left to him, and that he banished them from the territory." [3]

"A.D. 863. A dreadful slaughter was made of the fleet of Rodlaibh, by Cearbhall, son of Dunlang and Cineide, son of Gaeithin, *i.e.* the son of Cearhball's sister." [4]

"A.D. 864. Cearbhall, son of Dunlang, plundered Leinster. It was not long after this that the Leinstermen assembled themselves and the Lochlanns, and plundered Osraighe in revenge of this. It was a great pity: such of the Osraighi as fled into Munster were all killed and plundered; and this distressed the mind of Cearbhall the more, that the people he took for friends, namely the Eoghanachts, should plunder and kill them. He thought little of the doings of the enemies, for he did not wonder at their doing what they did, for they were entitled to it. He therefore assembled an army of Gaeidhil and Lochlanns and spoiled the neighbouring lands [of the Eoghanachts]; he spoiled Magh Feimhin and Fera Muighe [Fermoy], and carried off the hostages of many tribes. The plundering of the Desies, and the total spoiling of Ui-Aengusa [*i.e.* the tribe-land of the descendants of Aengus Mac Nadhfraich, King of Cashel], by Cearbhall, son of Dunlang." [5]

"A.D. 869. The spoyling of Leinster by Hugh MacNeill untill Gavran [*i.e.* as far as Gowran]. Cerval MacDungail, with his forces, came to hinder them to Dunbolg; but Leinstermen spoyled Cervall and MacGaeihine's mansion places, and killed some men, and did flee back with their King, viz., Muireach macBrain, and some of them were killed." [6]

In 871, Cearbhall, in conjunction with the King of Cashel, plundered Connaught; and in 872, he plundered the territory of the Desies of Waterford, as far as Youghal. On the death of Ivar Beinlaus, in the following year, Cearbhall became King of the Danes of Dublin, and was recognised as such till his death.[7] In 876 the Leinstermen were defeated at Uachtar-dara, and the South Leinstermen were slaughtered at Fulachta, by the Ossorians; and a victory was gained by Cearbhall, son of Dunghal, and by the Desies, over the Munstermen. Cearbhall's son, Cuilen, was slain by the Norsemen, in 884. Soon after the old warrior King himself passed out of life, as we find duly recorded in the Irish Annals:

"A.D. 885. Cearbhall, son of Dunghal, Lord of Osraighe, died." [8]
"A.D. 887. Cervall MacDungail, King of Ossory, subita morte periit." [9]

The List of Ossory Kings in the *Book of Leinster*, after stating that Cearbhall

[1] *Three Fragments.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Four Masters.*
[4] *Three Fragments of Annals.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ann. of Clonmacnoise.*
[7] *Landnamabok*, p. 4.
[8] *Four Masters.*
[9] *Ann. Ultoniae.*

ruled over Ossory for forty years, adds: "There is not in Erin a triocha-ced [*i.e.*, a cantred] that did not pay him tribute."

In Saighir-Ciarain, the burial-place of his family, there is a horizontal slab with an Irish cross of early and very beautiful design incised thereon; parallel to the shaft is the following Irish inscription, which, though very much worn away towards the end, is still decipherable:

Oṅ do Cherbaill,

that is, "A prayer for Cearbhall." As there is no mention of any ecclesiastic named Cearbhall, in connection with Saighir-Ciarain: and as this inscription, from its position on the slab, would denote that it commemorates a laic, rather than a cleric, the presumption is very strong that the Cearbhall, for whose soul a prayer is here sought, is no other than Cearbhall, the valiant son of Dunghal, King of Ossory.

Cearbhall married Maelfebhal, daughter of Maelseachlann, King of Ireland, (who had married Cearbhall's sister, Lann), and by her he had five sons and two daughters, viz.: (1) Ceallach, King of Ossory; (2) Diarmaid, King of Ossory; (3) Cuilen, slain in 884; (4) Braenan, slain by the Desies, in 887, ancestor of the O'Brenans of Ui-Duach; and (5) Dunghal, slain by the people of Leix, in 897. (1) Mor, Queen of South Leinster, who died "in penitentia," after a good life, in 916; and (2) the wife of Duibhghiolla, chief of Idrone.

Lann, or Flanna, sister of Cearbhall, was married, first, to Gaeithin, King of Leix; secondly to Maelseachlann, King of Ireland (died 863); and thirdly to Aedh Finnliath, King of Ireland (died 879). She died in 886, "after a good life and after penance, at Chuain-mic-nois, and she was there interred."[1] Flann Sionna, her son by Maelseachlann, died King of Ireland, in 916, being then 68 years of age.

[1] *Four Masters.*

CHAPTER IV.

KINGS OF OSSORY FROM A.D. 887 TO A.D. 976.—RIAGAN, DIARMAID, CEALLACH, DIARMID, CUILEN, AND DONNCHADH.

RIAGAN, son of Dunghal, and brother of Cearbhal, was the next King of Ossory, according to the List in the *Book of Leinster*. The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* incorrectly call him "ffiaghna." In 888, "a battle was gained by Riagan, son of Dunghal, over the foreigners of Port-Lairge, Loch-Garman, and Teach-Moling, in which two hundred heads were left behind."[1] Two other events may, perhaps, be assigned to this reign, viz., a slaughter of the Eoghanachta, at Grian-Airbh, by the Osraighi, *i.e.*, by the son of Cearbhal and the Leinstermen, in 891; and a battle at Gowran, in 893, by the Deisi, the foreigners, and Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, probably with the Leinstermen, in which Maelmordha, son of Maelmhuaidh, and a great number of others along with him, were slain.[2] Riagan must have been far advanced in life when he became King of Ossory. He held the reins of government but six years, according to the *Annals of Innisfallen*, and he, therefore, either died or abdicated, in 891 or 893.

DIARMAID, son of Cearbhall, next became King, but was deposed in the year 900.

CEALLACH "of the hard conflicts," also son of Cearbhall, was made King in his brother's place. He took part in the battle of Gowran, as stated above, in 893. He was slain, together with his son, Muircheartach, in the battle of Bealach Mughna,[3] fighting on the side of the illustrious King-Bishop of Cashel, Cormac

[1] *Four Masters.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] John O'Donovan identifies Bealach Mughna with Ballaghmoon, in the southern extremity of the Co. Kildare; others identify it with Ballymoon, near Leighlin, in Co. Carlow.

mac Cuileannan. The date of this battle is 903, according to the *Four Masters*, or 907, otherwise 908, according to the *Annals of Ulster*.

It will be of interest to set down here the stipends paid, at this period, to the Kings of Ossory, by the Ard-Righs and provincial Kings; and the tributes paid to the Ard-Righs and provincial Kings by the Ossorians, as they are given in the *Leabar na gCeart*, or *Book of Rights*, a document dating, in its present revised form, from the beginning of the tenth century:

Should the King of Cashel happen to be Ard-Righ of Erin, then he is to receive a month's feasting, that is, refection, from the Ossorians; and his stipend to the King of Ossory, who is here styled "the hero," and "the King," of Gabhran, or Gowran (probably because Gowran was at the time his favourite place of residence), is thus recorded:

"Thirty steeds, thirty coats of mail
To the hero of Gabhran of fair colour,
It was not grooms that lashed them;
Forty swords for battle." [1]

As forming part of Leath-Mhogha, or the southern half of Ireland, the Ossorians were subjects of the King of Cashel, yet their King paid him no tribute:

"Subject to his [*i.e.* the King of Cashel's] rights, therefore,
Are the beauteous tribe of the Osriadhe,
For they were given as a noble eric
To the King of Cashel with his law,

. . . . . .

"There are three Kings in great Mumha,
Whose tribute to Cashel is not due,
The King of Gabhran, whose hostages are not to be seized on,
The King of Raithleann, the King of Loch Lein." [2]

If the King of Cashel be not King over all Ireland, then his stipend to the "King of blue Gabhran" is "ten steeds, and ten drinking-horns, and ten swords, and ten shields, and ten scings, and two rings, and two chess-boards." Again,

"The active King of the Osraidhe is entitled to have
From two Kings, as his full claim,
Every year at his house
Two choice stipends, that is to say:

"Entitled from the King of north Teamhair,
Is the King of the Osraidhe of great prerogatives
To ten shields and ten swords
And ten steeds across the great plains:

[1] *Leabar na gCeart*, p. 41.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-9.

"Entitled from the hardy King of Cashel,
Is the noble King of Osraidhe as a prerogative,
To ten shields and ten swords
And two rings of red gold." [1]

Again,

"The stipend of the King of fair Gabhran,
From the King of great and merry Munster,
A pleasing distinction in his crowded house,
The King is entitled to sit by his side.

"And at the time he [*i.e.* the King of Cashel] goes to his own [*i.e.* the King of Gabhran's] house
He [*i.e.* the King of Gabhran] is entitled to a steed and trappings, too,
And of the number who go [with the King of Cashel] eastward,
A steed and dress for every man."

The tribute of the Osraidhi, or Osraighi, to the King of Laighin, or Leinster, was "two hundred beeves and two hundred cows and two hundred cloaks"; whilst from the King of Leinster,

"Entitled is the noble King of Osraidhe,
To twelve greyhounds of goodly breed,
Twelve steeds to him, without abatement,
With choice good chariots." [2]

DIARMAID, son of Cearbhall, the deposed King of Ossory, was again placed on the throne of this territory, after his brother, Ceallach's, death. His reinstatement was due to his first cousin, the Ard-Righ, Flann Sionna, who, after his victory at Ballaghmoon, "came with a numerous royal body of horse, and escorted Diarmaid mac Cearbhall into the Kingdom of Osraighe; [he then] returned home, after having left Diarmaid in the Kingdom of Osraighe, and after having ratified an amicable peace between him and his brethren." [3] The peace was, however, a short one, for in 910, some of Diarmaid's subjects rose against him, and he had to secure the aid of Aedh, son of Dubhghioll, King of Ui-Drona, to enable him to suppress the insurrection. During the struggle that ensued Diarmaid and Aedh destroyed the south of Magh-Raighne, and the Church of the Nuns.[4]

"A.D. 911. The son of Braenan, son of Cearbhall, was slain in the middle of his own fortress, and though Diarmaid thought that he would be the better of the killing of his brother's son, it did not turn out so to him, for in consequence of this all the Clann-Dunghaile rose up against Diarmaid; and as if Ceallach would not rise against him, Maelmordha, the son of a brother of his [*recte*, son of an uncle of his, viz., Riagan, former King of Ossory], rose up against him, being mindful of the cruelty which Diarmaid had exercised against his father when he was an old man; and this Maelmordha rose up fiercely and vigorously against Diarmaid, and they divided Osraighe into two parts by that war. There was great slaughter between them. The son of Aedh, son of Dubhghiolla, (who was the son of the daughter of Cearbhall, son of Dunlang), came also against Diarmaid, for it was bitter to him

[1] *Leabhar na gCeart*, pp. 81-3.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 253.
[3] *Three Fragments of Annals.*
[4] See p. 14, *supra*.

that the son of his mother's brother and his *alumnus* (dalta), should have been killed by Diarmaid. Many nobles were killed in this war, and many churches were wasted." [1]

In 920, Maelmordha, son of Riagan, tanist, or next successor to the kingship of Osraighe, died. A few years later King Diarmaid himself passed away, according to the *Four Masters* :

"A.D. 927. Diarmaid, son of Cearbhall, Lord of Osraighe, died."

Cuilen, son of Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, succeeded and reigned four years. About the second year of his reign, the Danes of Limerick, under Imhar, grandson of Imhar, invaded Osraighe, and made a settlement at Loch Bethrach, in Magh-Raighne ; and in the following year the Danes of Dublin came to expel them, perpetrating, ere their return, the horrible massacre of Dearc Ferna.[2] In recording his death, under the year 932, the *Annals of Ulster* call Cuilen, "optimus laicus" ; the *Four Masters* merely have :

"A.D. 931. Cuilen, son of Ceallach, King of Osraighe, died."

Donnchadh, also called Donnchadh Ramhor, or the Fat, son of Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, succeeded, on the death of his brother Cuilen, and ruled his native territory, with great distinction and credit to himself, for more than 40 years. His brother Flann, the tanist, or King-elect of Ossory, died in 937 ; and in the following year, "Ceallaghan [King] of Cashell, made a great slaughter on those of Ossorie." [3]

In 941, Muircheartach mac Neill, prince of Aileach, and heir-apparent to the throne of Ireland, whose wife was Dubhdara, sister of Donnchadh, King of Ossory, invaded Ossory and the Desies, and plundered and ravaged the entire country as far as Les Ruadhrach, so that the inhabitants submitted to him.[4] In the winter of this year the same prince, Muircheartach, made his famous Circuit of Ireland, starting with his thousand leather-cloaked warriors, from the North of Ireland, and "keeping his left hand to the sea until he arrived in Dublin," and marching thence, in succession, through Leinster, Munster, Connaught and Ulster. He entered Co. Kilkenny from Carlow, having stayed the previous night at Ballaghmoon, probably in the Co. Kildare. From the poetic description of the Circuit, composed by Muircheartach's poet, Cormacan Eigeas, in 942, we extract the following verses descriptive of the march through Ossory :

"A night we passed at Bealach Mughna
We did not wet our fine hair ;
The snow was on the ground before
In the noisy Bealach Gabhrain.

[1] *Three Fragments of Annals.*
[2] See p. 14, *supra.*
[3] *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*
[4] *Four Masters.*

"We were a night at the clear Fliodais;[1]
We received food and ale,
And hogs were sent to our camp,
By the hospitable chiefs of Ossory.

"The reward of their hospitality was given to them,
To the men of Ossory in the Assembly;
Not a man of them returned to his house,
Without a beautiful present of dress.

"We were a night at the cold Magh Airbh,
At the wells of the long-lived Britan,
A night at the plain of Doire-mor,
Where we received our due honour."[2]

The Irish Annals record the following events relating to Ossory, during King Donnchadh's reign:

"A.D. 946. A battle was gained by Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, King of Osraighe, over the Lagenians, in which were slain Braen, son of Maelmordha, King of Laighen, and Ceallach, son of Cinaedh, King of Ui-Ceinnsealaigh, with many more."[3]

"A.D. 956. Clonvicknose was preyed by those of Ossorie."[4]

"A.D. 962. A victory was gained over Amlaeibh, son of Sitric, by the Osraighi, *i.e.* at Inis-Teoc [Inistioge], where many of the foreigners were slain, together with Batbarr, son of Nira."[5]

"A.D. 965. Maelruanaidhe, son of Flann, Tanist of Osraighe, was slain."[6]

"A.D. 965. Gormghilla, son of Ceanndubhan, chief vice-abbot of Cluain-eidhnech, was killed by the Osraighi."[7]

"A.D. 967. Aedh Allan, son of Fearghal, Lord of Osraighe, died."[8]

"A.D. 972. Another battle was gained by the Osraighi over the Ui-Ceinnsealaigh, wherein Domhnall, son of Ceallach, [Lord of Ui-Ceinnsealaigh], was slain. A slaughter was made of the Osraighi in Iarthar Liphi, in which were slain two thousand men and sixty young lords, and among the rest, Diarmaid son of Donnchadh, Tanist of Osraighe."[9]

"A.D. 973. Muireadhach, son of Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, Tanist of Osraighi, died."[10]

King Donnchadh's death is thus entered in the *Annals:*

"A.D. 974. Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, King of Osraighe, moritur."[11]

"A.D. 976. Dondch. m Cell., Rex Ossoriæ, in senile aetate mortuus est."[12]

[1] John O'Donovan supposes this to have been a poetic name for the river Nore. There can be but little doubt that Muircheartach's camp by "the clear Fliodais" was somewhere on the site of the present city of Kilkenny.

[2] *Circuit of Muircheartach.*

[3] In a poem quoted by the *Four Masters*, this battle is stated to have been fought at Ath-Cliath, *i.e.* Dublin, and the number of the slain is set down at four hundred.

[4] *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*

[5] *Four Masters.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] This entry of the *Four Masters* is incorrect. Aedh Allan could not have been Lord or King of Ossory, at this date, as both before and after it Donnchadh occupied that position; neither is he mentioned in the List of Kings in the *Book of Leinster.* Perhaps he was a chief over some sub-division of Ossory, or for Osraighe some other territory should be given.

[9] *Four Masters.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Chron. Scot.*

[12] *Annals of Tighernach.*

He rests, with his forefathers, in the churchyard of Saighir-Chiarain. He is thus eulogized by Dr. Lynch :—

"Donnchadh, King of Ossory, son of Cellach and father-in-law of Donnchadh, son of Flann, King of Ireland, was a man of singular piety. He devoted much of his time to prayer to Almighty God, frequently purged away the stains of his soul by confession, and strengthened himself in virtue by frequent communion. By his zeal all the principal churches in Ossory were enabled to dispense, by the privileges of the Apostles, very liberal charity to the poor; great numbers of his friends also took orphans and other poor, under their protection; every house in Ossory was obliged by his orders, to have three vessels, in one of which each inmate deposited a tenth of his food; in another was kept the portion of the poor commonly called Mihal [*i.e.* Mir Michil, portio Sancti Michaelis]; and in the third, which may be called crematha, were kept the crumbs and fragments, which were specially under the care of the mistress of the house.

"The Kings of Ossory are honoured by our annalists with a peculiar distinction, not given to the princes of other minor territories. In giving the synchronism of the Kings of the Pentarchy with the supreme monarchs of Ireland, they give the succession of the Kings of Ossory as well as of Leinster, Connacht, Munster, and Ulster, on the principle, perhaps not of territorial extent, but of the superior virtue of the princes."[1]

Donnchadh had the following issue: (1) Gillapatrick, his successor; (2) Diarmaid, Tanist of Ossory, slain in 972; (3) Muireadhach, Tanist of Ossory, who died in 973; (4) Dunghal, Tanist of Ossory, who died in 979; (5) Tadhg, Tanist of Ossory, slain in 991; (2) Mor, Queen of Ireland, died in 985 and (3) Sadhbh or Sabia, wife of the King of Ireland, Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, who reigned from 919 to 944. Sabia was married to King Donnchadh, after the death of Duibhleamhna, his third wife, which happened in 941. As the King died in 944 her enjoyment of a share of the Irish throne must have been very brief: still it was long enough for the performance of at least one work of true piety, viz., the enclosing of Saighir churchyard by a solid wall, which, after the lapse of more than nine centuries and a-half, still remains to a considerable extent. She receives the following glowing eulogy from Cormacan Eigeas, the poetic author of the *Circuit of Muircheartach Mac Neill*:

"Sabia of Bealach-Gabhrain, district of glens,
Has surpassed the women of Erin,
In chastity, in wisdom, in purity,
In giving, in bestowing."[2]

[1] *Cambrensis Eversus*, Vol. III., pp. 317-19.
[2] *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 55.

CHAPTER V.

KINGS OF OSSORY FROM A.D. 976 TO A.D. 1103.—GILLAPATRICK, CEALLACH, DONNCHADH MAC GILLAPATRICK, GILLAPATRICK, DOMHNALL, DONNCHADH AND GILLAPATRICK RUADH.

GILLAPATRICK succeeded his father, King Donnchadh. In 982 he plundered Leithghlinn; in atonement for which, he afterwards gave the *mainchine*, *i.e.*, gifts, of his two sons to Molaisi (or Laserian) for ever, besides doing penance. Brian Borumha, son of Ceinneidigh, invaded Ossory the same year and carried off Gillapatrick a prisoner; but he released him the following year, having first, we may presume, compelled him to accept such terms as he thought well to propose. We shall see, later on, in what manner Gillapatrick's son, Donnchadh, and the Ossorians, sought to be avenged for this imprisonment, on Brian's army, when returning homeward, from the Battle of Clontarf. In 985, "an army was led by the Leinstermen into Osraighe, and they plundered the north of Osraighe and they slew there Riagan, son of Muireadhach, and the son of Cuilen"; and in 991, "Tadhg, son of Donnchadh, Tanist of Osraighe, was slain by the men of Munster."[1]

After a reign of twenty-one years[2] Gillapatrick was slain, in 996, by Donnabhan, son of Imhar, King of the Danes of Waterford, and Domhnall, son of Faelan, King of the Desies.[3] According to O'Donovan, Gillapatrick or Gillaphadraig, *i.e.*, the Servant of St. Patrick, is "the progenitor from whom the Mac Gillaphadraigs, or

[1] *Four Masters.*
[2] List of Kings, in *Book of Leinster.*
[3] *Annals of Tighernach.*

Fitzpatricks [1] of Ossory have taken their hereditary surname." By his wife, Maelmuire, *i.e.*, Servant of the B. V. Mary, he had (1) Donnchadh mac Gillapatrick, King of Ossory and of the greater part of Leinster; (2) Dunghal, slain in 1016; (3) Tadhg, blinded in 1027; (4) Diarmaid, slain in 1036; and (5) Muircheartach, Lord of Half Ossory, also slain in 1036.

CEALLACH, son of Diarmaid (slain in 972), son of Donnchadh, the next King, held the crown but a few short years, when he was slain, in 1003, by the son of his father's brother (i.e., his own first cousin), Donnchadh mac Gillapatrick.

DONNCHADH MAC GILLAPATRICK, having cleared the way to the throne by the removal of his cousin, then assumed the kingship of Ossory, and, for the next 36 years swayed the destinies of the principality. With, perhaps, the exception of his great-great-grandfather, Cearbhall, who died in 885, he must be reckoned the most powerful of the Ossory Kings; but beyond this, there is scarcely anything to be said to the credit of Donnchadh mac Gillapatrick. He secured the crown of Ossory by slaying his own cousin. In the last great struggle with the Danes, which, under the guidance of Brian Borumha, ended with the almost total annihilation of the invaders, on the glorious day of Clontarf, April 23rd, 1014, Donnchadh mac Gillapatrick and—to our shame be it said—the men of Ossory, had no part; they stood meanly and sullenly aloof from the great majority of their countrymen in this supreme crisis, when the destinies of their native land lay trembling in the balance. But Donnchadh mac Gillapatrick was capable of lower depths of meanness. Remembering that, thirty years before, his father, Gillapatrick, had suffered the indignity of imprisonment at the hands of King Brian Borumha, he determined to wipe out the insult to his family, by avenging himself on that monarch's

[1] In all Gaelic documents the name of this family is written MacGillaphadraig (pronounced Makillaphawdhrig); yet, strange to say, it is now absolutely unknown in Ossory, under this form. As it may not be uninteresting, I shall here set down the various Irish sounds or forms of the name, as I have heard it pronounced by Irish speakers up and down throughout this Diocese:—

O'Sheearrha (accent on *arr*).—Ballyragget, Conahy, and Ballyfoyle.
O'Shaerha.—Ballytarsney (Tullaroan), and Callan.
O'Shaera.—Gurtrush (Piltown), and Ballyverneen (Glenmore).
'Ac Sheearrha.—Tullagher.
'Ac Shaerha.—Trenchardstown and Kyle (Tullaroan.)

The explanation of this curious disappearance of a well-known family name from the ancient language of the country, can only be that, previous to the introduction of the English language among the Fitzpatricks, the clan, for some reason now unknown, laid aside their true patronymic, and adopted in its place another derived from one of their ancestors named Seaffraid or Seathraigh, *i.e.* Geoffry, Fitzpatrick. In north-east Kilkenny, the christian name Geoffry is in Irish pronounced *Sheearrha*, and Geoffry Fitzpatrick would be there rendered *Sheearrha O'Sheearrha*. In the Barony of Iverk, the christian name Geoffry assumes, in Irish, the Munster form *Sheearhoon*. There are several families along the Walsh mountains, who are now called Fitzpatrick, but who were formerly known as Patrick, without the prefix *Fitz*. They call themselves *Pawdhrig* in Irish, though they hold, at the same time, that their true Irish name is *'Ac Shaerha*.

broken and wounded Dalcassian heroes, on their weary homeward march from Clontarf :

"After the battle the Dalcassians took their wounded with them to Ath-I, on the Berbha ; and their sick were laid down there, and they drank of the water of the ford, and their wounds were cleansed. At that time Donnchadh mac Gillapatrick, King of Osraighe, and the Leixians, were in battle array in Magh Chloinne Ceallaigh in wait for them, and they had scouts out to inform them of the path they should take that they might give them battle, for they were natural enemies to each other, for it was by Brian his [Donnchadh's] father had been put in fetters and kept a year in custody.

"And now Brian's son and the Dal-Cais [Dalcassians] came in close martial array to Ath-I, on the Berbha, as we have said before ; and when the Osraighi saw that, they sent messengers to demand hostages from Brian's son, or to demand battle should they not receive hostages. And the messengers reached the son of Brian ; and they were questioned as to their errand ; and they related the business on which they came. And then the son of Brian said that it was no wonder that the son of Maelmuaidh and the Deas-Mumhain should ask for hostages and alternate sovereignty from the Dal-Cais, because their blood was the same as that of the Dal-Cais ; but they did wonder that MacGillapatraic should seek for a sovereignty to which he had no natural right.

"And when the wounded men heard this their strength and fury grew so, that every man of them was able for battle. And they said to the son of Brian, and to the Dal-Cais, to go into the nearest wood to them, and to bring out with them stakes to which they could put their backs, standing during the battle. When MacGillapatrick and the Osraighi heard of that great courage in the Dal-Cais, both whole and wounded, they declined the battle and avoided the Dal-Cais. And when the Osraighi failed to give battle, thrice fifty of the wounded men died, when their excitement ceased, as they did not receive battle ; and they were buried there, except such of their nobles as were brought to their native places to be buried in their hereditary churches with honour ; and they thus arrived at Cenn Coradh.' [1]

The following events are also recorded during King Donnchadh's reign :

"A.D. 1015. Donncuan, *i.e.* the Simpleton, son of Dunlaing, Lord of Leinster, and Tadhg Ua Rian, Lord of Ui Drona, were slain by Donnchadh Mac Gillapatrick, at Leithghlinn, after they had made friendship and taken a mutual oath in the beginning of the day. . . . . An army was led by Maelseachlainn [the Ard-Righ] into Ossory ; and he plundered Ossory and carried off spoils and prisoners, and slew Dunghal, son of Gillapatrick, son of Donnchadh, and many others. An army was led again by Maelseachlainn into Ossory ; and he plundered half the territory and carried off hostages." [2]

"A.D. 1021. A shower of wheat was rained in Ossory." [3]

"A.D. 1022. Sitric, son of Imhar, Lord of Port-Lairge (Waterford), was slain by the Lord of Osraighe" [whose own father Gillapatrick, had been slain by Imhar, father of the said Sitric]. [4]

"A.D. 1024. An army was led by the Osraighi and the Leinstermen to Tulcainne [now the River Tolka, Co. Dublin], and they obtained jewels and hostages from the foreigners." [5]

"A.D. 1026. A plundering army was led by the Ossorians into Ui-Muireadhaigh, and they bore away many captives, and mortally wounded Murchadh, son of Dunlaing. The Ui-Muireadhaigh went into Ossory, and plundered Telach-ninmuind and slew the Vice-Abbot. An army was led by the Ossorians into Ui-Cinselach and they plundered the entire territory." [6]

"A.D. 1009 (*recte* 1026). The Coarb of Patrick with his clergy, and Donnchadh MacGillapatrick, King of Ossory, went into the house of [*i.e.* made their submission to] Donnchadh, son of Brian [Borumha], at Cinn-Choradh, during Easter time." [7]

"A.D. 1026. Donnogh, son of King Brian Borowa, with his forces this yeare had all the hostages of Meath, Brey, Danes, Leinstermen, and Ossery to himselfe." [8]

[1] *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, pp. 215-17.
[2] *Four Masters.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Annals of Tighernach.*
[7] *Annals of Innisfallen.*
[8] *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*

"A.D. 1027. Teige McGillepatrick had his eyes putt out by [his brother, the King of Ossory]. Donnogh McGillepatrick. Donnogh McBrian [Borumha], with his forces, went to Ossery, where the Inhabitants of that Contry gave an overthrow to som of the army of prince Donnogh" [in which several Munster Chieftains were slain]."[1]

Some years later on, Donnchadh mac Gillapatrick usurped the Kingship of Leinster, having deposed the rightful King, Donnchadh, son of Dunlaing, whom he afterwards blinded: as supreme King of the Province, he celebrated the ancient Fair of Carman:

"A.D. 1033. The Fair of Carman was celebrated by Donnchadh MacGillapatrick, after he had assumed the Kingship of Leinster, having the chiefs of the laity and the clergy of Leinster and Osraighe."[2]

"A.D. 1036. Diarmaid, son of Donnchadh macGillapatrick, Tanist of Osraighe, was slain."[3]

"A.D. 1037. Donnchadh, son of Dunlaing, King of Leinster, was taken prisoner at Disert-Diarmada, and blinded by Donnchadh macGillapatrick, and he died immediately after."[4]

Early in 1039 the fierce old King led his Ossorians into Meath, which they plundered as far as Knowth and Drogheda. But death was now beginning to cast its shadow around him, and towards the close of the same year he died "after long illness," and, let us hope, "after the victory of penance":

"A.D. 1039. Donnagh McGillepatrick, King of Ossery and Leinster died."[5]

There is mention of but two of his children, viz.: Diarmaid, the Tanist, slain in 1036; and

GILLAPATRICK, who became next King of Ossory. The following events occurred while he held the crown:

"A D. 1042. Murchadh, son of Dunlaing, King of Leinster, and Donnchadh, son of Aedh, Lord of Ui-Bairrche, fell by Gillapatrick, son of Donnchadh, Lord of Ossory, and Cucoigcriche Ua Mordha, Lord of Leix, and Macraith Ua Donnchadha, Lord of Eoghanacht, at Magh-Muilceth in Leix."[6]

"A.D. 1043. The victory of Maelcaenmhagh, on the brink of the Suir [near Golden], was gained over the men of Osraighe and East Munster, by Carthach, son of Saerbrethach; in which Ua Donnagain, King of Aradh, was slain."[7]

"A.D. 1053. Diarmaid, son of Maelnambo, and Gillapatrick, Lord of Osraighe, went into Meath, where they carried off captives and very great spoils, in revenge of the going of Mor, daughter of Conghalach Ua Conchobhair, to Conghalach Ua Maeleachlainn, in violation of Gillapatrick, and in revenge also of the cattle spoils which Maeleachlainn had carried off from the Leinstermen."[8]

The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* briefly notice Gillapatrick's death, thus:

"A.D 1055. Gillepatricke, King of Ossery, died of greefe."

[1] *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*
[2] *Four Masters.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*
[6] *Four Masters.*
[7] *Annals of Loch Ce.*
[8] *Four Masters.*

DOMHNALL, his son, succeeded and reigned 32 years. But few events relating to Ossory are recorded during his reign. In 1075, the men of Munster, with the Ossorians, Leinstermen and others, under the leadership of Muircheartach Ua Briain, royal heir of Munster, were defeated near Ardee, Co. Louth, by the men of Oriel; but in 1084, the same confederates, under the same leader, defeated the men of East Connaught and others in a pitched battle at Moin-Cruinneoige, near Leixlip, Co. Kildare. "Ceall-Cainnigh was for the most part burned" in 1085.[1]

King Domhnall's death occurred in 1087:

"A.D. 1087. Domhnall mac Gillapatric, King of Osraighe died."[2]

DONNCHADH, son of Domhnall, after a reign of two years, lost his life in 1089:

"A.D. 1089. Donnchadh, grandson of Gillapatrick, (*i.e.* son of Domhnall,) Lord of Ossory, was killed by the grandsons of Bran Breac."[3]

"A.D. 1089. Doncha mac Gilpatrick, King of Ossory, murthered of his own."[4]

GILLAPATRICK RUADH, the next King, reigned 14 years, according to the List in the *Book of Leinster*. He was probably brother of his immediate predecessor.

"A.D. 1078 (*recte* 1095). There was a great pestilence. . . . . In this pestilence died. . . . . Muircheartach, son of Domhnall, son of Gillapatrick, Tanist of Ossory, and Dubhchobhlaigh, daughter of Gillapatrick."[5]

"A.D. 1098. Dearbhforgaill, daughter of Tadhg mac Gillapatrick, and mother of Muircheartach and Tadhg O'Brien, died at Glendalough."[6]

Dearbhforgaill's father, Tadhg, was blinded by his brother, Donnchadh Mac Gillapatrick, in 1027;[7] her son, Muircheartach O'Brien, King of Ireland "with opposition," died in 1119.

Gillapatrick Ruadh was slain in Ulster, in the battle of Magh-Cobha, fought between Muircheartach O'Brien and the men of the South of Ireland, the Ossorians and the men of Connaught and Meath on the one side, and Domhnall mac Lochlainn, and the forces of the north of Ireland, on the other. The date of this battle, in which O'Brien's army was defeated with great slaughter, is A.D. 1103.

[1] *Four Masters.*
[2] *Chron. Scotor.*
[3] *Four Masters.*
[4] *Ann. Ult.*
[5] *Annals of Innisfallen.*
[6] *Four Masters.*
[7] See p. 50, *supra.*

CHAPTER VI.

KINGS WHO RULED IN OSSORY FROM ITS DISMEMBERMENT, IN 1103, TO THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION, VIZ., KINGS OF MAGH LACHA — FIONN, MURCHADH, AND DIARMAID O'KEALY; KINGS OF TUAISCEART OSRAIGHE —DOMHNALL RUADH, DONNCHADH BALC, DONNCHADH BACACH, MURCHADH, GILLAPATRICK AND DONNCHADH MAC GILLAPATRICK; KINGS OF DEISCEART OSRAIGHE—CEARBHALL, DOMHNALL, CONCHOBHAR, CEARBHALL AND DOMHNALL.

THE death of Gillapatrick Ruadh,[1] at Magh-Cobha, was the signal for dissensions and strife in Ossory. In the extreme north, Fionn O'Kealy raised the standard of revolt against the Mac Gillapatricks, and succeeded in establishing his independent sway over his native Magh-Lacha, and Ui-Foircheallain. The MacGillapatricks contended amongst themselves for the kingship of the rest of Ossory, with the result that the southern portion of the territory

[1] The *Book of Leinster*, in its List of Ossory Kings, states that Gillapatrick Ruadh ruled alone over Ossory, for thirteen years, till he was slain at Magh Cobha; and then it continues the succession :—

"Cerball ⁊ Domnall ⁊ Find. h. Caellaide insimul.

"Domnall m Don., Domnall m Gillapatraic (in Goll m Cerbaill rosmarb), Find. h. Cellaide."

That is :

"Cearbhall, Domhnall, and Fionn O'Kealy [were Kings] at the same time.

"Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, Domhnall, son of Gillapatrick (the Goll, son of Cearbhall, slew him) and Fionn O'Kealy [were also Kings at the same time]."

The *Book of Leinster*, so often quoted in these pages is a Gaelic MS. work on genealogy, history, hagiology, &c., compiled for Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, under the superintendence of his tutor, Aedh MacCrimhthainn, by Fionn MacGorman, Bishop of Kildare. According to the *Four Masters*, Bishop MacGorman died in 1160; he must, however, have lived some few years later, as he brings down the succession of the Ossory Kings to Domhnall, son of Gillapatrick, King of Tuaisceart Osraighe, from 1162 to 1165, and to Domhnall, son of Cearbhall, King of Deisceart Osraighe, who began his reign in 1163. The original MS. of the *Book of Leinster*, now almost 750 years old, is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. If printed at length, this priceless relic of the past would make 2,000 pages, equal in size to those of O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*. (O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, pp. 186-8.)

came to acknowledge one ruler, while the district lying in the centre and extending as far north as Magh-Lacha, made choice of another. Thus, in the beginning of the twelfth century, Ossory appears broken up into three small separate states, each with its own line of rulers or kings.

Three members of the O'Kealy (Ua Caollaidhe) family ruled over Magh Lacha and Ui-Foircheallain. FIONN O'KEALY, the first of these, died probably about 1120. MURCHADH O'KEALY held sway about 1150. DIARMAID O'KEALY the last chief of the name, died, according to the *Four Masters*, in 1172, about which year a portion of his territory, described as "half the vill of Achebo and half of the entire cantred of land in which it is situated, in Ossory," was granted by Strongbow to his follower, Adam de Hereford.

The first of the Kings of South Ossory was CEARBHALL, son of Domhnall (d. 1087), son of Gillapatrick (d. 1055). His death, after a very short reign, is entered in the *Annals of Innisfallen*, thus: "A.D. 1088 [*recte* 1105]. Cearbhall, son of Domhnall, son of Gillapatrick, King of Desceart [*i.e.*, South] Osraighe, mortuus est." His successor and nephew, DOMHNALL, son of Donnchadh (sl. 1089), son of Domhnall (d. 1087), son of Gillapatrick, reigned but eight years when he was slain by his first cousin "An Goll, mac Cerbaill," *i.e.*, the Blind Man, son of Cearbhall.[1] The *Annals of Ulster* have the following entry of his death:

"A.D. 1113. Domhnall, son of Donnchadh who was grandson of Gillapatric, was killed by Gull Gabhrain." [*i.e.* Goll of Gowran.]

And in the *Annals of Innisfallen* we find:

"A.D. 1096 [*recte* 1113]. The son of Donnchadh, who was [great-]grandson of Gillapataric, was slain by Goll-Gabhrain, *i.e.* by his own brother" [*recte*, by his own first cousin].

Domhnall was succeeded by his first cousin, (perhaps "An Goll"), CONCHOBHAR, son of Cearbhall, whose reign is extended to forty years by the List in the *Book o Leinster*, but it does not seem to have lasted quite so long. He receives no notice in our Annals.

We now come to trace the succession of the kings who ruled, about this period, over the third and most important of the new divisions of Ossory, viz.: that lying in the centre and towards the north of the territory, and which still continued to be designated "Osraighe" simply, by the Annalists, though they occasionally mention it also as "Tuaisceart (*i.e.*, North) Osraighe," and "Leath (*i.e.*, Half) Osraighe."

DOMHNALL, its first King, is called "Domhnall Ruadh, son of Gillapatrick," by the *Annals of Loch Ce* and the *Annals of Ulster;* "Donell Roa mac Gillpatrick,"

[1] *Book of Leinster.*

by the *Annales Ultoniae;* and "Domhnall, son of the son [*i.e.*, grandson] of Gillapatrick," by the *Four Masters*. All the Annals assign his death to the year 1109, and attribute it to the same cause. The entry in the *Annales Ultoniae* is:

"A.D. 1109. Donell Roa Mac Gillpatarick, King of Ossory, killed by another young man at a game."

Donnchadh Balc (*i.e.*, the Strong), son of Gillapatrick Ruadh, succeeded and reigned fourteen years. In 1118, Turlough O'Connor, King of Connaught, "led an army to Ath-Cliath, and he carried away the son of the King of Teamhair, who was in the hands of the foreigners, and the hostages of the Foreigners themselves, as well as those of Osraighe and Leinster."[1] The following year, Donnchadh Balc's son, who was "royal heir of Osraighe, was slain by the Osraighi themselves."[2] Donnchadh Balc himself was likewise slain by the men of Ossory, four years later:

"A.D. 1123. Donnchadh, son of Gillapatrick Ruadh, King of Ossory, occisus est a suis."[3]

Donnchadh Bacach.—On the death of Donnchadh Balc there were two competitors for the kingship, viz.: Donnchadh Dubh, or the Black, and Donnchadh Bacach, or the Lame. King Turlough O'Connor, however, solved the difficulty by throwing in the weight of his influence in favour of Donnchadh Bacach, whose suit, was accordingly brought to a successful issue.[4]

Murchadh, the son of Murchadh ("Murchad m Mur"), is the next King entered in the List in the *Book of Leinster*. The Annals make no mention of him or his predecessor, Donnchadh Bacach. Probably the following entries refer to occurrences that happened during their reigns:

"A.D. 1126. An army was led by Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair (Turlough O'Connor), and he gave the Kingdom of Ath-Cliath and Leinster to his own son Conchobhar; he afterwards proceeded [to the south] and defeated Cormac MacCarthaigh, and burned his camp at Sliabh an Caithligh. The same King had a great encampment in Ormond from Lammas to the festival of Brighit; and he plundered from that camp, on one occasion, Ui-Connaill, and on another, as far as Moin-moi and to Gleann Maghair, and another, as far as Deisceart Osraighe, and he made a slaughter of the Osraighi, together with Ua Carog, and carried off the hostages of Osraighe on that occasion."[5]

"A.D. 1134. An army was led by the son of MacMurchadha, and the Leinstermen, into Osraighe, and the Osraighi resisted and slaughtered them, and slew Ugaire Ua Tuathail, royal heir of Leinster, with many others. A slaughter was of the Osraighi and of the Foreigners of Port-Lairge by the son of Mac Murchadha, in revenge of the slaughter aforesaid."[6]

"A.D. 1141. King Terlagh O'Bryen, King of Munster, came to Leytter-Crannaugh [Leitir-Crannchа, *i.e.* the Wet Hillside of Crannagh, parish of Camross], on the mountain of Sliew Bloome,

[1] *Four Masters.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Annals of Ulster.*
[4] *List in Book of Leinster.*
[5] *Four Masters.*
[6] *Ibid.*

to meet with Tyernan O'Royrck, in Meath. King Terlagh O'Connor encamped with his forces in Ruwaghan, in Foxe's countrey, and sent his son, Donell, together with Melaghlyn MacMurrogh O'Melaghlyn, Conor mac Donell O'Bryen and Dermot mac Cormack mac Carthie, with great and many forces to Fercall, to defend Meath, that the said Munstermen should not pass through that countrey to annoy Meath and [they] were mett by the Munstermen, in a wood, in the west part of that contrey, where they killed divers of them [*i.e.* of the Munstermen], and compelled them to return to their houses without doing anything worthy to be remembered." [1]

GILLAPATRICK, the next King, was son of Domhnall, King of South Ossory (sl. 1113), son of Donnchadh, King of Ossory (sl. 1089). In the contemporary List of Kings in the *Book of Leinster*, he is entered as "Gill-p. m Donaill m Do.," and the note is added: "amarb la hu Broenain" (*i.e.*, Gillapatrick, son of Donall, son of Donnchad: he was slain by the O'Brenans). His death is entered in the Annals thus:

"A.D. 1146. Gillapatrick, the grandson of Donnchadh, Lord of Osraighe, was killed by the O'Braenains, by treachery, in the middle of Kilkenny." [2]

"A.D. 1146. Gillapatrick, son of [Domhnall, son of] Donnchadh, [which last was] grandson of Gillapatrick, King of Osraighe, was slain by the sons of Conghalach Ua Braenain, in Cill-Chainnigh." [3]

DONNCHADH, son of Gillapatrick, son of Domhnall.
CEARBHALL, son of Domhnall.

} Gillapatrick was succeeded by his son, Donnchadh; [4] and about the same time, Cearbhall, brother of the former, and uncle of the latter, became King of South Ossory, in succession to its aged ruler, Conchobhar, son of Cearbhall, son of Domhnall.[5] Murchadh O'Kealy was their contemporary as King over Magh-Lacha and Ui-Foircheallain.

At this period Dermot MacMurrough, the King of Leinster, began to play an important part in the internal affairs of Ossory. He first of all deposed Cearbhall, the King of South Ossory, and gave his Kingdom to Donnchadh, King of Tuaisceart

[1] *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*
[2] *Four Masters.*
[3] *Chron. Scotorum.*
[4] The succession of the Kings about this period is thus given by the *Book of Leinster*:—

"*Dondch m. Gillapatraic.* [—This name is now illegible, but is supplied from what follows.]
"Cerball m Donaill dorochair and la Diarmait Mc Mur.
"Murchad .h. Cellaide.
"[Dond.] m Gillapatraic.
"Cerball m Dom. iterum tenuit regnum,
"Murchad .h. Cellaide, vincto Dondchado la Diarmaid rig Lagen.
"[Post]ea Cerb. [et] Dondch. insimul.
"Dondch. solus, iarninarba Cerb. la Mc Mur. rig Lag.

That is:—

"Donnchadh, son of Gillapatrick; Cearbhall, son of Domhnall (who was deposed by Dermot MacMurrough); and Murchadh O'Kealy [were Kings at the same time].
"Donnchadh, son of Gillapatrick [for a time; then], Cearbhall, son of Domhnall, again held the Kingdom, after Donnchadh had been taken prisoner by Dermot, King of Leinster; Murchadh O'Kealy. Afterwards Cearbhall and Donnchadh [reigned] at the same time. [Then] Donnchadh [reigned] alone, after Cearbhall had been expelled by MacMurrough, King of Leinster."

[5] See p. 53, *supra.*

Osraighe. He next took Donnchadh a prisoner and reinstated Cearbhall as King over all Ossory, except O'Kealy's portion; this was in 1151, as we learn from the *Four Masters*.

"A.D. 1151. Conchobhar, son of Domhnall Ua Briain, Lord of East Munster, and the [great-] grandson of Donnchadh, grandson of Gillapatrick, Lord of Leath Osraighe, were taken prisoners by Dermot, son of MacMurrough, King of Leinster, by treachery and guile."

Donnchadh was after a time set at liberty by MacMurrough, and restored to the government of his Kingdom, Cearbhall having been, at the same time, relegated to his own proper territory of South Ossory.

'A.D. 1154. A battle was gained by the Osraighi over the Ui-Ceinnsealaigh [MacMurrough's people], in which many were slain, together with the son of Eochaidh Ua Nuallain." [*i.e.* O'Nolan.][1]

On the death of Turlough O'Connor, King of Ireland "with opposition," in 1156, the High-Kingship of the country was assumed by the Ulster prince, Muircheartach Ua Lochlainn. Dermot MacMurrough gave hostages to the new King and acknowledged him as his liege lord; and Ua Lochlainn, in return, confirmed MacMurrough in the Kingship of Leinster, and became his fast friend. It must have been on this occasion, also, that Ossory, hitherto independent of the Kings of Leinster, was made a dependency on that Kingdom, by Ua Lochlainn. Ua Lochlainn appears to have entertained feelings of the deepest hatred and resentment for the Ossorians. They were unfavourable to his assumption of the chief power; they were, moreover, the inveterate foes of his friend and ally, MacMurrough. He marked them out, therefore, as the first and most special objects of his vengeance, and during the first year of his reign led an army of his northern warriors into their territory, "and wasted and spoyled all Ossory, without respect of church or chapel."[2] The incidents of this invasion are entered by the *Four Masters* in a confused and unconnected way, at the years 1156 and 1157. Combining the entries under both years, and placing the events consecutively, the narrative will be read correctly as follows:

"A.D. 1156 [or 1157]. Another army was led by Muircheartach [Ua Lochlainn] and the people of the north of Ireland, into Leinster, and they gave the Kingdom of Leinster to Diarmaid Mac Murrough, for hostages, and they plundered Ossory, both churches and territories; [and they burned] Durmhagh Ua nDuach, Achadh mic Airt, Cul Caissin, and Fearta Caerach; [and] Eochaidh Ua Cuinn, the chief master, was burned in the cloictheach of Fearta. [Such were the horrors of this invasion that] the people of Laeighis, Ui-Failghe, and Leath Osraighe, then fled to Connaught."

Soon after this, MacMurrough expelled Cearbhall, son of Domhnall, from South Ossory, and again handed over his territory to Donnchadh, son of Gillapatrick,

[1] *Four Masters.*
[2] *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*

King of Leath or Tuaisceart Ossory. As far as may be judged from the List in the *Book of Leinster*, Cearbhall never again recovered his kingdom. He died in 1163, according to the *Annals of Ulster* :

"A.D. 1163. Cerbhall, descendant of Gillapatrick, King of Deisceart Osraighe, mortuus est."

Donnchadh, son of Gillapatrick, having thus, for a second term, become King of all Ossory, except Magh Lacha and Ui Foircheallain, passed the few remaining years of his life in peace. He was a religious prince, like his ancestor and namesake, Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, and a devoted son of the Church. The Cistercian abbey of Jerpoint, which he founded about the year 1158, and endowed with extensive possessions, is even still, after seven centuries and a-half a noble monument of his pious munificence. In 1161, and doubtless at the invitation of King Donnchadh, Flaithbheartach Ua Brolchain, the successor of St. Columbkille, in Derry, made a visitation of Ossory, as the Annals make mention :

"A.D. 1161. The visitation of Osraighe was made by Flaithbheartach [Ua Brolchain, the successor of Colum-Cille] ; and the tribute due to him was seven score oxen, but he selected, as a substitute for these, four hundred and twenty ounces of pure silver." [1]

"A.D. 1161. The visitation of Ossory made by the Coarb of Columkill, Flathvertagh O'Brolchan, and had twenty-seven gifts collected for him ; four hundred and twenty ounces of pure sylver, viz., thirty ounces in each gift." [2]

King Donnchadh died in 1162 according to the *Four Masters :*

"A.D. 1162. Donnchadh, son of the son of Gillapatrick [*recte* son of Gillapatrick], Lord of Ossory, died."

The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* enter his death under 1164 :

"A.D. 1164. Donnogh mcGillepatrick mc Donnogh, King of Ossery, died."

Domhnall, son of Gillapatrick, son of Domhnall.
Domhnall, son of Cearbhall, son of Domhnall.

King Donnchadh's kingdom was again broken up after his death, into the two divisions of Leath, or Tuaisceart Osraighe, and Deisceart, or South Osraighe. His brother, Domhnall, son of Gillapatrick, then became King of the former ; his first cousin, Domhnall, son of Cearbhall, became King of the latter. Domhnall, son of Gillapatrick, had a very short reign, having been slain in 1165, according to the Annals :

A.D. 1165. Domhnall, son of Gillapatrick, Lord of Osraighe, was slain by the people of Laeighis Ua Mordha." [3]

[1] *Four Masters.*
[2] *Annals of Ulster.*
[3] *Four Masters.*

"A.D. 1165. Domhnall, the descendant of Gillapatrick, King of Tuaisceart Osraighe, and Conchobhar Ua Broigthe, King of Ceann Caille, and Paitin Ua hAedha, the lamp of all Ui Ceinnsealaigh, were slain by Macraith Ua Mordha and the Laichis (*i.e.* Leixians) for evil causes." [1]

His contemporary, Domhnall, son of Cearbhall, son of Domhnall, King of South Ossory, makes no figure in Irish history. The *Four Masters* record his death:

"A.D. 1176. Domhnall Mac Gillapatrick, Lord of Ossory, died."

His territory of South Ossory was much smaller and, consequently, of much less importance, than Tuaisceart Osraighe. It was evidently co-extensive with the "Overk in Ossory," which Strongbow granted before his death, in 1176, to Milo FitzDavid, and which extended from The Rower and Owning, both included, to the river Suir at Waterford, or, in other words, was made up of the modern Baronies of Ida and Iverk, with a small portion of the southern extremity of the Barony of Knocktopher. It is worthy of note that the two smaller divisions of Ossory, viz.: that to the extreme north, or O'Kealy's country, and that to the extreme south, or Deisceart Osraighe, were granted away from the native owners, to his own followers, by Strongbow, while the intermediate and more important district of Tuaisceart Osraighe was left by him in the undisturbed possession of its old ruler, King Domhnall, the son of Donnchadh, after he had consented to become the vassal of the Earl and his successors.

[1] *Annals of Ulster.*

CHAPTER VII.

KINGS OF TUAISCEART OSRAIGHE FROM 1165 TO 1194.—DOMHNALL, SON OF DONNCHADH AND MAELSEACHLAINN.

DOMHNALL, son of Donnchadh, son of Gillapatrick.—He succeeded to the Kingdom of Tuaisceart Osraighe, on the death of his uncle, Domhnall, in 1165. It was his lot to be called to rule at a period fraught with deepest and direst consequences to his native land, his own principality, himself and his kindred. In the year after his accession, that is, in 1166, Muircheartach Ua Lochlainn was slain, and Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhar, King of Connaught, was inaugurated next King of Erinn, at Ath-Cliath, "as honourably as any King of the Gaeidhill was ever inaugurated."[1] Immediately after his coronation King Ruaidhri set out with his troops through Leinster, and took the hostages of MacMurrough, King of Leinster and Ui-Ceinnsealaigh, and of Domhnall, King of Ossory; "and all the Kings of Leath Mhogha [the southern half of Ireland], came into his house" [*i.e.*, made their submission to him].[2]

MacMurrough was at this time, and had been for many years, the best hated King in Ireland. Naturally cruel and tyrannical, the cup of his iniquity was filled, in 1152, when he took away Dervorgilla, the lawful wife of Tighearnan Ua Ruairc, King of Breffny and Meath, and lived with her, in open adultery, at his castle of Ferns. During the lifetime of his powerful friend and ally, King Muircheartach Ua Lochlainn, MacMurrough had, however, little to fear from his enemies. But no sooner was Ua Lochlainn removed by death, than the day of retribution came.

[1] *Four Masters.*
[2] *Ibid.*

Domhnall, the son of Donnchadh, King of Ossory, refused any longer to submit to the galling yoke of allegiance to MacMurrough, which had been imposed on the Ossorians about ten years before; Faelan Mac Faelan, King of Ui-Faelan, in North Kildare, and other chiefs of Leinster, acted in like manner; and even among MacMurrough's own immediate subjects and relatives in Ui-Ceinnsealaigh, many revolted from him. In these circumstances, it is not surprising to find in the *Four Masters*, in the same year, 1166, that "an army, composed of the men of Breffny and Meath, and of the Foreigners of Ath-Cliath, and the Leinstermen, was led by Tighearnan Ua Ruairc into Ui-Ceinnsealaigh; and Diarmaid Mac Murchadha was banished over the sea, and his castle at Fearna was demolished. They set up as King [in his place, his brother] Murchadh, the grandson of Murchadh." [1]

Thus driven from his Kingdom, MacMurrough began that brief career of traitorism to his native land, which, equally with his immorality and other notorious vices, will hand down his name, with execration, for all time. He directed his course to Normandy, to the English King, Henry II., whom he begged to assist him in recovering his forfeited rights. King Henry was not then in a position to supply him with means to effect the desired purpose, but he furnished him with letters recommending his case to the consideration of all his subjects, and authorizing them to give him all the assistance in their power to enable him to regain his Kingdom:

"Dermod returned ioyfully with these letters, and came to Bristoll, where at that time, Richard, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke and Chepstow lay; he shewed his letters, caused them at severall times, publicly to be read, conferred with Earl Richard, and concluded to give the Earle his sole daughter and heire in marriage, and his whole interest in the Kingdome of Leinster after his decease. Richard undertook of the other side to effect all his desire. As Dermot wayted for a winde, it came in his minde for the shorter cut into Ireland, to goe by land into Saint David's, where he was refreshed, and greatly pittied by the Bishop there, and concluded in like sort (as with the Earle before), with Robert FitzStephens and Moris Fitzgerald, by the mediation of the good Bishop there, to restore him unto his Kingdome, upon condition that hee should give them and theirs for ever, the town of Wexford and two cantreds of land next adjoining; upon this hee tooke shipping, secretly came to Ferns, and lived privately among the clergie all that winter, expecting performance of promises out of England." [2]

From the above it would seem that Dermot, on this occasion, returned secretly to Ferns. The *Four Masters*, however, tell a different and probably a truer story, and positively state that he brought back with him a band of English fighting men:

"A.D. 1167. Diarmaid MacMurchadha returned from England, with a force of Galls, and he took the Kingdom of Ui-Ceinnsealaigh. Another army was led by Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhar, and Tighearnan Ua Ruairc into Ui-Ceinnsealaigh, until they arrived at Cill-Osnadh. A battle was fought between some of the recruits and cavalry of Connaught and the cavalry of Ui-Ceinnsealaigh; and six of the Connaught men, together with Domhnall, son of Tadhg, son of Maelruanaidh, were slain in the first

[1] *Four Masters.*
[2] *Hanmer's Chronicle.*

conflict; and there were slain in the second conflict, by Tighearnan Ua Ruairc, twenty-five of the Ui-Ceinnsealaigh, together with the son of the King of Britain, who was the battle prop of the Island of Britain, who had come across the sea in the army of MacMurchadha. Diarmaid MacMurchadha afterwards came to [Ruaidhri] Ua Conchobhar, and gave him seven hostages for ten cantreds of his own native territory, and one hundred ounces of gold to Tighearnan Ua Ruairc for his *einach*" [that is, in atonement for the wrong which he had done him].[1]

During the next two years Dermot anxiously awaited the arrival of the promised aid from England. In the meantime he had the mortification of seeing his son and heir, Enna MacMurrough, blinded by King Domhnall of Ossory for criminal intercourse with his wife:

"A.D. 1168. Enna MacMurchadha, royal heir of Leinster, was blinded by the grandson of Gillapatrick, *i.e.*, Donnchadh [*recte* Domhnall], Lord of Osraighe."[2]

At length, on the first of May, 1169, Robert FitzStephen, with 300 Welsh archers, 30 knights, and 60 esquires well mounted, together with David Barry and Hervey de Montemarisco, arrived with three ships at Bannow, near Wexford; next day two more transports arrived, carrying 10 knights, "and a great number of archers in most gallant sort," headed by Maurice de Prendergast. Dermot, without delay, joined his allies with what Irish troops he could get together, and the combined forces marched on Wexford, which they captured after a brave defence. They next set out towards Ossory, to be avenged on Domhnall, its King, both for his defection from MacMurrough, his liege lord, and for his blinding of MacMurrough's son. The King of Ossory made preparations to meet the invaders of his territory. Having intelligence of their line of march, he advanced, with 5,000 men, to oppose them, near the eastern confines of Ossory, where he made deep cuttings and trenches, and plashed the pass. Dermot's army, 3,000 in number, on coming up and finding the pass blocked against them, endeavoured to dislodge the Ossorians, but failed to do so at first; and it was only after a fiercely contested battle, lasting from morning till evening, that they at length forced the lines of their opponents and put them to flight. They thus gained an entry into Ossory, which they plundered and wasted without mercy, and compelled its King to do homage to MacMurrough.

In reference to this invasion of Ossory, and the circumstances connected therewith, Hanmer, in his *Chronicle of Ireland*, writes:

'When Robert FitzStephens and the gallants of Britaine entred the country [*i.e.* Ossory], they found neither dastards, nor cowards, but valiant men with horse and foot; they found the country fast with woods, bogges, and paces [passes] trenched and plashed; yet the valour of the adventurers was such, presuming upon former fortunes, to have the like future successes, with loose wings drove them out of the woods and bogges, into the plain and champion land, where the horsemen with their speares overthrew them, and the foote finding them grovelling, ran them thorow, and ended their days; the gallowglasses followed, and cut off their heads. In this bloody course, Dermot directed these

[1] *Four Masters.*
[2] *Ibid.*.

worthy warriors, (they affecting the prey for their present maintenance, more than the blood of any person), to spoyle, burne, waste the country and murther the poor and seely people, which, God wot, meant no harm. Whereupon Donald, prince of Ossory, despising Dermot MacMurrough, by the advice of his councell and friends sent to Robert FitzStephens in writing as followeth :—

"'Sir Knight of noble race, renowned for martiall prowesse, Donald, prince of Ossory, sendeth greeting : Dermot that damnable adulterer in his owne person withe the King of Meath's wife, and in his sonne's person with my wife, has drawn thee and those gallants (most worthy Knights) into this poore country and naked people : I will yeild myself (it is for the good of my poore followers) into thy hands ; peace I crave, and peace let me have.'

"Robert FitzStephens acquainted Dermot MacMorogh with the premises of all sides ; the Irish dissembled (as hereafter shall further appeare) ; peace they granted, and they acknowledged Dermot for their Lord and Sovereigne."

But MacMurrough, having to deal with other rebellious vassals, almost as powerful as King Domhnall, could not afford to prolong unduly his raid on Ossory. He accordingly soon gave orders to his army to make ready to evacuate this territory, and return to Ferns. King Domhnall, in the meantime, having intelligence of his design, and probably believing that his late forced submission to such a detestable tyrant carried but little binding weight, determined that MacMurrough and his army should not march away unscathed while the plundered homes and the blood of the slaughtered clansmen of Ossory called aloud for vengeance. With all haste and secrecy, therefore, he gathered together an army of 1700 men, with which he set out in pursuit of the retiring enemy. The line of retreat lay over the Slieve Mairge hills, and here, again on the frontiers of Ossory, the pursuers came up with the pursued, at a spot where MacMurrough and the Ui-Ceinnsealaigh had been already thrice worsted in battle by the Ossorians. At sight of the pursuing army MacMurrough's Irish troops, remembering the disasters of former years, were seized with a panic and at once broke and fled. His English allies, however, stood their ground, and with great bravery charged the ranks of the men of Ossory The result was disastrous to the latter, whose naked valour protected "by neither hauberks nor breastplates," was bound to yield before the onslaught of the mail-clad English warriors. When the fight ceased, 200 of them lay dead on that field of blood ; and that same night eleven score heads of the slaughtered were brought to MacMurrough, where he rested at Old Leighlin :

"And here Dermot MacMorogh is mightily condemned, he being originally for exaction, extortion, cruelty, tyrrany, and other damnable offences, iustly exiled, now sheweth no princely stomacke, but a base wolfish minde ; for when 300 [120 ?] of the Ossory mens heads were throwne at his feete, (alas, they had not offended), hee viewed them all, and finding one whom he knew, and mortally hated, he held him by the head and eares, and most brutishly with his teeth, bit the nose and lips of the dead, whom without the ayde of the Britainers, hee durst not behold in the face." [1]

The *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, under the year 1166 [*recte* 1169], refer but very briefly to MacMurrough's campaign against Ossory, merely stating that "Dermot

[1] *Hanmer's Chronicle.*

McMurrogh al' Keyuanagh . . . went for England and brought with him from thence Robert, King Stephen's sonne, called Robert FitzStephen, twenty knights of Englishmen, and 50 archers of Welshmen, with a great armye, & with them and those that joyned with him after his landing here, hee preyed and spoyled the territoryes of Ossery, and gave the inhabitants a great overthrow at Sliew Mairge."

After the battle of Slieve Mairge, MacMurrough marched straightway to Ferns. His cause being now in the ascendant, all his old lieges throughout Leinster again submitted to him, except Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, the defeated but still unconquered King of Ossory; Faelan Mac Faelan, King of Ui-Faelan, in North Kildare; Hasculf Mac Torkil, the Danish King of Dublin; and O'Toole of Ui Muireadhaigh and Glendalough. His first care now was to reduce the refractory chiefs. He accordingly led his combined English and Ui-Ceinnsealaigh army into Ui-Faelan, and defeated and banished Mac Faelan. O'Toole next made his submission. MacMurrough then turned his attention to the King of Ossory, the most powerful, as well as the most irreconcilably hostile, of his tributaries. Assembling all the forces at his command, he set out from Ferns, through the Barony of Forth, in the County Carlow, for Ossory, having his son, Donnell Kavanagh, leading the van with 5,000 men, next the men of Wexford, and lastly the English, with whom he himself as usual remained.

They entered Ossory, probably by way of Old Leighlin, and continued their march till they came to the banks of "a river of great vehemence near Athethur,[1] elsewhere called "Achedur"[2] in the neighbourhood of which the King of Ossory had strongly entrenched himself with his army, and awaited the enemy. Mac Murrough and his forces having passed the night in their tents, on the blink of the river just mentioned, forded the river next morning, and advanced against their enemy

'Those men of Wexford
Commenced the attack:
They began to attack the stockade.
For three whole days i' faith,
Somewhat half-hearted these men
Attacked the traitors [*i.e.* the Ossorians].
The stockade could not be carried
By their attack in any way,
Until the English men
On the third day, as I hear,
Carried the stockade against them
And put them to flight.
They fled as far as Tiberath,
Through the midst of the territory of Wenenath
And from thence as far as Bertun
Fled the rebel King [of Ossory]."[3]

[1] *Song of Dermot and the Earl*, ll. 1012 and 1021.
[2] Apparently Achadh-ur, otherwise Aghoure, now Freshford.
[3] *Song of Dermot*, ll. 1030-45.

This defeat must have occurred early in 1170, under which year the *Four Masters* record that [Faelan] "the son of MacFaelan, and [Domhnall] Mac Donnchadha, mic Gillapatrick, were banished by MacMurchadha;" also, that "the hostages of Diarmaid Mac Murchadha were put to death by Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair, King of Ireland, at Ath-Luain, namely Conchobhar, son of Diarmaid, heir-apparent of Leinster, and Diarmaid's grandson, *i.e.*, the son of Donnell Caemhanach, and the son of his foster-brother, *i.e.*, O'Caellaighe." Having laid waste all Ossory, after his victory at Athethur, MacMurrough's army returned to Ferns; and King Domhnall finding the coast clear again, after their departure, returned to Ossory.

Affairs in Ossory now take an unexpected change for the better. Maurice de Prendergast, one of the bravest of MacMurrough's English allies, finding cause of complaint against the King of Leinster, transferred the services of both himself and his troops to the King of Ossory. Domhnall was overjoyed at this piece of good luck, and aided by his new friends he invaded MacMurrough's territory, which he wasted up and down. MacMurrough soon had reason to regret his parting with De Prendergast; but the latter remained true to the Ossorians, and gained such popularity among them, that they wished to make him one of their chiefs and bestowed on him, by way of honour, the title of "Maurice of Ossory." After a brief sojourn in Ossory, De Prendergast set sail for England, only again, however, to return to Ireland, where he landed, in the company of Richard, Earl Strongbow, August 23rd, 1170.

On the 1st May, 1171, "Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, King of Leinster, by whom a trembling sod was made of all Ireland—after having brought over the Saxons, after having done extensive injuries to the Irish, after plundering and burning many churches, as Ceanannus, Cluain Iraird, &c. died before the end of a year [after this plundering], of an insufferable and unknown disease: for he became putrid while living, through the miracle of God, Colum-Cille, and Finnen, and the other Saints of Ireland whose churches he had profaned and burned some time before; and he died at Fearna-mor, without making a will, without penance, without the Body of Christ, without Unction, as his evil deeds deserved." [1]

In the same year, "Domhnall Ua Fogarta, Lord of South Eile, was slain by Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, [King] of Ossory; and he made a slaughter of the people of the two Eiles, where he slew three hundred persons." [2]

Earl Strongbow having succeeded to the Lordship of Leinster, on the death of his father-in-law, MacMurrough, led an army into Ossory—which, as part of

[1] *Four Masters.*
[2] *Ibid.*

Leinster, he now claimed as his by right and title—in order to exact submission from its King. He was accompanied on this expedition by Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, to whom also, MacMurrough had stood in the relation of father-in-law. Their combined forces amounted to 2,000 men.

The King of Ossory, taught by the bitter experience of the past, was unwilling to risk a battle with the invading army ; he, accordingly, desired a parley with the Earl, which was granted ; and Maurice de Prendergast was sent to bring his old friend, under safe-conduct, to the Earl's camp, somewhere in the territory of Odoth or Ui-Duach. Donald O'Brien advised the Earl to make a prisoner of the King of Ossory, now that he had him in his power, and the English Barons heartily approved of the suggestion. But De Prendergast, becoming aware of the treachery that was being planned, flew into a violent fit of indignation ; he proceeded straightway to the council chamber, where he denounced the plotters in scathing terms, charging them with dishonouring themselves and falsifying their oaths to him ; and "he sware by the cross of his sword," before Earl Strongbow and the others who were present, that any man who dared to raise a hand against the King of Ossory, to dishonour him, "right or wrong, should have his head struck in two." [1] After this he was allowed by the Earl to convey King Domhnall to his residence, where he remained with him that night. As a result of the parley the Ossory King acknowledged Strongbow as his feudal lord, and agreed to hold his territory from him ; and Strongbow, on the other hand, acknowledged his status as King with authority derived from himself. The Earl and Donald O'Brien then quitted Ossory. This was in August, 1171.

On the 18th October following, King Henry II. landed at Crooke, near Waterford ; next day the city was delivered up to him by Strongbow. He remained in Ireland for the next six months, during which time he received the submission of the King of Ossory and all the other Irish Kings, except the King of Ulster.

In 1175, King Domhnall accompanied Raymond le Gros on his march to relieve the English garrison of Limerick, then threatened by King Donald O'Brien. In the same year King Domhnall's son was slain by O'Brien :

"A.D. 1175. The son of Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, Lord of Osraighe, was treacherously slain by Donald O'Brien." [2]

It is strange that, notwithstanding the bitter feud so long existing between the King of Ossory and the King of Limerick, Uchtlathan (*i.e.* the Wide-Breasted), sister of the former, should, soon after this date, have become wife of the latter.

[1] *Song of Dermot.*
[2] *Four Masters.*

King Domhnall died in 1185, according to the *Annals of Loch Ce :*

'A.D. 1185. Domhnall, grandson of Gillapatrick, King of Osraighe, mortuus est."

From 1171 till his death, he held his Kingdom as the vassal of Earl Strongbow and. subsequently, of his daughter, Isabella ; and he appears to have held it without much undue interference on the part of the invaders. His stubborn defence of his territory, from 1169 to 1171, against MacMurrough and the English, shows that he possessed courage and valour and military skill of no mean order. As a patriot, he cannot claim the full meed of praise. He was not above giving his services to the invaders on the occasion of their attack on the Irish of Limerick ; in this, however, he was no worse than most of the Irish chieftains of his own and subsequent times. Had his lot been cast in more favourable circumstances, he would, very probably, have ruled his Kingdom with credit to himself and with advantage to his subjects.

He was mindful of the wants of Holy Church, and hence we find him granting, with the consent of Henry II., for religious purposes, to John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, the lands of Kilfera, near Kilkenny. This grant was afterwards confirmed by King Henry's son, John, Earl of Moreton and Lord of Ireland. as appears from his charter to the Archbishop, in which he mentions "terram etiam de Kilfechra in Ossoria, quam ei [*i.e.* Archiepiscopo] dedit Rex D[onaldus] assensu patris mei ; et terram de Fidon, quae est ex dono meo." [1] The date of King Domhnall's gift to the Archbishop lies between September, 1181, when John Comyn was appointed to Dublin, and 1185, when he himself died.

King Domhnall was a munificent benefactor to Jerpoint abbey. Indeed, he is called its founder by Mac Firbis in his Irish pedigree of the Mac Gillapatricks : but this honour belongs not to him, but to his father, Donnchadh, as we have already stated, and as we shall prove later on. Of the present ruins at Jerpoint, the nave of the Abbey Church must be assigned to the closing years of Domhnall's reign, and may be regarded as one of the fruits of his religious munificence. His mortal remains are supposed to rest in Jerpoint, but there is nothing now to show that the supposition rests on any solid grounds.

It may be as well to insert King Domhnall's pedigree here. In preparing it I have examined and collated all the Ossorian pedigrees now extant, in English and Irish, in print and manuscript ; I have also been able to verify it, link by link, from the Irish Annals, from the beginning of the seventh century to the close of the twelfth. The result has been the production of as perfect and as well-authenticated a line of family descent, extending over six remote centuries, as any family in

[1] *Crede Mihi :* The Most Ancient Register of the Archbishops of Dublin, ch. xxxiii.

Europe can boast of. The links in the chain from Aengus Osrithe to Bicne Caoch are doubtful, but for this part of the pedigree I give what I believe to be the best version, viz., that to be found in the *Book of Leinster :*

PEDIGREE OF DOMHNALL MACGILLAPATRICK, KING OF OSSORY, WHO DIED 1185.

Domhnall MacGillapatrick, King of Tuaisceart Osraighe, but usually designated "King of Ossory"; died in 1185; son of

Donnchadh, King of Tuaisceart Osraighe, and, subsequently of Deisceart Osraighe as well; founder of Jerpoint Abbey; died in 1162; son of

Gillapatrick, King of Tuaisceart Osraighe; slain by the O'Brenans, in 1146; son of

Domhnall, King of Deisceart Osraighe; slain by Goll of Gowran, in 1113; son of

Donnchadh, King of Ossory; "murthered of his own," in 1089; son of

Domhnall, King of Ossory; died in 1087; son of

Gillapatrick, King of Ossory; "died of greefe," in 1055; son of

Donnchadh, King of Ossory and Leinster; died in 1039; son of

Gillapatrick, King of Ossory (from whom came the name MacGillapatrick); slain by the Danes of Waterford in 996; son of

Donnchadh, King of Ossory; died in 974 or 976; son of

Ceallach "of the hard conflicts," King of Ossory; slain in the battle of Ballaghmoon, in 903 or 908; son of

Cearbhall, King of Ossory and of the Danes of Dublin; died in 885 or 887; son of

Dunghal, also called Dunlaing, King of Ossory; died in 842; son of

Fearghal, King of Ossory; died 802; son of

Anmchadh, King of Ossory; died between 756 and 765; son of

Cucearca, King of Ossory; died 710 or 711; son of

Faelan, King of Ossory; slain in 656; son of

Ronan Righ Flaith, King of Ossory; son of

Colman Mor, King of Ossory; son of

Bicne Caoch; son of

Laighnech Faeileach; son of

Eochadh; son of

Imchadh; son of

Cubrothach; son of

Fircorbb; son of

Cormac; son of

Coirpre; son of

Niadh Corbb; son of
Buan; son of
Laeghaire Birn Buadhach; son of
Aengus Osrithe.

MAELSEACHLAINN, son or brother, and successor, of Domhnall, became King of Tuiasceart Osraighe, in 1185. He, too, held his territory as the vassal of Strongbow's daughter, Isabella, and subsequently, perhaps, of her husband, William Marshall the elder, Earl of Pembroke. We find his death thus entered in the Irish Annals:

"A.D. 1193. Maelsechlainn, son of Donnchadh, King of Osrighe, died."[1]
"A.D. 1194. Maelseachlainn, the son of Domhnall, who was grandson of Gillapatrick, Lord of Osraighe, died."[2]

He was the last King of Tuaisceart Osraighe.

[1] *Annals of Loch Ce.*
[2] *Four Masters.*

CHAPTER VIII.

FLIGHT OF THE MACGILLAPATRICKS TO UPPER OSSORY, ABOUT 1192.—NOTICES OF THE FAMILY DURING THE THREE SUCCEEDING CENTURIES.

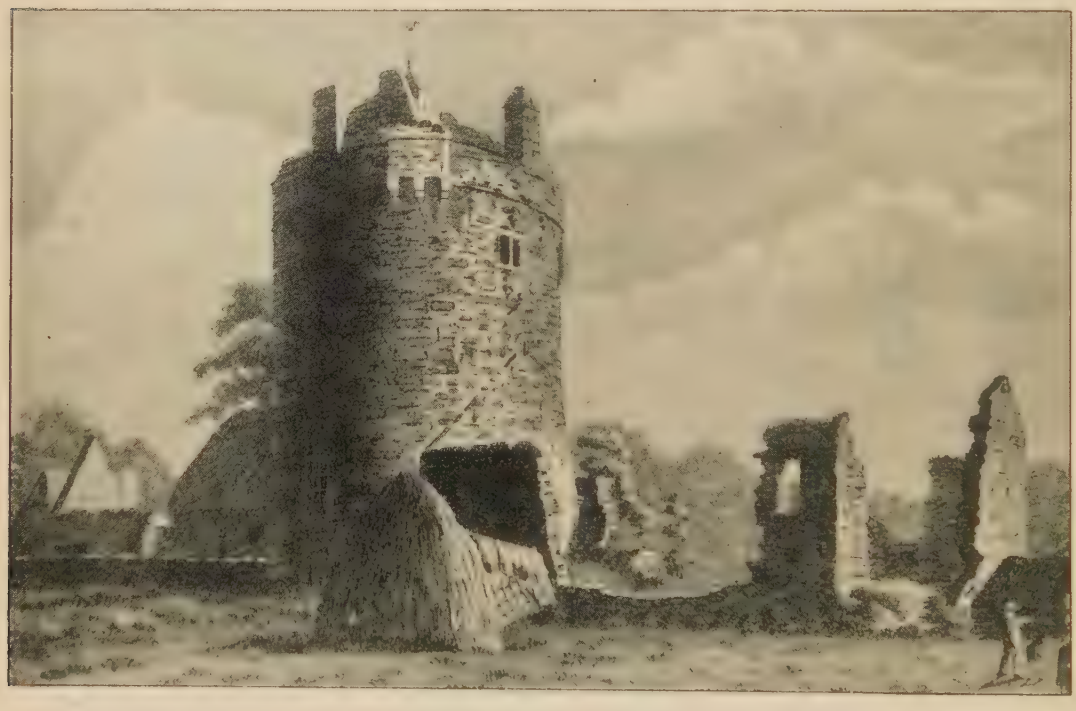
ON the death of King Maelseachlainn or, more probably, a year or two before it, the right of the Mac Gillapatricks to hold the Kingdom of Tuaisceart Osraighe, even as vassals, was declared to have been forfeited, by their Norman over-lord, and a general sentence of eviction from their native territory was passed against the whole Mac Gillapatrick clan. The circumstances that led up to these drastic measures are not far to seek. Isabella, the daughter and heir of Earl Strongbow and Eva MacMurrough, was but a child of five years old at the death of her father in 1176. During the next thirteen years, while she was a ward of King Henry II., English influence had very little sway in Ossory, because its Kings, though Isabella's vassals, were too powerful to be interfered with by the invaders.

A new state of things, however, soon arose. In 1189, Isabella was given in marriage to the first and most powerful of English nobles, William Marshall the elder, Earl of Pembroke. In right of his wife the Earl became entitled to the Lordship of Leinster, which consisted of the counties of Wexford, Carlow and Kildare, all Ossory, and Dunamase, *i.e.* Leix. In 1191, two years after his marriage, he was appointed to the chief governorship of Ireland, under the title of Lord Justice ;[1] and during this first term of his retention of that office, one of his chief concerns would naturally be to establish and strengthen his dominion over the extensive Irish possessions, to which he had become entitled.

The MacGillapatricks, it must be remembered, were the bitterest foes of his

[1] Ware's *List of the Chief Governors of Ireland.*

wife, Isabella's, house. Their territory was the fairest in the Lordship of Leinster: it was also the border-land of his possessions, and if occupied by a disloyal people, who made common cause with their Irish neighbours in Munster, might one day shake off his yoke. He, therefore, passed against the Mac Gillapatricks the decree of expulsion from their native district, which he now determined to parcel out among his needy English friends and followers. The date of this expulsion may be fixed at 1192, in which year, according to the Dublin Copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen*, a castle was erected at Kilkenny by the English, that is,



GRANTSTOWN CASTLE.
(From Engraving in Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*, 1791.)

by Earl Marshall, who at this period must have erected many castles in Ossory for the protection of his new planters.

In their flight from their own land, the MacGillapatricks and such of their sub-tribes as shared in their banishment, turned to the north, to seek other lands among their kinsmen, in the district of Magh Lacha and Ui Foircheallain, to be known henceforth as Upper Ossory. Twenty years before, Magh Lacha had been granted by Strongbow to Adam de Hereford; and a similar grant of Ui Foircheallain must have been made by him to another of his followers, about the same time.

The new grantees entered at once on possession of the confiscated lands, and they did so in no half-hearted manner. They erected strong fortresses at Aghaboe, Castletown, and elsewhere, to keep the natives in check; while such survivals as *Grant's*-town, Castle-*Fleming*, Rath-*Piper* (Peppard, or Pipard's Rath), Rath *Andrick* (Androc's Rath), Bally-*Gauge* (Davoc's-town), &c., make it clear that they planted English or Welsh colonists in considerable numbers in the district. It cannot be expected that the old tribes looked on with indifference while their chiefs were being set aside, their own lands appropriated by strangers, and many of themselves reduced to beggary; and hence there can be no doubt that at this period Upper Ossory was in a ferment of confusion, disturbance, and agrarian outrage.

It was whilst thus torn with bitterness and strife that this district was made choice of by the evicted MacGillapatricks for their new home. History throws no light on the circumstances attending their first settlement in Upper Ossory, nor on the manner in which they were received there. Probably their coming was almost as unwelcome to the native clans as to the English settlers; it certainly added a new and powerful element of strife to those already existent, and reduced Upper Ossory to a state of utter chaos. The venerable Felix O'Dulany, who had been consecrated Bishop of Ossory in 1178, and had ever since ruled the Diocese from his Episcopal See of Aghaboe, seeing all things in such confusion around him ("cum omnia simultatibus et odiis plena, et totam ditionem bello ac tumultibus fervere cerneret,")[1] and unwilling to dwell in the midst of such evils, was now constrained ("studio captandae majoris securitatis et quietitudinis")[2] to quit Aghaboe altogether, and remove the See thence to Kilkenny.

The land war in Upper Ossory continued for more than a century and a-half after Bishop O'Dulany's departure from Aghaboe, and only ceased in the second half of the fourteenth century, when the MacGillapatricks expelled the last remnant of the English settlers, brought the O'Phelans and O'Delanys into subjection, and established their undisputed sway over the whole district lying between the Co. Kilkenny and the Slieve Bloom.

We may now resume the history of the chiefs of the MacGillapatricks, as far as it is possible to recover it from ancient authorities.

Donnell Clannach is the first of the MacGillapatricks to attract the notice of the Annalists after the settlement of the clan in Upper Ossory. Campion in his *History of Ireland* describes him as "a peerless warrior;" and the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* have the following entry regarding him:

"A.D. 1212. Mortagh O'Bryen, Donnell macDonnell O'Melaghlyn, Cowlen O'Dempsie and Donnell Clannagh MacGillepatrick gave an overthrow to Cormack mac Art O'Melaghlyn."

[1] Rothe's *De Dioecesi Ossoriensi.*
[2] *Ibid.*

Donnogh MacGillapatrick was the unrelenting foe of the English, and with good reason :

"A.D. 1247. A great war was waged by Turlough, son of Hugh O'Connor, and by Donnogh, son of Anmchadh, son of Donnogh MacGillapatraic of Osraighe, against the Foreigners of Connacht; and Turlough assembled the sons of the Kings of Connacht, until they reached Fiodh-Ui-Diarmada and Muintir-Fathaidh, where they killed many persons. And they proceeded thence to the castle of Bun-Gaillimhe [now Galway], and burned the town and castle; and many persons were killed and plundered there. And MacElget, *i.e.* the seneschal of Connacht, was killed by the son of Anmchadh O'Gillapatraic of Osraighe." [1]

"A.D. 1249. Donnagh mac Anmchy macDonnogh MacGillepatrick, the best head of a companie that ever descended of Osserie, of the race of Colman macBrickne Keigh, or Scanlan macKynfoyle doune, for manhood, vallour and bounty, was killed by the Englishmen of the fforgie, as he deserved of the English divers times before, for he killed, preyed and burnt many an Englishman before that day. Donnogh was the third Irishman [in point of distinction] that warred against the Englishmen after their first footing in this land, *vidzt.* Connor OMelaghlin, Connor 'of the castle' McCoghlan and this Donnogh macAnmchy, for the son of Anmchy in his owne persone did use to goe to take view of the Englishmen's towns and fforts in the habbitt of a poore man, Carpender, Turner, or other Tradesman." [2]

Jeffrey, son of Donnell Clannach, chief of his name, was King or Lord of Upper Ossory or, as it is called by the Annalist, Slieve Bloom :

"A.D. 1269. Seffraidh, son of Donnell Clannach MacGillapatraic, King of Sliabh-Bladhma, died in hoc anno." [3]

"A.D. 1281. Hogekyn [Eochagan] McGilpadricke was slain." [4]

A.D. 1286. "Mollachlyn MacGylpatrick and Fynnyn, his brother [paid the English Government] £6 for having peace, in Feb. or March of this year." [5]

A.D. 1314. Donnogh MacGillapatrick, Lord of Ossory, was summoned by Edward II. to attend, with other magnates of Ireland, the expedition to Scotland.[6]

"A.D. 1324. Donnogh MacGillapatrick, Lord of Ossory, died." [7]

"A.D. 1325. Sunday, August 18th, Donnell Duff MacGilpadricke was treacherously slain by his own relatives. In the same year Bren O'Bren [Brian O'Brien] aided by the English of Ely took a great prey in Ossory in the neighbourhood of Slesblaine [Slieve Bloom], and at Athbo [Aghaboe] and Admacart [Aghamacart]; and they slew the loyal English while defending their goods." [8]

"A.D. 1329. On Monday in Holy Week, the district of Moyarfe [Magh-Airbh] was burned and preyed by Donough MacGilpatrick." [9]

"A.D. 1330. Sunday, November 4th, Donnogh the son of Jeffry McGilpatrike was slain in Kilkenny." [10]

[1] *Annals of Loch Ce.*
[2] *Annals of Clonmac.*
[3] *Annals of Loch Ce.*
[4] Clyn's *Annals.*
[5] *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland.*
[6] *Rymer*, Vol. III., p. 476.
[7] *Four Masters.*
[8] *Clyn.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*

The *Annals of the Four Masters* record Donnogh's death one year earlier:

"A.D. 1329. Donnogh MacGillapatrick, was slain by the Earl of Ulster."
"A.D. 1333. In the beginning of the month of June, Scanlan McGylpatrick, after many and repeated oaths on various books and numerous relics of the saints, treacherously captured and slew the two sons of his uncle Fynyn McGylpatricke, and blinded and mutilated the third." [1]

In 1336 Laisech O'More of Leix induced the Munster and Leinster chiefs to unite against the English, and all joined in the patriotic confederacy except Scanlan MacGillapatrick and Henry O'Ryan.[2]

"A.D. 1340. Raynyl, sister of MacGillapatrick, was slain by the Rochefords." [3]
"A.D. 1345. On the feast of the Innocents [December 28] the Irish of Slebanie [Slieve Bloom] burned Bordgwyl [Bordwell] and slew Robert le Gras and others of the English; and on the same day Carwill McGilpatrick, chief of his country, was slain." [4]
"A.D. 1346. Item, on Friday the 13th May, Dermot MacGilpatrick, the one-eyed, ever noted for treachery and treasons, making light of perjury, and aided by O'Carroll, burned the town of Athebo [Aghabo], and venting his parricidal rage against the cemetery, the church, and the shrine of that most holy man, St. Canice, the Abbot, consumed them, together with the bones and relics, by a most cruel fire. Also [in the same year] on Saturday, the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Roger de la Frene, then Sheriff of Kilkenny, took a great prey from Carwyl McGillepatricke and his men, such as any man remembers to have been but rarely taken in those parts for many years." [5]

The last of these entries appears to be out of order, as Carwyl (or Carroll) McGillapatrick is already stated by Clyn to have been slain in the preceding year. With regard to the horrible deed of sacrilege imputed to Dermot MacGillapatrick, in the same entry, we must bear in mind that Aghaboe was at this time an English garrison, viewed in no favourable light by the neighbouring MacGillapatricks, and that what Clyn, a loyal palesman, and no friend of the mere Irish, here describes as an attack on the religious edifices alone, may have been a fierce onslaught on the entire English settlement at Aghaboe, during which the church and its surroundings were, though quite unintentionally, set on fire. This view of the case is borne out by the following extract from the Memorandum Rolls of 28 & 29 Edward III. (1354 & 1355), M. 16, in which it is stated that in January of the latter year "the McGilpatricks, Irish felons and enemies of our Lord the King, waged war against *the Castle of Aghbo*, invaded all the adjoining country, perpetrating plunderings, injuries and burnings daily on the people of our lord the King there."

1359, June 8. A mandate was issued to Thomas de Quykeshull, clerk, to pay to McGilpatrick £10 for his services against the Irish of Leinster.[6] But, notwithstanding this generosity on the part of the Crown, the MacGillapatricks

[1] *Clyn.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Pat. Rolls.*

could not be persuaded to look with anything but disfavour on the English of Aghaboe, and hence, about this period, they expelled the latter from Aghaboe altogether, and annexed their lands to their other possessions in Upper Ossory. It was probably at this period, too, that the MacGillapatricks succeeded in gaining possession of the strong castle of Castletown-Ui-Foircheallain.

"A.D. 1367. Maelechlainn son of Jeffrey MacGilla-Patraic, and a number of his people were slain by Foreigners in treachery." [1]

The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* thus enter the same event :

"A.D. 1367. Melaghlen McGeffry fitzPatrick of Ossery was sincerely killed by the English."

A.D. 1382. The Abbey of Aghaboe was founded for friars of the Dominican Order by Finghin, or Fineen, MacGillapatrick, Prince or Lord of Upper Ossory. The founder died the year after, as appears from the following :

"A.D. 1383. McGillepatrick, prince of Ossery, and the sonne of Keallagh ffitzpatrick, tanist of Ossery, died thereof" [*i.e.*, of a great plague which raged throughout Ireland in that year].[2]

"A.D. 1396. MacGillaPatrick, Ossoriæ dominus obiit." [3]

"A.D. 1398. King Richard, King of England, arived in Ireland this yeare, by whome Art McMurochow, King of Leinster, was mightely weakened & brought low. McMurrogh upon an Inrode he made was overtaken by the English of Leinster & Meath, where many of the English armye & the retained Kearne of McMorrogh were killed with the sonns of Donogh O'Doyne, Karoll & Owen, with their chiefest people. Alsoe William McKaroll FitzPatrick was killed there ; " [4] "and the son of Diarmaid Ruadh MacGillapatraic was also slain there."[5]

"A.D. 1411. Sadhbh, daughter of MacMurchadha, uxor of MacGillaPatraic, mortua est." [6]

"A.D. 1421. MacGillapatrick and the son of Libned a Frene,[7] one of the English, set out with twelve score soldiers on a predatory excursion into Leix, and did not halt until they reached the Abbey of Leix ; but O'Connor Faly happened to come in contact with them in that country, and attacked MacGillapatrick and the English, and defeated and slaughtered them, and his people obtained great spoils of the armour, arms, and accoutrements of the English." [8]

"A.D. 1431. Donnell MacGillaPatraig, namely the son of the King of Ossory, died." [9]

"A.D. 1440. O'Connor Faly, his sons, and his brother Cahir, went upon a predatory incursion into Leix, O'Moore's territory ; but after having sent the prey on before them, they were overtaken by the Earl of Desmond, and by MacGillapatrick, who defeated O'Connor, and killed his son Con, together with sixty of his soldiers." [10]

[1] *Annals of Loch Ce.*
[2] *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*
[3] McFirbis's *Annals*, quoted in the Notes to the *Four Masters* under the same year.
[4] *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*
[5] *Annals of Loch Ce.*
[6] *Annals of Loch Ce.*
[7] Libned is a corrupt form of Ribnead (pronounced *Ribineadh*, accent on *nee*), the English form of which is Robnet, *i.e.*, little Robert. Robnet was a christian name among the Purcells, of Foulksrath Castle, who succeeded the De Frenes, probably their relatives, there, about the year 1400. A mile from Foulksrath Castle, in the townland of Swiftsheath, at its junction with Gragara and Shang-ana, is a plot of seventeen acres, known as Bawn-Ribinaedh, or Robnet's Bawn ; it was formerly part of the townland of Gragara.
[8] *Four Masters.*
[9] *Annals of Ulster.*
[10] *Four Masters.*

A.D. 1441, July 1st, an. 20 Henry VI. The King grants 100 shillings to the sovereign, provost and citizens of Kilkenny, for the losses and expenses incurred by them in resisting the Irish enemies and English rebels, and especially in breaking the castle of McKilpatryk (*in frangendo castro McKilpatryk*).[1]

"A.D. 1443. Fingin MacGillyPatrick and Dermot MacGillePatrick, Mac GillePatrick King of Ossory his two sonns (the said Fingin being well worthy of the Kingdome of Ossory as sole Lord through his vertuous qualities and conditions both in princely person, wealth, liberality and martiall ffeates,) were both murthered in Killkenny by Mac Richard Butler's direction. Walter the Siccy his son, and Alexander Croc and John Begg O'Conallay, by these three Fingin was beaten to death and afterwards Richard Butler's sonn cruelly ransacked Ossory . . . . Another preying army was made by Mac Gille-Patrick King of Ossory, and by O'Mordhae's sonn, and by Conn O-conner so that their forces reached westwards beyond Sliavardachy, and they gathered very many Cattles, vntill Richard Butler's sonn overtooke them, and they being defeated lost some scores of their horses, and there was killed William the son's son of Thomas son to the Earl of Killdare, and Caher o-Conner's sonn & John Renan fitz Murris Oridh his sonn, and Malechlyn Roa mac Gille Patrick his sonn, and Donnagh son's son to John O-Carole & others of their footmen, and the most parte of their horseboyes alsoe . . . O-Mordha his sons gave a defeat to the county of Kilkeny, where Piers, the son's son of Piers Buttler was killed, and two or three of the murtherers that has [*i.e.* had] beaten Fingin MacGillePatrick." [2]

"A.D. 1468. O'More and MacGillapatrick died of the plague." [3]

This MacGillapatrick was probably Seaghan or John, son of Fineen, Lord of Ossory.

Geoffry, son of Fineen, and brother of Seaghan, was next Lord of Ossory. As "Geffredus McGillephadrik, sue nacionis capitaneus," he is mentioned in a document of Bishop Hacket's time, that is, between 1460 and 1478.[4]

"A.D. 1478. Richard, the son of Edmond mac Richard Butler, was slain by Fineen Ruadh, the son of Fineen [Mac Gillapatrick], one of the Ossorians, in the doorway of the church of St. Canice." (*indorus Chille Chainnigh*).[5]

According to O'Donovan, the Church of St. Canice here mentioned is the Cathedral church of St. Canice, Kilkenny. Fineen Ruadh was probably the son of Finneen MacGillapatrick, slain in Kilkenny, at the instigation of Edmond Mac Richard Butler, in 1443; he thus avenged his father, by slaying Mac Richard's son near the spot purpled by Fineen's blood, thirty-five years before.

"A.D. 1487. Tadhg Dubh, son of Finghin Mac Gilla Padraig, tanist of Ossory, died." [6]

He is mentioned as "Tatheus niger McGillephadrik" in the document of Bishop Hacket's time, referred to above.

[1] *Pat. Rolls.*
[2] MacFirbis's *Annals of Ireland, from* 1443 *to* 1468.
[3] *Four Masters.*
[4] *Red Book of Ossory,* fol. 11*a.*
[5] *Four Masters.*
[6] *Annals of Ulster.*

Geoffry Mac Gillapatrick held the Lordship of Ossory twenty-one years. His death is thus recorded :

"A.D. 1489. Mac Gilla Padraig, King of Ossory, that is Geoffry, son of Finghin Mac GillaPadraig, after being blind for a time before that, died this year after Christmas."[1]
"A.D. 1489. Sethraigh [*i.e.* Geoffry] Mac GillaPatric, King of Osraidhe, died." [2]
"A.D. 1489. Mac Gillapatrick, *i.e.* Seffraidh, Lord of Ossory, died." [3]

Brian "na luirech," that is, Brian of the coats of mail, son of Seaghan, Shawn, or John Mac Gillapatrick, was Lord of Ossory in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and died about 1511. By his wife Noirin, (in English Honora), daughter of Uaithne O'More, and sister of Melaghlin O'More, both Lords of Leix, he left a son Brian, otherwise Sean Brian, that is, Brian the elder, who succeeded him as Lord of Ossory, and who was subsequently appointed Lord Baron of Upper Ossory by the Crown, in 1541. Brian na luirech and his wife, together with his father, Seaghan, and mother, Katherine O'Molloy, lie interred in "Kilpatrick's" mortuary chapel, at the Priory of Fertagh, underneath an altar-tomb sculptured with effigies, in high relief, of the said Seaghan and Katherine.

Pedigree of Brian na luirech Mac Gillapatrick, Lord of Ossory.

(Copied from MacFirbis's *Book of Genealogies*, p. 480.)

Brian [na luirech].
m Seaain
m Fingin
m Fingin
m Domnaill
m Domnaill
m Sefrid Finn
m Sefrid Bachaigh
m Domnaill Moir Muige Laca .i. Laoisigh
m Sgannlain
m Giollapadraig
m Domnaill tug Seriopun do [na] Manchaibh
m Donnchadha
m Giollapadraig
m Domnaill
m Donnchadha
m Ceallaigh
m Cearbhaill.

Pedigree of Brian na luireach.

(As printed by Lodge in his *Peerage* for 1754, and evidently copied by him from some very valuable family records.)

Brian who married the daughter of O'More, Lord of Leix), was son of
Shane (whose wife was the daughter of O'Molloy); son of
Fynin; son of

[1] *Annals of Ulster.*
[2] *Annals of Loch Ce.*
[3] *Four Masters.*

Fynin (who married the daughter of O'Carroll); son of
Donald (who married the daughter of MacMurrough); son of
Donald (who married the daughter of O'Brenan of Idough); son of
Geoffry (who married the daughter of Richard Mor Tobin); son of
Geoffry (who married the daughter of O'Meagher); son of
Donald; son of
Scanlan; son of
Gillapatrick; son of
Donald; son of
Donatus; son of
Kelli; son of
Kervaill.

Pedigree of Brian na luirech.

(From a transcript of Keating's *History of Ireland*, made in the 17th century, and now in the Royal Irish Academy.)

Brian
mc Seain
mc Finghin na Culchoille
mc Finghin
mc Domhnaill Duibh
mc Sifra Finn
mc Sifra Bacaicc
mc Domnaill Mhoir Muighe Leise
mc Domhnaill Clannaicc
mc Sganlain
mc Giollapatruig
mc Donnchadha
mc Ceallaigh
mc Cearbhuil.

Pedigree of Brian na luirich.

(From Dr. John Lynch's translation of *Keating's History*, made about 1650.)

Brianus, filius
Joannis, filii
Fingini, filii
Domnaldi Nigri, filii
Donaldi, filii
Seufredi Candidi, filii
Seufredi Claudi, filii
Domnaldi Magni, de Muighlisia, filii
Domnaldi Clannuigh id est. Foecundi, filii
Scanlani, filii
Gillepatrick, filii
Domnaldi (qui Jeripontem monachis elargitus est), filii
Donati, filii
Gillepatric, filii
Domnaldi, filii
Donati, filii
Kellachi, seu Celsi, filii
[Kervalli].

Pedigree of Brian na luireach MacGillapatrick.

(Compiled from the foregoing and other pedigrees, with historical notes.)

Brian "na luirech" MacGillapatrick, Lord of Ossory, who married Noirin, daughter of Uaithne, and sister of Melaghlin O'More, both Lords of Leix, died about 1511, and was son of

Seaghan or John, Lord of Ossory, who married Catherine O'Molloy, and died probably in 1468; son of

Fineen, called in Irish "Finghin na Cul-choille," or Fineen of Cullahill, most likely because he built Cullahill Castle, and made it his chief residence. He was probably the King or Lord of Ossory, whose two sons, Fineen and Dermot, were slain in 1443; he was also probably the father of Thadg Dubh, (son of Finghin), tanist of Ossory, who died in 1487, and of Geoffry (son of Fineen), Lord of Ossory, who died in 1489. His wife was the daughter of Edmund Butler ("filia Edmund. Botiller, uxor quondam McGillephadrik").[1] Fineen was son of another

Fineen, who married the daughter of O'Carroll; son of

Donnell Dubh, or the Black, whose wife, Sadhbh, the daughter of MacMurrough, died in 1411; son of

Donnell, who married the daughter of O'Brenan of Ui-Duach; son of

Geoffry Fionn, or the Fair, who married the daughter of O'Carroll; son of

Geoffry Bacach, or the Lame, who married the daughter of Richard Mor Tobin; son of

Donnell Mor, or the Great, of Magh Lacha; son of

Scanlan; son of

Gillapatrick; son of

Domhnall, King of Tuaisceart Osraighe, who died in 1185; son of

Donnchadh, King of Tuaisceart Osraighe, and subsequently of all Ossory, (died in 1162); son of

Gillapatrick, King of Tuaisceart Osraighe, who was slain in 1146; son of

Domhnall, King of Deisceart Osraighe, who was slain in 1113; son of

Donnchadh, King of Ossory, who was slain in 1089; son of

Domhnall, King of Ossory, who died in 1087; son of

Gillapatrick, King of Ossory, who died in 1055; son of

Donnchadh, King of Ossory, and Leinster, who died in 1039; son of

Gillapatrick, King of Ossory, slain in 996; son of

Donnchadh, King of Ossory, who died in 974 or 976; son of

Ceallach, King of Ossory, slain at Ballaghmoon, in 903 or 908; son of

Cearbhall, King of Ossory, and of the Danes of Dublin, who died in 885 or 887; son of

Dunghal, otherwise Dunlaing, King of Ossory, who died in 842.

[1] *Red Book of Ossory*, fol. 11*a*.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LORDS BARONS OF UPPER OSSORY: SEAN BRIAN, FIRST LORD; BRIAN OGE, SECOND LORD.

BRIAN, son of Brian na luirech, succeeded to the Lordship of Ossory,[1] about 1511, and for the next sixty-four years was the acknowledged Lord of Mac Gillapatrick's country. He is called Sean Brian, or Brian the elder, to distinguish him from his son and successor, Brian Oge, or Brian the younger. In the early part of his reign he came into collision with the Sovereign and Commons of Kilkenny, and with what result may be learned from the following extract from the *Liber Primus Kilkenniae*, quoted in Graves and Prim's *History of St. Canice's Cathedral*, p. 220:

"Item. the same year [1517] and in the manner aforesaid, was built the new stone gateway below,

[1] According to the *Rental Book of the Earl of Kildare*, drawn up in the early part of the sixteenth century, that nobleman was entitled to the following "duties" from "Ossory M'Gyllepatrick's countre," doubtless in return for his protection and defence whenever needed, in the year 1531:—

"Itm. in fformoyll [Fermoyle] for every kowe iiiid., every croo of shep i. shep, every croo of swyn a hogg, graunted by Brene McTirrelagh McDonghe [MacGillapatrick] yeree [*i.e.*, yearly] unto Kildare.

"Itm. upon Clanmalaghlin Roo for the defence of Ballydawoke [now Ballygauge], the Parke, Garran ne boly, Croyll [Cruell], and the half of Ballygnevyn, and Kylbracan [Kilbricken], Kyllermoy, iiii d. of every cow, a mutton of every cro of shepe, and a swyne of every croo of swyne at every halontide. Of the fferaneheglyshe [Ferraneglish] of every cow iiiid.

"Upon the vicar of Chircheton iiiid. of every cow, a swyne of every croo of swyne, and a mutton of every croo of shepe belonging unto him. Of every cow in the Cargyn iiiid. of every crow, a mutton of every crow of shepe, and a swyne of every croo of swyne.

"Itm. of the Loran in likewyse.

"Itm. of Ballyvaghlin [now part of Middlemount] in like manner.

"Itm. of Graige Arde in like manner to be payed all at every halontide.

"Itm. on the sonnys of Donnogh Makdonnok O Showylle [O Shelly ?] in the Burgache [Borris-in-Ossory] and Syrebege on every cow iiiid.

"Itm. on evrey crow of shepe a shepe.

"Itm. upon every crowe of swyne a hog to be payde at hallontide graunted for terme of lyff; being present James Boyce, James Kyng, Edmond Sex, Walter Long; graunted by Wone and Tyrrelagh Mcdonnogh in the name of all ther brethern the xix day of Novebre the xxii yere of King Henry viiith." (—*Kilkenny Archæol. Journal*, April, 1862, pp. 124-5.]

on the east side of the said Tholsel [in Kilkenny], and in it was placed the iron grate [portcullis ?] taken by force from the castle of Bernard, the then MacGillapatrick, called Coolkill [now Cullahill] in Ossory, by the Sovereign and Commons of the town of Kilkenny, then in warlike array, aided by Sir Piers Butler, Knight, and afterwards Earl of Ormond. Also the new wall in the solar of the said Tholsel was repaired in the middle."

He seems to have been considerably annoyed later on by the aggressions of his troublesome neighbours, the said Sir Piers Butler, and his lady, the redoubtable Mairgread ni Gearoid; so much so, indeed, that, in 1522, he lodged a complaint against the former in the Royal Court of King Henry VIII. "The messenger taking an opportunity to meet the King as he was going to chapel, delivered his embassy in these words: 'Sta pedibus, Domine Rex, Dominus meus Gillapatricius me misit ad te, et jussit dicere, quod si non vis castigare Petrum Rufum, ipse faciet bellum contra te.'" [1] The result of this spirited message is unknown. Nine years later, or in 1531, Brian is again met with; but on this occasion we find him a State prisoner, safe under lock and key.

"A.D. 1532. The son of the Earl of Ormond, *i.e.* Thomas son of Piers Ruadh, was slain in Osraighe by Diarmaid Mac Gilla Patraic, intended King [*i.e.*, tanist] of Osraighe. And this was very nearly 'Maelmor's feat'; for it was not long afterwards until Diarmaid was delivered by his own brother, *i.e.*, by MacGillapatraic, to the Earl of Ormond; and Diarmaid was manacled by the Earl in revenge of his son and of every other evil which had been previously committed by Diarmaid." [2]

A document in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, quoted in Graves's *History of St. Canice's Cathedral*, p. 239, states that Piers Ruadh's son was slain in the neighbourhood of Ballykealy, near Cullahill, whither a party of the Butlers had gone to plunder and burn Diarmaid Mac Gillapatrick's country. They were encountered by the Earl of Kildare and his followers, who overtook Thomas Butler, "and fell upon him, being allone, and threw him downe from his horse and most cruelly murdered him." Diarmaid Mac Gillapatrick was, it appears, only an accessory to the murder.

About this time, Brian, Lord of Ossory, married Margaret Butler, daughter of Piers Ruadh, Earl of Ormond, and it was probably owing to this connection that he was induced to deliver up his brother, Diarmaid, to be manacled by the Earl. In 1537, he made his "submission" to the Crown of England, under an agreement which included the following stipulations:

"The said MacGilpatrike doth utterly forsake and refuse the name of MacGilpatricke, and all claymes which he might pretende by the same; and promyseth to name himselfe for ever hereafter by such name as it shall please the Kinges Majestie to gyve unto him.

"The said MacGilpatrike, his heires and assignes, and everie other thinhabiters of such lands as it shall please the Kinges Majestie to gyve unto him, shall use the English habites and maner, and, to their knowledge, the Inglish language: and they and every of them, shall, to their power, bringe uppe their children after the Englishe maner and the use of the Englishe tonge."

[1] Lodge's *Peerage*, vol., ii. p. 241.
[2] *Annals of Loch Ce.*

CULLAHILL CASTLE. NORTH-WEST VIEW.

To face page 80, Vol. I. (Introduction).

It was also stipulated that the title of Baron should be conferred on Mac Gillapatrick. In reference to this matter, and to Brian's son, Brian Oge, the following letter was addressed to Henry VIII., in February, 1540-1, by St. Leger, Lord Deputy of Ireland :

"There is also one M'Gillapatrik, who is Lord of a fair contrey called Upper Ossorie, that at my first being here your Highnes Commissioner, became your Highness subjecte, and to take his lande of your Highnes, to him and his heyers, and to be made Lord of your Parliamente ; and ever sythe his said submission hathe contynewed your trew and faithful subjecte, as far as I can here. Howbeit, he hath not yet your gratius letters patentes for the same. He hathe most instantly desyred me to move eftsones your Majestie therein, so that he moughte be at your nexte Parliament here. His sonne hath been this yere and more in your Inglisshe Paale, and is well brought up, and speketh good Inglisshe. If it may please your Majestie also to give Parliamente robes to the said McGillapatricke, I think your Highnes shall well bestowe them. Thus I always move your Majestie to give. I most humbly beseche you of pardon, for I verely truste that your Highnes shall winne more obedience with these small giftes, than perchance hath bene wonne before this tyme with ten thousand poundes spent."

Soon after the date of this letter, the King, by patent dated June 11th, 1541, created Brian the first Lord Baron of Upper Ossory, and granted him the lands of Upper Ossory, at the yearly acknowledgment of £3 to the Crown. About this time, too, by the King's directions, he changed his old family name of MacGillapatrick to Fitzpatrick, a change which was soon adopted by all the members of his clan. In a letter to Henry VIII., written at Maynooth, in September, 1542, the Lord Deputy, St. Leger, and Council of Ireland, thus refer to the Baron and his son :

"The Lord of Upper Osserie ys now here with me your Deputie, ready to have repayred to your Highnes. He woulde have brought with hym his sonne to have gevyn him to your Majestie. He is a very proper childe, and one whome he moche tenderyth ; the mother beying sister to the Erle of Ormonde."

In 1543 he was knighted, but was afterwards taken prisoner and confined in the city of Waterford till he had made restitution for some preys he had seized in Leix.

"A.D. 1546. MacGillapatrick, *i.e.*, Brian, took prisoner his own son, Teige, a distinguished Captain and sent him to Dublin with [a statement of] his crimes written along with him ; and the English of Dublin put him to death at the request of his father."[1]

In 1566 the Baron and his son, Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, knight, received pardons ; and in 1569 the Crown appointed "Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, knight, son and heir of the Baron of Upper Ossory, to be captain and chief ruler of the Country of Upper Ossory, the Baron being incapacitated by age and other infirmities."[2] In 1571 there was a violent quarrel between the Baron and Sir Barnaby, the particulars of which may be gathered from their letters to the Lord Deputy, Sir William FitzWilliam, published by Sir John Gilbert in his *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts*.

[1] *Four Masters.*
[2] *Fiants* of Eliz.

The aged Baron died in 1575, some time between the 20th March and the 5th of December, as appears from the State Papers. He must have been then ninety years of age or upwards. His was not, by any means, a pleasing personality. History hands him down as an unnatural parent and brother, a traitor to his clan and country, and a worthless, contemptible being. Let us hope that the domestic trials of his last years weaned his heart at length from the things of earth, and helped to prepare him for that last account which all must render.

According to Lodge's *Peerage*, and all other authorities to hand, he was married but twice, viz. : first, in 1532 or thereabouts, to Margaret Butler, daughter of Piers Ruadh, Earl of Ormond ; and secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of Brian O'Connor Lord of Offaly, and widow of Gillapatrick O'More, Lord of Leix. He appears, however, to have been married long before his union with Margaret Butler. His eldest son, by Margaret Butler, viz. : Brian Oge, is mentioned as a mere "childe," in 1542 ; while, in 1546, only four years later, he had another son TEIGE, then old enough to be a distinguished captain, which he could not have been had he been his son by Margaret Butler. Again, the Baron had a DAUGHTER married before October, 1537, to Robert, son and heir of Baron John Grace, of Courtstown,[1] and who was presumably the *Katherine McGylpatricke*, otherwise Grace, wife of Robert Grace, granted English liberty, Jan. 4th, 1540-1, for a fine of 3s. 4d.[2] She cannot have been his daughter by Margaret Butler ; neither was she his illegitimate daughter, for it is out of the question to suppose that Baron Grace's heir would marry an illegitimate daughter of the Baron of Upper Ossory. Hence it must be regarded as sufficiently certain that Brian, the first Baron of Upper Ossory, had been already married long before his marriage with Margaret Butler, the daughter of the Earl of Ormond. His issue by Margaret Butler were :

BRIAN OGE, BERNARD, or BARNABY, his successor.

FINGHIN, FINEEN, or FLORENCE, who succeeded to Upper Ossory, on the death of his brother.

DONNELL, of Gort na clethi, or Gortnaclea, near Aghaboe.

GEOFFRY, of Beul atha Amhlaeibh, or Ballyawly, now Beckfield, near Rathdowney.

GRAINE, GRACE, or GRIZZEL, who was married to her first cousin, Edmond, second Viscount Mountgarret.

Margaret Butler died previous to July 25th, 1551, at which date a grant of English liberty was made to Elizabeth O'Connor, wife of Brian MacGillapatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory. By Elizabeth O'Connor the Baron had :

TURLOUGH, and

[1] *Annuary of Kilkenny Archæological Society*, for 1858, pp. 107 and 115.
[2] *Pat.* 32, 33, *Henry VIII.*, 37.

Dermot, who were both slain by Donnell O'Molloy in 1581 "with six of their men, in revenge for their burning of Fercawle, in the King's County. [1]

Besides these children he had three sons who were illegitimate, viz.:

Teige, who settled down in Upperwoods; he was living in 1585.

Ceallach or Callough, who also lived in Upperwoods; he was in rebellion in 1578.

Shawn, whose mother was Joan ny Carroull; he lived in Baile-Ui-Gaeithin, now Ballygihen, near Ballacolla. In 1607 his son endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to prove that Joan ny Carroull was the lawful wife of his grandfather.

Brian Oge or Barnaby succeeded as second Lord of Upper Ossory, on the death of his father. Born about 1533, he was sent by his father, when a child, to the Pale, to be there brought up after the English manner and to the use of the English tongue. Subsequently he was sent to England, where he became the school-fellow of the Prince, afterwards King Edward VI., and where he had also for fellow-pupil his cousin, Thomas Dubh, the youthful Earl of Ormond. "Barnaby enjoyed a large share of esteem from King Edward VI., to whom he was a frequent companion, and so much endeared, that his majesty was said to love none almost but him." [2] In 1551 he was sworn a gentleman-in-ordinary of the King's Privy Chamber, with Sir Robert Dudley, subsequently Earl of Leicester. In December of same year he accompanied Lord Edward Clinton, Lord High Admiral of England, who went as Proxy of Edward VI. to the christening of the Duke of Angouleme, son of Henry II. of France. He remained about twelve months in France, during which he served there, as King Edward VI. desired, as a volunteer under King Henry II. against the Emperor. In December, 1552, he returned from France, and in the early part of Queen Mary's reign, himself and his cousin the Earl of Ormond, acted against Wyatt in Kent; in 1558 he was knighted by the Duke of Norfolk, at the siege of Leith. He seems to have returned to Ireland in 1559. For the next twenty years and more he was a most loyal servant of the Crown, exerting himself to the uttermost to advance its interests, ever ready to do battle in its cause against his Irish neighbours; and the Crown trusted him in return. On the 15th Dec., 1575, soon after he had succeeded his father as Lord of Upper Ossory, Sir Philip Sydney wrote thus regarding him to the Lords of the Council:

"Upper Ossorie is so well governed and defended by the valour and wisdom of the Baron that now is, for the old man, in whom before the cause of the greatest disorder of that country grew, God hath taken (I hope) to His merciful favour, as, saving for surety of good order hereafter in succession, it made no matter, the country were never shired, nor her Majesty's writs otherwise current than it is so humbly he keepeth all his people to obedience and good order; and yet united to some shire it shall be."

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland,* Carew, *Letter of Wallop to Walsingham,* October 10th, 1158.
[2] Lodge's *Peerage.*

In 1578 he slew his first cousin, the brave chieftain of Leix, Rury Oge O'More, one of the truest patriots of the century in which he lived :

" A.D. 1578. Ruaidhri Oge O'Mordha was slain by Brian Oge MacGillapatraic and by the Foreigners, and there was not in Erinn a greater destroyer against Foreigners than that man ; and he was a very great loss." [1]

Notwithstanding all his extreme loyalty, and his many services to the Crown, we find him a close Government prisoner in Dublin, early in 1581. On the 7th of June in that year he wrote the following piteous appeal from his prison to the Earl of Leicester :

" I have been in prison six months, through the malice and hate of my great enemy the Earl of Ormond. By his means I was indicted within the county of Kilkenny ; which is [*i.e.* the indictment being] that I should receive into my house of Coulkill th' Earl of Desmond and Pyers Grace, when the said Earl made escape from Dublin : The second, that now in the time of this rebellion I should keep with me a son of Sir John of Desmond's. The third, that I should require my said enemy to forsake his duty towards her Majesty, and hold with the said Earl in his rebellion. My enemy has surprised and kept my manor house, and castles of the Beallaghemore and Castle of the Bridge [Borridge or Borris], wasted my country with preyings, burnings, and spoilings, and killed divers of my tenants and followers, besides the taking away of all my own proper goods and chattels. . , . . . I beseech you to deal so far with me as I be not in perpetual prison, but that with expedition I may come to my trial either here or there, for I understand there is no trial of Lords here, for want of number. I will prove myself an honest and a clean man as I hope the opinions of my Governors may partly testify." [2]

Within three months after writing this letter he left his gaolers a free man, but only to find himself in the grasp of a still more relentless foe ; for sickness was upon him and ere he could leave Dublin he lay on his death-bed. His Ossory surgeon, Donnogh Oge MacCashin, was sent for and stood by his side, but even MacCashin's skill availed him nothing, and he died the 11th of September, 1581, " at two o'clock in the afternoon, at the house of William Kelly, Surgeon, in Dublin." [3] The following rough " draughte " of his will was drawn up two days before he died and was afterwards admitted to probate :—

The copie of the first draughte of the last will or testament of the late Lord of Upp. Ossreye Sr Barnaby fitz Patrick as Mr. Henry Bournell did drawe it, viz. :—

" In the name of God, Amen. I, Sir Bernabe fitz Patricke, Knight, L. Baron of Upp. Osserie, do make my last will & testament in manner and forme following, first :

" The house of Borreidge [Borris], the Grange of Ballybroghee, all the lands that my L[ord] hath in Ballytrasnye & in and about Cashellgarwe, Dirrevoragan, Grangemore, wherein Donnell McMalaghlen dwelleth, Dirrenasirea and Cornegower with all that belongs to them in the Upp. woods left to my Lady.

" The castell of Killeny in the Quenes Countie with all the lands he hath in the said countie, the psnadge [parsonage] of Aghabo together with all his tame stode & sheepe and new plate which he bought in England and in Ireland left to my Lady. The plate my Lady is to have during her widowhed

[1] *Annals of Loch Ce.*

" The age of Christ, 1579. Rury Oge, son of Rury Caech, son of Connell O'More, fell by the hand of Brian Oge, son of Brian MacGillapatrick. This Rury was the head of the plunderers and insurgents of the men of Ireland in his time ; and for a long time after his death no one was desirous to discharge one shot against [the soldiers of] the Crown." (—*Four Masters.*)

[2] *Calendar of State Papers*, Carew.

[3] Lodge's *Peerage.*

and if she marye then the half of that plate to go to her daughter & her children, and when my Lady dieth his will is that all the plate and cattell shall remayne to his said daughter & her children whether my lady dye before or after mariadge; his will is that my Lady shall have all the household stuff and goods saving that which shall specially by this will be left to other[s]. He bequeteth to his niece honor Moore towards her preferment in mariadge one hundred pounds Englishe.

"To his supposed base daughter Anne, for the said purpose three skore pounds of Hib. monye.

"To his brother fflorence he leaveth all the wild stode, all his armr., sherts of mayle & other furniture of warre saving that which serveth for bothe the houses of the Borreidge and Killeny wch. after his wife is decese or mariadge he willeth to remayne for the furniture of theis two castelles contynually.

"He leaveth to him likewise half his pewter & half his brasse.

"He leaveth him also all his tyethes wch. he holdeth in Ossreye, saving the tyethes of the psonadge of Aghaboe before bequieted to his wife.

"He bequieted to fflorence also all the plate left hym by his father.

"He leaveth also the whoale disposicion of such lands as his other brethern dothe possesse wch. is but at will to his brother fflorence as the same was left him by his father, they to injoye it as long as they serve his said brother fflorence truly & faythefullye.

"Mr. Cheife baron, Laurence Delahide, henry Bornell & John Cullon he nameth to be his ffeofees and the three first to be overseers of his will.

"After my ladye is decease my lord is will is that his ffeofees shall stand seised of Killenye and of all his lands in the Queenes Countie [1] to the use of his daughter Margaret and her heires untill such tyme as his brother ffynyn or eny other after him wch. shal be Lorde baron of Upp. Ossreye shall paye unto the said Margaret or her heires the som of twoe hundrethe pounds current monye of England and that after the payment of the said twoe hundreth pounds as aforesaid his said feoffees shall ymediately after stand seised thereof to the use of him that shall so paye the said som and afterwards to the use of him that shalbe Lord Baron of Upp. Ossreye from tyme to tyme.

"The debts ought to my Lord, viz., first by Mr. Edward fitzGeralde thre hundreth and fiftie pounds Englishe.

"The Quene's majeste oweth him uppon warranty for service here thre hundreth and od pounds.

"And for his portion in England two hundrethe pounds Englishe at Mydsomer, A°. 1581.

"Thomas Pynocke armorer owethe him fifty pounds Englishe.

"Ffagan merchant of Waterford oweth him twentie five pounds Englishe and the said ffagan and Thomas Myoghe oweth him one whoale butt of secke and sem want of an other but the quantitie he remembereth not.

"The Earle of Kildare oweth him sixteen pounds English.

"Captain ffurress only seven pounds sixteen shillings.

"Marcus Wickham fowre nobles English.

"Stephen Coppinger, Christopher fagan's man twentie one shillings Englishe.

"Debts ought by him

"To John Lonān of Dublin he knoweth not how muche.

"To William Crainsbrough of Kilkeni he knoweth not howe [much] the sum.

"His wife sole executor.

"He leaveth to my L. of Donboyne a broad sworde & two rapyers wth there daggers & one small rapier to Edmond my L. of Donboyne is sōne wth the dagger.

"He leaveth to Mr. Auditor Jenison certayne gold buttons here remayning at William Kelly is house.

"With Mr Baron Dillon he leaveth a velvett gowne and a siver [silver ?] peace double gilt wth chiefe chardg of his wife.

"He leaveth Mr. Delahide of Myglare one field bed covered with blewe clothe & the furniture and one crosbowe wth arake & the quarries, arrowes & case.

"He leaveth to Henry Bornell one other field bed covered wth grene clothe & the furniture.

"He leaveth wth. his servant Anthony Wright his sword that he wares himself, his skull and targett and the monye wch the town of Colt in the Quene's Countie lieth in morgadge for wth. the towne itself untill it shalbe redemed by William Beard [or Beurd].

"He leaveth all his horses wth. his brother ffynyn, and his roabe of Parliament.

'Done and perfected in Dublin the IX. of September, A.D. 1581 in presence of Henry Burnell,

[1] Upper Ossory was not as yet annexed to the Queen's County.

of Castlecnock, gent., Laurence Delahyd of Meglare, gent., Wm. Kelly of Dublin, and Donaghe oge of Osserie surgen, &c.

These are true nootes & declarations of Barnaby late L of Upp. Osserye is last will which I Henry Burnell do testifye to be true bi the subscrypcion of my name.

By me Henry Burnell.

"Probatum fuit primo Julii 1582 hoc testament. &c., commissumq. onus exequitionis eiusdem exequitrici in eodem nominate in comuni juris forma &c., salvo jure &c.;

Ambrosius fforth."

Endorsed :—"Testmum. Dni. Barnabee fitzPatrick, militis, Dni. Baronis de Upp. Ossory 1582."

In 1560, Brian Oge married Joan, daughter of Sir Roland Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass (by his wife, Joan, daughter of James, Lord Dunboyne), and by her had an only daughter, Margaret, the first wife of James, Lord Dunboyne (grandson of the aforesaid James), who died 18th February, 1624.[1]

[1] Lodge's *Peerage*.

CHAPTER X.

THE LORDS BARONS OF UPPER OSSORY (*Continued*): FINEEN or FLORENCE, THIRD LORD; TEIGE, FOURTH LORD.

FLORENCE or FINEEN FITZPATRICK succeeded as third Lord Baron of Upper Ossory, on the death of his brother, Brian Oge. The State Papers first take notice of him on the 30th June, 1566, when Government "pardons" were granted to "Barnaby FitzPatryk, baron of Upperossory; [and his sons] Barnaby FitzPatryk, knt., John FitzPatryk of Ballygeyhin; Florence FitzPatryk of Watercastell; Donyll FitzPatryk of Gortenclohe; and Geoffry FitzPatryk of Rayhyneynagh, gentleman."[1] In the following year he and his brother Geoffry were State prisoners "for evil doings" upon the County Kilkenny. He was residing at Cullahill, on the 26th August, 1578, at which date we find "pardons" given to "Barnabe FitzPatrick, knt., Lord Baron of Upper Ossory, [and his brothers], Florence FitzPatrick, of Cowlkil, in Upper Ossery, gent., Donald FitzPatrick, Terence [*i.e.*, Turlough] FitzPatrick, and Dorbeus [*i.e.*, Dermot] FitzPatrick, of the same, gentlemen."[2] In the same year two more of the brothers, Geoffry and Ceallagh, were in rebellion; the former was arrested, but managed to escape out of his prison in Dublin, and, with Johanna FitzPatrick (his sister?) and her husband, Thomas Purcell, Baron of "Loghmie," afterwards received a pardon, on June 3rd, 1584.[3]

Having become Lord Baron of Upper Ossory, Florence sat in Sir John Perrot's Parliament, in 1585. His loyalty to the Crown, like that of his two predecessors in

[1] *Fiants* of Eliz.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

the title, was of a very pronounced type. Hence it is not surprising that when in the beginning of autumn, 1598, Hugh O'Neill's trusty Leinster lieutenants, Owny O'More, Captain Tyrrell and Redmund Burke, marched into Upper Ossory with the greatest force they could command, to induce the people to join in the great national movement inaugurated by the Ulster chieftains, the Baron obstinately refused them any countenance, although his people and even his own eldest son and heir, Teige, received them with open arms, and pledged themselves to loyal support and co-operation.

Upper Ossory about this time appears to have been well into line with almost all the rest of Ireland, in the struggle for independence; so much so, indeed, that Gortnaclea, one of its strong castles, was selected by Owny O'More for the custody of the Black Earl of Ormond, the Queen's Lieutenant-General in Ireland, after he had made him a prisoner on Corrandhu, near Ballyragget, April 10th, 1600. But the patriotism of its people soon drew down upon the district the vengeance of the Crown. In the month of August, 1600, the Lord Deputy and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence set out from Dublin with a strong force of English soldiers for the doomed territory of Leix. On the seventeenth of the month they encountered and slew its heroic chieftain, Owny O'More; after which they plundered and burnt the territory without opposition. They next turned their attention to Upper Ossory, where they continued their preyings and burnings. The Lord Deputy writes:

"The 19th [of August, 1600], the army passed the pass of Cashell to Ballyroane; and the 20th to Kilgighy [Ballygihen] in Ossery, by way of the Castle of Gortende [Gortnaclea], where the Earl [of Ormond] had been kept during his imprisonment. Ormond received letters from Donill Spaniagh and Redmond Keating, craving safe conduct to come to the Lord Deputy. All the way we burned all their houses in their fastnesses and woods. In one of them was found the Queen's picture behind the door, and the King of Spain's at the upper end of the table. Sir Christopher took a prey of 700 cows, besides sheep and goats, of which few came to the camp. The rest, it is said, were shifted into Kilkenny and the counties near adjoining. His Lordship was persuaded to draw down into Ossery, the nursery of the rebellion in Leix, to burn their corn; the Earl being of opinion that the chief rebels there would give in their pledges.

"The 21st we encamped by Teige Fitzpatrick's castle [Castletown], the Lord of Upper Osserie's son, but in rebellion, who on our approach set his own town on fire. Here Redmond Keating submitted, with condition to deliver the Earl of Ormond's pledges remaining in his hands.

"The 22nd the army having spoiled the corn about the castle, crossed the Nore, which it could hardly have done afterwards, by reason of 28 hours' rain. . . . . .

"The 23rd the Lord Mountgarret's sons, Richard and Edward, took their oath to be true subjects, as by the act thereof may appear.

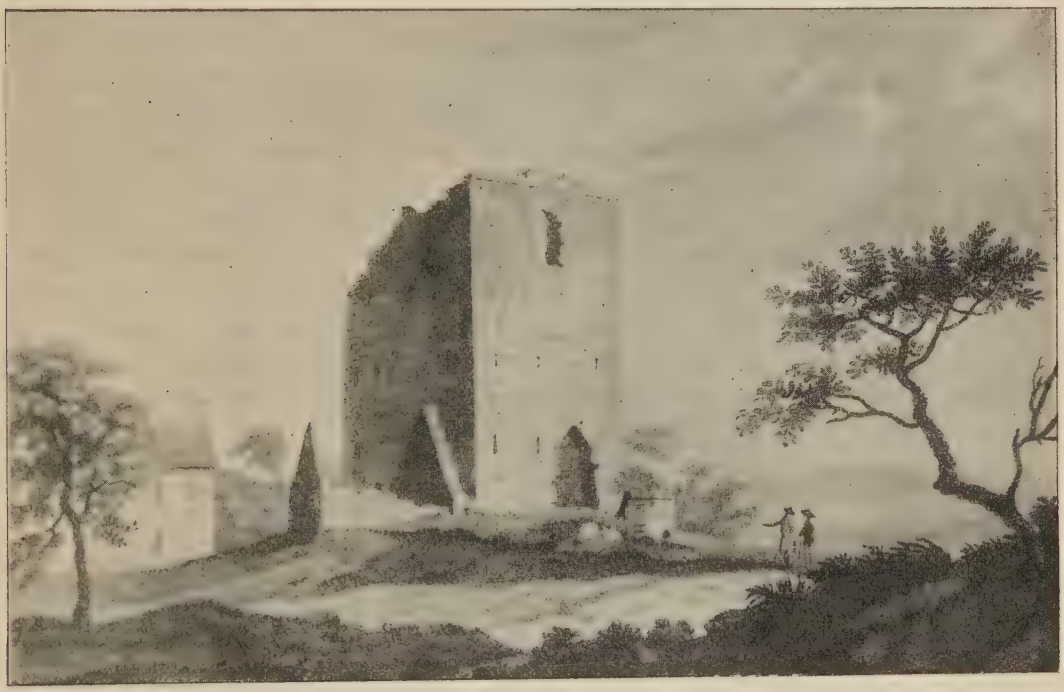
"The 24th recognizance of £2,000, was signed by the Lord Mountgarret and his sureties, for the redelivery of Ballyragget upon 20 days' warning." [1]

In his letter of September 5th, 1600, the Lord Deputy again writes:

"After Wony's death I drew into Ossery, spoiling and burning without resistance." [2]

[1] *Calendar of State Papers*, Carew.
[2] *Ibid.*

During these stirring times the only concern of the Baron of Upper Ossory was to turn his loyalty to best account for his own advancement, and for the disinheriting of Teige, his eldest son and heir, whose pronounced Irish leanings gave him much displeasure. Accordingly he made a journey to Queen Elizabeth, to remind her majesty of his dutiful conduct and service, with the result, that by patent (under the Queen's letter of July 21st), dated at Westminster, 16th August, 1600, he had a new grant to himself and to John, his second son, of all his ancestral possessions, consisting of the Honours, Castles, Lordships, Manors and Towns of Cowlchill, Formoyle, Ballikealye, Gracescastle, Pipersrath, Grauntstown, Water-



BALLAGHMORE CASTLE.
(From Engraving in Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*, 1791.)

castle, Ballygehin, Tentowre, Gortneclehie, Castletowne, Ballaghmore, Ballicaslane, Moydrehid, Burreishe, Garrane, Donaghmore, Castletowne, Fleaming's towne, Ballighirahin, Clonemeene, Cloneburren and Ross, in the country of Upper Ossory; together with all the advowsons of Churches and other hereditaments whatsoever, which before that time did appertain to him within the said country, to hold to him and his second son, John, and their heirs male; remainder to his third, fourth, and fifth sons, Geoffry, Barnaby and Edmond, respectively, and their heirs male;

remainder to the heirs male of his own body; remainder to those of *his father, Barnabas, first Lord Baron of Upper Ossory;* remainder to those of *Barnabas, his grandfather;* to hold by the service of an entire knight's fee, a hawk, and £7 Irish, annual rent.

By this confirmation of the estate, the Baron's eldest son, Teige, was completely cut off from any share in the inheritance of Upper Ossory.

Another patent (under the Queen's letter of July 21st, 1600) was passed to the Baron, on the 10th April, 1601, granting him the site, circuit, &c., of the late monastery of Agham' Kairt, otherwise Aghamacairtie, with all its appurtenances, together with the water mill and the tithes of grain and hay of the rectory of Aghamacairt, and the tithes of Coulkill in Upperossorie, (rent £5 18s. 0d.); the site, circuit, &c., of the late house of Friars of Atheboue otherwise Aghavo (£3 10s. 2d.); the rectory of Coulkerie, of the possessions of the monastery of Thomascourt by Dublin (26s. 8d.); the rectory of Atheninagh, otherwise Athinagh, now Attanagh, (13s. 4d.); the rectory of Aghtert, otherwise Beghert, otherwise Eirke (10s.); the rectory of Killine (Tubberbo), in the country of MacGillpattrick (40s.); and the advowson of the rectory and vicarage of St. Kenni of Aghavo, otherwise Aghvo. To hold for ever in fee farm. Rent, £23 8s. 2d.[1]

By a third patent (under the Queen's letter of July 21st, 1600), dated April 26th, 1602, the Baron secured the annexation of Upper Ossory to the Queen's Co., under the name of the Barony of Upper Ossory, the country having up to this date, formed part of no county.

On the 10th June, 1601, pardons were granted by the Crown to "Florence FitzPatrick, lord baron of Upperossery, Teige FitzPatrick of Clonburne, John FitzPatrick of Garran, Barnaby FitzPatrick of Castletowne, Geoffry FitzPatrick of Beallaghrahin, and Edm. FitzPatrick of Dyrreneshyre, gentlemen, sons of said Florence," and to a host of the old tribesmen of Upper Ossory, including FitzPatricks, O'Brophys, McCryors [or Crearys], O'Phelans, McKeenins, O'Dorans, O'Deegans, O'Delanys, McCashins, O'Bergins, O'Heelans, MacCostigins, &c.

About this time the Baron's legitimacy was called in question by his nephew, Teige MacShawn MacGillapatrick, gent., (then a poor blind man), in a controversy as to his lordship's hereditary right to the castle and lands of Ballygihen. Teige's contention was, that his own grandfather, Brian, first Baron of Upper Ossory, had been married in face of Holy Church to his grandmother, Joan ny Carroull; that the said Joan was his lawful wife, and was still living when he married the Lady Margaret Butler, Florence's mother; that Florence was therefore illegitimate and could not inherit; and that his own father, Shawn, was Brian's lawful son by his

[1] *Fiants* of Eliz.

wedded wife, Joan ny Carroull, and held Ballygihen by hereditary right, and that it descended to himself as his son and heir. Florence, on the other hand, maintained that his father and mother were lawfully wedded, and denied the marriage with Joan ny Carroull, and, therefore, the legitimacy of Shawn, her son; he, moreover, contended that Teige himself was illegitimate, so that, even though his father, Shawn, were lawfully begotten and had a valid claim to Ballygihen, still he himself, being born out of marriage, could have no title whatever thereto. "Upon which, and the examination of witnesses, it appeared that the chief point of controversy was the bastardy imputed to Teige; which was so sufficiently proved, that the Lord Chancellor and Court were satisfied that he was a bastard, and, 12th May, 1607, adjudged the lands to Lord Upper Ossory." [1]

Florence was now drawing to the close of a long life. His aged spouse, Katherine, the daughter of Gillapatrick O'More, Lord of Leix, died on the 30th December, 1612. He himself died a few weeks later, on the 11th February, 1613. Though a time-server with the Government, and more or less anti-Irish or rather pro-English, in his sympathies, yet must it be recorded to his credit, that in difficult times he remained true to the ancient Faith, and that, sometime between September, 14th, 1612, and the following February, that is, in the very last months of his life, he was denounced to the heads of the Irish Government as a harbourer of the Popish Priest, Conoher O'Doran.[2] He probably rests in Fertagh, with his fore-fathers. A wayside cross at Errill, (erected by his son Geoffry), asks the prayers of the passers-by for his soul and that of his lady.

By his wife, Katherine O'More, Florence had the following issue:

Teige, or Thady, his successor.

John, of Garran in 1601 and 1612, and afterwards of Castletown. His son, Florence, of Castletown, was father of Col. John Fizpatrick, who died in 1694.

Geoffry, of Ballagh, or Ballaghrahin, who erected the wayside cross at Errill. He married Mary, daughter of Fergus Ferrall of Tenelick, in the Co. Longford, Esq., and widow of Sir John O'Reilly, and dying at Ballaghrahin, August 12th, 1638, had issue by her two daughters, viz.: Ellice and Katherine. Katherine died unmarried. Ellice, who was the elder sister, married, first, Thomas Butler of Pollardstown, Co. Limerick, Esq., fifth son of James, the second Lord Dunboyne. After his death, on the 24th April, 1637, she married, secondly, William Burke, also of Pollardstown, (younger son of Theobald, first Lord Brittas), who was hanged at Limerick, by Ireton, in 1651, and who left issue by her, Theobald, the third Lord Brittas, Richard and Honora.[3]

[1] Lodge's *Peerage*, Vol. II., p. 245.
[2] See chap. ix., *infra*.
[3] Lodge's *Peerage*.

Barnaby, or Brian, who lived at Castletown in 1601 and 1602, and afterwards at Watercastle. He died without male issue, after the year, 1626.

Edmund, of Derrynaseera, in Upperwoods, in 1602; and soon afterwards of Castlefleming. He was still living in 1642. All his estate in and around Castlefleming was confiscated under Cromwell. His son, Andrew, married Ellice, daughter of Richard, Lord Viscount Mountgarret, (whose son, Edward, was married to Mary, Andrew's sister), and by her had two sons, viz.: Brigadier-General Edward Fitzpatrick, who left no issue, and Captain Richard Fitzpatrick, ancestor of the Earls of Upper Ossory, and of the Lords Castletown of Upper Ossory.

Catherine, married in May, 1592, to James Eustace, Esq., of Newland, Co. Kildare.

Joan, who married John Butler, son and heir of James, Lord Dunboyne, and by him, who was killed in 1602, she had an only son, Edmund, Lord Dunboyne.

Teige, or Thady, Fitzpatrick succeeded his father, Florence, as fourth Lord Baron of Upper Ossory. We have already seen how he joined heartily in the great struggle for national independence, carried on during the closing years of the sixteenth century, under the leadership of O'Neill and O'Donnell; and how he burnt "his town," that is, his castle of Castletown, on the approach of the Lord Deputy and his forces, August 20th, 1600. We have already seen, also, how his father endeavoured to deprive him of his rights, as his eldest son and heir, by obtaining from Queen Elizabeth a confirmation of the estate of Upper Ossory to himself and his second son John, and their heirs, with remainder to his other sons and their heirs; thereby excluding Teige and his heirs altogether from the succession. Teige, or rather Teige's eldest son, Brian or Barnaby, a youth of promise, whom he allowed to act on his behalf, did not quietly submit to this extraordinary arrangement, and in due time brought the matter before the King's Council in Ireland. The following statement of the case, drawn up by Sir George Carew and marked 1613, but which must be assigned to the preceding year, may be reproduced here:

"The State of the Earl [Lord] of Upper Osserie's lands in Ireland, 1613.

"King Harry the Eighth created Barnabie Fitzpatrick Lo. Baron of Upper Ossery, to have and to hold unto him and his heires males. Barnabie Lo. Baron died, leaving issue Barnabie and Florence, which Barnabie inherited his father's title and possessions by descent, and died without issue male. Florence (the second son), by death of his said brother, succeeded and still enjoys that title and inheritance. The said Florence hath issue Teig and John with many other sons. Teige is in life a weak and sickly man and had issue Barnabie (now complainant) and three other sons. John the second son of the now Lo. Baron, not content with a good estate of his father's purchased lands, does by practices endeavour to supplant Teig, his own eldest brother and Teig's issue: first of the very title of honour, if the same were not inherent inseparably by birthright unto Teige and his said issue male. Then the said John observing that the honour may not be transferred to him from the heir, won his father to assure unto him all the ancient lordships, manors, and lands appertaining time out of mind) to the

heir of the said house. After (to strengthen his said pretence) he caused his father to take out all the said lordships and lands from the late Queen to himself, the said Lord Baron for life, after to John by limitation of remainder in tail, and so to the younger sons in remainder, and excluded Teig and his children from their possibility and rightful expectations. In these letters patent the ancient rents and customs yielded to the house by the freeholders are reduced to a certain rent, and appointed to the said John, after his father's decease, in remainder as before, and so nothing is left unto Teig nor his sons in demesne or services but the bare title of Lord Baron.

"John (to fortify these asurances) wrought of late the freeholders to pass all their inheritance unto himself and his heirs, promising to surrender the same, with all his father's said lands and tenements, to the King, and to take them out by letters patent, and then to re-estate the freeholders in their several possessions respectively, reserving to himself and his heirs the rent due to the house.

"After the assurance obtained, he, the said John (at Council table) desired to be admitted to his surrender of the premises. The state of the case being laid open to the Lo. Deputy and Council, John was reproved for the subversion of the house and supplantation of his said brother, and was willed to deliver in a particular of those things which he proposed to surrender, whereby the ancient possessions of the house in demesne and services might be omitted.

"This particular is not entered by John, and therefore the passing of his surrender is stayed by the Lo. Deputy and Council, until the King's pleasure shall be signified touching the premises.

"Upon the patent got out by Florence, the now Lo. Baron, in the Queen's time, no surrender was made, and Patrick Crosbie (who was the chief instrument and procurer of the said patent) left upon his death-bed that the same was rather procured as an *in terrorem* than otherwise to disinherit Teige the eldest son and heir." [1]

The dispute held on for some years, but a settlement, on the basis of a division of the family estate and of the rents and services of the freeholders, was at length effected between the contending parties by the Lord Deputy and Council, as appears from King James's letter dated at Salisbury, 7th August, 1618:

"Right Trusty, &c.

"Whereas we are informed by the humble petition of our faithful subjects, Teige, Lord Baron of Upper-Ossory, Barnaby Fitzpatrick, his son and heir apparent, and John Fitzpatrick brother to the said Lord Baron, that the determination of the long controversies between them for the Barony of Upper Ossory in the Queen's County hath rested, and by and with their consents, by the order of our late Lord Deputy and Council there, according to our desire and command to that effect; and that a certain proportion of the said Barony in the meane, and of the rents and services of the pretending freeholders of the rest of the Barony were allotted to each of them by the said order; and that most part of the said pretending freeholders have conveyed their lands unto our said subjects John Fitzpatrick and his heirs, and that the rest are ready to do the like; and therefore have been humble suitors unto us, that we should be graciously pleased to accept from them several surrenders of the several proportions of the said Barony to them severally intended by the said order; and thereupon to grant unto them and their heirs several letters patent of the said several proportions respectively; which suit being unto us reasonable, and the rather that they have conformed themselves to our pleasure in the difference between them; we are graciously pleased and do hereby require you to issue commissions to inquire what lands, &c., are within the said several proportions, and upon return thereof, to accept from the said Lord Baron, Barnaby, and John, a surrender of all the manors, castles, &c., within the said Barony and to grant the same to the said Baron for term of his life, the remainder to the said Barnaby and his heirs, of all such castles, lands, &c., as shall be found to be the proportion of them respectively, and to make a like grant to John of what shall be found to be his proportion, and to his heirs. And our further pleasure is, that all the premises granted to the Lord Upper Ossory shall be created one entire manor by the name of the Manor of Cowlchill, and those granted to John, into the Manor of Castletown-O'Farralen." [2]

The dissensions in the Upper Ossory family afforded the Crown a favourable

[1] *State Papers*, Carew.
[2] Lodge's *Peerage*, Vol. II., p. 246.

opportunity of seizing on some of their territory and disposing of it to the benefit of its favourites. James the First granted forty-one townlands in Upper Ossory to Gerald, Earl of Kildare, July 11th, 1611; nine townlands to Francis Edgeworth, January 4th, 1616; and thirteen to William St. Leger, in 1619. On the 2nd January, 1626-7, Charles the First granted his favourite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, no less than ninety-one townlands (over 10,000 acres) in the same Barony, viz., those granted by his father to the Earl of Kildare in 1611, and Borris-in-Ossory, Ballybrophy, Grangemore, &c., &c.; all of which he erected into a manor to be called the Manor of Villiers.

Teige, Baron of Upper Ossory, died in December, 1627, and was buried in Aghamacart. By his Lady, Joan, daughter of Sir Edmund Butler of Tullow, second son of James, Earl of Ormond, and grandson of Piers, the Red Earl, he had issue four sons and two daughters, viz.:

Brian, or Barnaby, his successor.

Dermot, or Darby, who married, first, Ellinor, daughter of Richard Comerford, Esq., of Ballybur, Co. Kilkenny, widow of John Kennedy, Esq., of Ballingarry, Co. Tipperary; and, secondly, Ellen, daughter of Nicholas Shortall, Esq., of Clara, Co. Kilkenny. He was slain, with his son, Dermot Oge, in a battle fought with the English troops at Borris-in-Ossory, in 1642.

Turlough, whose wife was Onora, daughter of Oliver Grace, Esq, of Courtstown, Co. Kilkenny.

John.

Margaret, married to Thomas Hovenden of Tankerstown, Queen's Co.

Catherine, married to Callaghan Fitzgerald, gent., of Cloghkyle or Knockyle, now Springfield, in Upper Ossory.

Onora.

Joan,[1] married to William Butler of Lynon, Co. Tipperary, Esq.

His wife, the Lady Jane, survived him a few years, during which she seems to have resided somewhere in the Co. Carlow, perhaps at Tullow or Rathvilly; she died towards the end of 1631, and is buried in St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny. The following is a copy of her last will:

"In Dei nomine. Amen."

"I, Jane Butler, of Ossry, dowadgr. beinge weake of body yet of perffect memory (God be thanked) do make my last will and testament as followes.

"First I bequeath my soul to God and my body to be buried in Ste. Kenny is church at Kilkenny.

"It. I do constitute and appoint my well beloved son Terrelaghe fitzPatrick to be whoale executor of this my will.

[1] His Lady, in her will, mentions her grandchild Uny ny Donel, or Una, daughter of Donnell; from which it would seem that he had also a son Donnell, whose name has been omitted in the pedigrees of the family.

" Debptes [*i.e.* debts]

" It. I owe in arreare to the Earle of Ormond £23 st.

" It. I owe to the miller of Kilorrky, Patrick Lalor, £3 7s. st. Itm. to Thomas Birne of Rathvillie 30s. st. Itm. to Edmund McDonoghe 34s. st., to Walter Motly 22s. ixd.

" Inventory

" Item in gerranes and maers . . . . . 12 head.

" In cowes . . . . . ix. great cows with six calffes wherof I bequeath one cow wth. hir calfe to my grande child Uny ny Donel.

" Lastly I bequiet to my sonn Terrelaghe and to my daughter Kathren Fitzgerald all my goods movable and in movable remaining after payment of the debptes.

" Item I bequiet to them also all the det that Capt. Thomas Butler doth owe me by vertue of my mother's will. In witness of the premisis I have cause this to be written this 16th of September, 1631.

Jane : Uppr. Osery dowadger.

" Being present,

" Ger. Fitzgerald, Paroch[o].

" Roberte Sutton.

" Teige McCrage is mark X."

The will, which was proved June 12th, 1632, is endorsed : " The last will and testament of ye La. Juane Butler, berringe date ye 16th of September, 1631 ; " and " Testament, Dnae. Joanae Butler Dnae., Baroness de Upp. Ossory deftae. [*i.e.*, defunctae], 1632."

CHAPTER XI.

THE LORDS OF UPPER OSSORY (*Concluded*).—BRIAN, FIFTH LORD ; BRIAN, SIXTH LORD ; BRIAN, SEVENTH LORD ; BRIAN CLAIMED AS EIGHTH LORD.

BRIAN, BRYAN, or BARNABY, succeeded as fifth Lord of Upper Ossory. He has been already mentioned more than once, in connection with the controversy with his uncle, John Fitzpatrick of Castletown. On the 14th July, 1634, he took his seat in Parliament; but died a few years after, some time before March 16th, 1639-40. He married Margaret, eldest daughter of Walter Butler, Earl of Ormond, and by her (who was living, his widow, at Water-castle, in 1641), had issue :

BRIAN or BARNABY, his successor.

EDWARD or EDMUND, still living, August 16th, 1643.[1]

JAMES, who died in England. His son, Henry or James, laid claim, but ineffectually, to the title of Lord of Upper Ossory, about the year 1700 ; he died in 1711, leaving an only son, James.

BRIAN, or BARNABY, the sixth Lord, took his seat in the House of Peers, 16th March, 1639-40, at which date he must have been of full age. He took a prominent part in the National Movement of 1641, and was appointed a temporal Peer in the Confederate Parliament, in 1642. In the beginning of the Outbreak, all the loyalists of Upper Ossory fled for protection to the Duke of Buckingham's castle of Borris-in-Ossory. The Lord of Upper Ossory, with his cousins, Florence Fitzpatrick of Castletown and Andrew Fitzpatrick of Castlefleming, his uncle Dermot Fitzpatrick and his (Dermot's) son, Dermot Oge, Captain Bryan MacWilliam Fitzpatrick of Rathdownagh, and six or seven hundred men, laid siege to the castle and after a time reduced its defenders to great straits. But "in [April] 1642,

[1] Depositions relative to the alleged Massacre of 1641.

the [English] garrisons [1] of Athy and Maryborough, with the assistance of Captain George Greames, made out 400 foot and 80 horse for the relief of Burras-in-Ossory, a house belonging to the Duke of Buckingham, in which were several English in great distress. It was no sooner resolved on, than two soldiers of that country fled and gave the enemy notice of our coming. The Lord of Upper Ossory prepared to give us resistance with above 800 foot and 60 or 80 horse, and on a strait, on a bog side, set on our men. They received them with great resolution ; and 40 of Captain Greame's troop charged and routed them, with the assistance of musketeers who were sent to clear the passage ; yet they stood again, and our foot killed about 80 of theirs. Their horse retreated further off, and on the bog side made a stand which being perceived by Cornet Wibrow, cornet to Sir Adam Loftus, he rode up to them and charged them home. They had the bog at their back ; our horse so bestirred themselves, that they slew 40 of their best freeholders : among them was a brother of the Lord of Upper Ossory, who was slain, and Florence Fitzpatrick, they say, was desperately wounded. The names of the chief of the rebels who were slain were Dermot MacTeague Fitzpatrick, uncle to the Lord of Upper Ossory, and Dermot Oge, his son ; Captain Lager, a Low Country soldier, and Burke, his lieutenant ; Captain Dermot Mac Aboy, Patrick Cashin of the Cross, Bryan Connor, heir to Patrick Connor, Captain John Cashin, and Morgan Cashin, gent. ; William O'Carroll, a chief freeholder ; Donogh Fitzpatrick, gent. ; also a younger son of Bryan MacWilliam ; besides Lieutenant O'Moor, prisoner at the Burras. Moreover were slain Loughlin and Patrick Costigan, Friar John Costigan, Patrick Hore, a priest ; Mat Delany, a sub-sheriff ; John Tobin, a merchant of Kilkenny, Serjeant Bryan Burke, &c." [2]

Coote having succeeded in relieving the castle, the Upper Ossory army retired, but only, however, to return again to the siege about the first of August following, when " they so reduced the place that the besieged for a long time fed upon horses, dogs, cats, bean-leaves, potatoe-tops, and cow-hides, being without bread, drink, or salt ; and about All-Hollandtide Colonel Plunket, with about 1,000 men, demanded the surrender of the castle in the King's name saying, that if the warders held the castle to the King's use, he would send in more armed men to assist them ; unto which Andrew Brereton of Killadowle[y], Queen's County, gent. (being left

[1] From *A True Account of Several Overthrows Given to the Rebels.* London, 26th Sept., 1642.

[2] The following account of this battle is taken from Lodge's *Peerage* (1779) :—" On the 10th April, 1642, being Easter Sunday he [*i.e.* Sir Charles Coote the Elder], was sent, with Sir Thomas Lucas and six troops of horse to relieve Birr and some other fortresses ; to effect which they were to pass a causeway, broken by the rebels, who had cast up a ditch at the end of it. Sir Charles headed 30 dragoons on foot, beat off the enemy with the loss of their Captain and 40 men ; relieved the Castles of Birr Burrass and Knocknemease ; and having continued almost 48 hours on horseback, returned to the camp on Monday night, without the loss of one man."

by Sir Charles Coote, chief commander of the place), replied that if he would show any authority, under the King, for what he required and offered, that he would obey. Whereupon (for want of such authority, as it seems) he departed. And about the last of November, Colonel Preston, with about 1500 men, beleaguering the place and playing upon the Court-gate with two field pieces and a small battering piece, and working under ground, the besieged, in regard there were but twenty warders, the castle large, and not a day's ammunition left, were compelled to surrender under quarter, having their lives and worst clothes only granted to them." [1]

On June, 27th, 1648, the Lord of Upper Ossory's name occurs among those of many other Catholic noblemen and gentlemen who refused to acknowledge the validity of the Nuncio, Rinuccini's, censures, pending their appeal therefrom to His Holiness the Pope.[2]

In the Cromwellian confiscations, a few years later, he suffered the full penalty of his loyalty to his country, all his ancestral estates in Upper Ossory, about 11,444 acres, having been declared forfeited, with the exception of 1,020 acres near Durrow. "After the Restoration, his Lordship claiming his seat in Parliament, it was referred, 20th May, 1661, to the Committee for Privilege to consider whether, being indicted for high treason, and not outlawed, he should be admitted to sit in the House? On the 20th September, the Lord Viscount Massereene reported, that the Committee were of opinion, that as he was only indicted and not outlawed, or any ways attainted, he was not deprived from sitting in Parliament: with which report the House concurred." [3]

According to the Hearth-Money returns for 1665, he resided, in this year, in the castle of Cahir, now Newtown, near Cullahill, and paid 4s. hearth money (the tax upon two hearths), for same. He seems to have been dead in 1666, when MacFirbis compiled his genealogical work on the Irish families.

By his wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir Edward Everard, of Fethard, Co. Tipperary, he had issue:

BRIAN, his successor.

JOHN. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Brian Kavanagh of Powlmonty, Co. Carlow, by whom he had Brian, Catherine, Mary and Elizabeth. The last-named died in 1754, aged 75 years, leaving by her husband, John Molloy, of Graigueavallagh, Esq., (son of Captain Kieran Molloy, who died in 1718, aged 38 years), a son, Brian Molloy, Esq., of Graigueavallagh (died issueless, in 1762, aged 50 years), and three daughters, viz.: Elizabeth, married to —— Duigan or Deegan; Dorothy, married to —— Power, and —— married to —— Kinin or Keenan.

[1] Lodge's *Peerage* (1779).
[2] *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, 1641-52, Sir John Gilbert, Vol. I., p. 222.
[3] Lodge's *Peerage*.

MARY.

ELLEN, wife of Robert Vicars, Esq., of Killeany, Queen's Co. Their son Bernard Vicars, of Killeany, by his will, dated January 2nd, 1713, and proved February 18th following, directs his remains to be interred at Aghaboe, at the discretion of his well-beloved cousin, Mr. William Vicars of Grantstown; mentions his sons, Laurence (his heir), William, Thomas and Alexander; his grandsons, Bernard (son of Alexander), and Bernard (son of Thomas); and his sons-in-law, Edward Laurence (or Laurenson), and William Ruth; he leaves "five pounds to the popish clergy." Testator's wife was Johanna, daughter of Geoffry Brenan, Esq. Their issue, according to Lodge, were four sons, viz.: William, Laurence, Alexander and Jacobus a Sta. Cruce.

BRIAN, or BARNABY FITZPATRICK, succeeded as seventh, and last legally recognised, Lord of Upper Ossory. Probably to make atonement to him, in some way, for the non-restoration of his family estates, Charles II. granted him a yearly pension of £100, which was continued by the next King, James II. He sided with the latter against William of Orange, and served as Captain in Clancarty's regiment; for which he was outlawed, at Dublin, in 1690.

He made his last will, Feb. 3rd, 1695-6 (preparatory to his setting out on an intended journey to England), and by this instrument bequeathed to his wife, Dorothy, one-third of his real estate, during her life, together with all his personal estate; and to his "only and unfortunate daughter five pounds yearly during her natural life"; he constituted his nephew, Brian Fitzpatrick, his heir, with remainder to his heirs male; remainder to James, son of his (testator's) deceased uncle, James Fitzpatrick, and his heirs male; remainder to the heirs male of his (testator's) deceased uncle, Darby Fitzpatrick; remainder to the heirs of Thady, once Lord of Upper Ossory; remainder to the heirs of Florence, once Lord of Upper Ossory; he appointed his wife, his kinsman Brigadier Edward Fitzpatrick, and Thady FitzPatrick of Castletown, Esq., his executors. Witnesses: T. Fitzpatrick, Kenny Prendergast, Mary Prendergast, Dorothy Gascoyne and John McDermott. The will was proved, June 3rd, 1698, by Thady Fitzpatrick, Esq., of Castletown and of the City of Dublin.

His Lordship died in 1696. He married, firstly, Margaret, daughter of Pierce, first Viscount IKerrin, and by her had:

BRIAN, who died of the small-pox, unmarried, in 1687.

KIERAN, who died young.

JOHN, who died young.

CATHERINE, who died young.

MARY, the "only and unfortunate" surviving child mentioned in her father's will.

He married, secondly, Margaret, daughter and heiress of James, Lord Dunboyne, and by her had no issue. He married, thirdly and lastly, Dorothy Wagstaff, by whom also he had no issue, and in whose favour a clause was inserted, after her husband's decease, in the Act for vesting the forfeited estates in Trustees. She received from King William the Third an estate for ninety-nine years, if she should live so long, in Kyleballintallon, Kylebeg, and other lands in the Queen's Co. She died May 18th, 1733, and was buried three days later in the chancel of Durrow church, according to the Protestant rite, from which it may be concluded that through life she belonged to the Protestant communion :

"The Rt. Honourable Dorothy, Lady Dowager Baroness Upper Ossory, was buried in the chancel of Durrow on Monday, May the 21st, 1733, by the Rev. Mr. Wm. Grey, who officiated for me. Wm. Shervington." [1]

Brian Fitzpatrick, son of John, and nephew and heir of Brian, seventh Lord of Upper Ossory, next assumed the title as eighth Lord Baron. His claim, however, was disallowed, and the honours of the house were declared to have been extinguished by the outlawry of his uncle, in 1690. This decision bears date, Dec. 2nd, 1697. Nevertheless, Bryan was naturally regarded as Lord of Upper Ossory, and is mentioned as such, on the monument in the churchyard of Donaghmore commemorating his sister Elizabeth and her husband, John Molloy, Esq., of Graigueavallagh. He died without issue on the 10th Jan., 1698-9, and on the 2nd of the following month his estate was granted by King William to Captain Richard Fitzpatrick, ancestor of Lord Castletown.

Pedigree of Bryan Fitzpatrick, claimed as Eighth Lord Baron of Upper Ossory.

Bryan Fitzpatrick, eighth Lord Baron of Upper Ossory, who died without issue in 1698-9, (brother of Mrs. Elizabeth Molloy of Graigueavallagh, who died in 1754, aged 75 years) ; son of

John Fitzpatrick, brother of Brian, 7th Baron (died 1696) ; sons of

Brian Fitzpatrick, 5th Baron, who died about 1666 ; son of

Brian Fitzpatrick, 5th Baron, who died about 1638 ; son of

Teige Fitzpatrick, 4th Baron, who died in 1627 ; son of

Florence Fitzpatrick, 3rd Baron, who died February 1st, 1613 ; and was brother of Brian Oge, 2nd Baron, who died September 11th, 1581 ; sons of

Sean Brian MacGillapatrick or Fitzpatrick, Irish Lord of Ossory from about 1511 to 1541, and Lord Baron of Upper Ossory from 1541 to 1575 ; son of

Seaghan MacGillapatrick, Irish Lord of Ossory.

[1] *Durrow Prot. Parish Register.*

CHAPTER XII.

THE FITZPATRICKS OF CASTLETOWN—JOHN, FLORENCE, AND COLONEL JOHN FITZPATRICK.

BEFORE tracing the succession of the Lords Gowran of Gowran, the Earls of Upper Ossory, and the Lords Castletown of Upper Ossory, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the Castletown branch of the Fitzpatrick family. We have seen above how Florence, Baron of Upper Ossory, endeavoured to deprive his eldest son, Teige, of his birthright, and to constitute his second son, John, the heir of all his possessions; also, how the dispute between the brothers was settled, after the Baron's death, by a partition of his castles and estates—the share allotted to Teige having been erected into a manor to be known as the Manor of Cowlchill, and that assigned to John having been constituted the Manor of Castletown-Offerlane.

In 1601 and 1612, John is mentioned as of Garran; but soon after the latter date he removed to Castletown, where he continued to reside till his death, on the 25th July, 1626. By his wife, Mabel, daughter of Christopher Nugent, Lord Delvin, and widow of Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, he had:

FLORENCE, of Castletown, his heir, born in April, 1604.

JOHN FITZPATRICK of Bordwell excepted from pardon, in 1652.[1]

JAMES FITZPATRICK, of Grantstown, whose descendants are traced in *Loca Patriciana.*[2]

FLORENCE FITZPATRICK, of Castletown, with his two brothers, threw himself

[1] *Loca Patriciana,* Ossorian Genealogy. No. 111.
[2] *Ibid.*

ardently into the Movement of 1641. "On the 23rd January, 1641-2," according to the depositions relative to supposed injuries inflicted by Papists on Protestants at this period, "with about three hundred men, he took Knockinoy, the house of Lieutenant Henry Gilbert, which he rifled to the value of £300, at the same time depriving him of all his rents, cattle, corn, sheep, horses, household goods and chattels, at Clonin, Carrigeen, and Knockanatic and other places, to his loss of £400 more ; his father, Sir William Gilbert, being served in the same manner, about the same time, to the loss of £500 in stock and goods, and £400 a year in rents, of his part of Clonin and other lands." [1]

On the 8th Feb., 1642, Florence MacShawn Fitzpatrick, of Castletown, and Barnaby FitzPatrick of Rathdowney, with fifty-eight of their confederates, "notorious, ungratefull, wicked, vile, and unnatural traytors and rebels," were outlawed by proclamation of the Lords Justices, at Dublin, a price of £400 being put upon the head of each and every one of them. Florence assisted at the siege of Borris castle, and was reported to be "desperately wounded," in the battle fought there, between the Irish and English armies, on Easter Sunday, 1642. He was sufficiently recovered from his wounds, however, to return to Borris the following August, and three months later (Nov. 30th) had the satisfaction of seeing the castle surrendered to the Irish.

He remained true to the cause to the last. In the Act for the Settling of Ireland, August 12th, 1652, his name occurs in the long list of Irish noblemen and gentlemen excepted from pardon for life and estate, by the Cromwellians. Soon after he "died of greefe hearing what character was attributed to his onely son," John Fitzpatrick, who, a short time before, had basely betrayed the cause, and sold himself to his country's foes.

In his noble-hearted wife, Bridget Darcy, daughter of Patrick Darcy, Esq., of Platten, Florence found a companion whose love of religion and country was not inferior to his own. Having been "arraigned for a long time in Kilkenny," by the Cromwellians, she was executed at Dublin, in the end of October, 1652. Ludlow mentions that she was condemned to be burnt, and that sentence was executed accordingly. From another source we learn that the witness on whose testimony she was condemned afterwards acknowledged to having been suborned by the canting Parliamentarian ruffian, Colonel Axtel, who was himself executed later on in London, as he only too richly deserved. This illustrious lady is justly included in the list of Irish martyrs of the Cromwellian era ; and let us hope that the day is not far distant when we may be permitted not only to pay public honour to her virtues, especially her constancy in the Faith, even to a most cruel death, but

[1] Lodge's *Peerage*.

also to publicly invoke her intercession for ourselves and the country which she loved. She bore her husband four children, viz. :

JOHN FITZPATRICK, of Castletown, better known as Colonel John Fitzpatrick, their only son.

CATHERINE, who married — Butler.

MABEL, who married — Thomas.

BRIDGET, who married — Bryan.

JOHN FITZ-PATRICK, "son and heire to Florence Fitz-Patricke and Bridgid Darcie, a yonge youth before the separation of the Confederats, upon the Cessation of the Baron of Insichuyne, with Owen Oneylle, [April 26th, 1648], was captain of horse. But at the occasion of the saide Cessation revoulted from his colours and became a member of the foresaide treague or Cessation ; among the rest his chief motive was, that he and Insichuyne were cossen germans, theire grand mother on both sides being the Baron of Delvin's daughter. This Baron's descent wee now call Earle of Westmeath, and in the very same degree of kindred this Fitz-Patricke is unto the now Earle of Westmeathe. When all the Leinster forces went into Conaght [in 1651] this John stayed in the countrye [of Leinster] ; and from a captain, by privat authoritie [viz., by the authority of his cousin the Earl of Westmeath] was nominated Colonell, and certain dispersed parties adhered unto him, and Major Richard Grace, Governor of Birr, for the Catholicks, was become his Lieutenant-Colonell ; Colonell Edmond Duyre, and severall other Captains of both horse and foote, that rann a particular score, had theire dependance now of him, soe that his partie did increase to two thousande foote, and the relation of 400 horse, goinge in the nature of a runinge armie to and fro, that he was feared and did much mischiefe, and brought 4 or 5 counties under contribution duely to be payed unto him, and this by the consent of the enemie ; who tooke severall hoults and garrisons from the enemie and demolished them, but takinge Millicke in the Shanon, kept a garrison of his owne there, but after loste by Sir Charles Coote, which cost him [Coote] the hearts bloude of 500 roundheads ; he won Castle Jordan and burnte it ; Richard Grace, his now Lieutenant-Colonell, going with a partie to Raghra, a garrison of the enemie, on the Shannon, did easily win the same and demolished it." [1]

At this time more than eighteen months had elapsed since Cromwell's departure from Ireland, on the 29th May, 1650, and the Irish, if only loyal to each other and solidly united, could have held their country and driven the enemy from her shores. There were still thousands of well-drilled, active Irish soldiers, with arms in their hands, in each of the four Provinces, and the ever-faithful

[1] *Aphorismical Discovery*, Vol. III., pp. 1-2.

people, though severely tried during the preceding years, were willing as ever to advance supplies for their maintenance. With Cromwell's departure, the prowess and efficiency of the army he left after him in Ireland suffered a considerable check, and many a detachment of Roundheads had since been cut off, in various parts of the country, by the Catholic troops. "Whearever the Irish and enemie mette in those dayes, these had the worste and ours ever thrived." [1]

It was in such circumstances, while there was still hope for Ireland, that Colonel John Fitzpatrick took advantage of the important position which he held in the Leinster army, to sell his native land to her enemies, at the highest price he could secure. With this end in view, he put himself into communication with the Cromwellians, who lent his overtures a willing ear, and gladly arranged the terms of his surrender. He, on his part, agreed to transport himself and his regiment—which, however, he did not consult, and which afterwards refused to acquiesce in his betrayal—to the service of the King of Spain; the Cromwellians, on the other hand, by a formal document, drawn up and duly signed, March 7th, 1652, undertook, in return, "to mediate effectually with the Right Honourable the Commissioners of Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the affayres of Ireland, that hee, the said Colonel Fitzpatrick, shall enjoy his [*i.e.*, his father's] estate or the value thereof." [2] Thus Colonel John Fitzpatrick became the first Irish traitor of this period. He "basely betrayed his nation, Kinge and religion, [is] now in actuall service with the enemie, without any condition worthy relation, neither did he speak one worde in the behalf of his religion; naye, nor in behalf of father or mother, who thitherunto held out as confidinge in the brave partie that did adhere unto this theire fatall son, whoe unto them proved noe lesse than patricide, for his father died of greefe, hearinge what character was attributed unto his onely son, and his mother arraigned for a longe time in Kilkenny, and after executed in Dublin, by name Brigid Darcye." [3]

The following protest was issued against Fitzpatrick by the Catholic nobility, clergy, gentry and officers of the Province of Leinster, on the 18th May, 1652.

"By the Nobility, Clergie, Gentry, Commanders and Officers of the Province of Leinster:—

"Whereas Colonell John FitzPatrick hath bene, by his Majesties Cheife Gouernor of the realme of Ireland, advanced first to a Captaine of horse's place, and soone after to the place of Colonell of foote, by vertue whereof he raised both horse and foote, and by countenance of those places of honor and trust conferred vpon him did exceedingly enrich himselfe, and by the vnrestrained liberty of plunder given by him, became so numerous as raised his ambition to such an vnnatural height of sin and Ingratitude, as contrary to his allegiance to his Majesty, the sacred tye of his publique oath taken by him and of his private engagement to his commander in cheife subscribed by him, and seueral publique vowes and protestaciones so lately made and taken by him in the Provinciall Assembly at

[1] *Aphoris. Discovery*, Vol. III., p. 70.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 293.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Leinster, even at the very time having consented to a generall applicacion for the nation dispatched in his sight, being resolved to proue a reprobate, or rather, an apostate to his religion, and loyalty and fidelity to his King and country, an absolute breach of the trust reposed in him, and euen at that time when his Majesties Deputy of this Kingdome writte for, and requested a nationall treaty for the settlement of this realme, hath most treacherously and perjuriously, preferring his own particular before the publique interest, entred to an agreement and capitulated with persons entrusted by the Parliament of England for condiciones tending to his own peculiar advancement, assenting most inhumanly to the exclusion of his owne father from life and fortune, and articling priuatly for his owne estate in reversion, making noe mencion of the like, for such as he entended to embark with him in his wicked exployts and attcheivments meerly to deceiue them, and vndertaking to draw off his Majesties army unto some or seuerall seaports of this Kingdome four thousand foot and four hundred horse, to be transported to the seruice of some foreigner in league with the Parliament or be imployed here at the State's eleccion, without providing in either of the said agreements for the vse or exercise of the Catholicke religion, euen in one villadge of the Kingdome, rendering thereby all the interest incident to a nation a prey to his most impious and unparrelled ambition; and, in pursuance of the same agreement, hath, and doeth still act, and contrive all the wayes and meanes he may to put his wicked designes in execucion, by which vnnaturall perpetraciones and indeavours, he hath not onely given the first example and president of treason and perfidie of the most dangerous consequence to the safty and preservacion of this Kingdome, but alsoe hath administered cause to the enemy to promisse themselves greater assurance that others will runn the like score, to the great disadvantage of the nation in all their proceedings, as by the seuerall experiences, since his defection was found, for which the said Colonell standeth deservedly excomunicated by the cleargie, and in respect thereof exempted from the congregacion of the faithfull, and in noe sorte to be comunicated with. In consideracion whereof, and in discharge of our duty to God, our King, and Countrey, and for prevention of the bad effects to be produced by such malitious machinaciones, wee doe by this publique instrument protest against Colonell John FitzPatricke, for his said treacherous acts and agreements, as being most destructive and fatall to the Catholicke religion, his Majestie, and leige people, which wee declare to the world, whereby to remaine as an indelible brand of infamie upon the said FitzPatricke whether-oever he shall come, and upon all that doe or shall adhere to him. Whereof wee desire all Christian Princes, States and Potentates, to whom the said FitzPatrick shall come, to take notice, and his Majesties subjects, especialy the natives of this Kingdom; wheresoever they shall meet him.

"Walter Bagnall; Walter Dungan; Lysath O'More; Richard Barnwall." [1]

The Cromwellians kept their word with Colonel John Fitzpatrick, and during the confiscations which followed their conquest of Ireland, granted him, in reward of his perfidy, (1) the estate forfeited by his father, Florence, in Upper Ossory—in all 4,605 ac. 3 r.—less the townlands of Tonreagh (12 ac.), Kiletiloge and part of Ballygarvan (184 ac.), Gortnacleghy, Shanballyowen and Loghnagower (487 ac.), Raheendarnoge (204 ac.), Camchill (99 ac. 2 r.), and part of Archerstown (38 ac.); (2) the estate forfeited in the name of his deceased grand-uncle, Geoffry Fitzpatrick, of Ballaghrahin, amounting to 1,947 ac. 2 r., less the townland of Clonmore; (3) the townland of Clonmeen (588 ac.), part of the estate forfeited by his grand-uncle, Edmund Fitzpatrick of Castlefleming; (4) the townlands of Rathenry and Garrivisky, now Rathandrick and Garryniska (206 ac.), the estate of John Fitzpatrick; and (5) the townlands of Aghafin and Clonecasherivan (105 ac. 2 r.) forfeited by the Irish Papists, Carroll ffeolane (*i.e.*, Phelan), Jeffry Costigan, and Teige McShawn [Fitzpatrick]. Thus Colonel John Fitzpatrick was rewarded with a grant of land, which, in 17th century measurement, amounted to 6,428 ac. 2 r., but which, even

[1] *Aphorismical Discovery*, Vol. III., Appendix, pp. 389-90.

according to present Irish Plantation measurement, would make a much larger acreage.

In compliance with the articles of surrender, he transported himself to Spain, and was resident at Madrid in 1656. He returned to Ireland, after the Restoration, and with others of the "Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of Ireland," attached his signature to a Remonstrance presented to King Charles II., in 1661. Twenty years later, intelligence of his defection from the Faith was conveyed to Oliver Plunkett, the heroic Archbishop of Armagh, while awaiting execution in a London prison, and filled the martyr's soul with sorrow. At this date he had been living for some years in England, and there, too, he passed the remainder of his life. In 1689, he was attainted by King James II. as a partizan of William of Orange.

He died in 1694. He married Elizabeth, fourth daughter of Thomas, Viscount Thurles, sister of James, first Duke of Ormond, and widow of James Purcell, Baron of Loghmoe, and by her, who died Dec. 6th, 1675, and was buried in St. Patrick's Church, Dublin, had no issue.

By his last will, dated from Park place, Parish of St. James, [London], March 12th, 1693-4, he left all his real estate, in the Barony of Upper Ossory, to his kinsman, Colonel Edward Fitzpatrick, except what he had settled on his (Edward's) brother, Captain Richard Fitzpatrick; remainder after them and their heirs to his (testator's) right heirs.

CHAPTER XIII.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL EDWARD FITZPATRICK; THE LORDS GOWRAN; THE EARLS OF UPPER OSSORY; AND THE LORDS CASTLETOWN OF UPPER OSSORY.

COLONEL EDWARD FITZPATRICK, whom Colonel John Fitzpatrick appointed his heir, was son of Andrew Fitzpatrick of Castlefleming (who took part in the seige of Borris-in-Ossory Castle, in 1642). by Ellice, his wife, daughter of Richard, third Viscount Mountgarret; grandson of Edmund Fitzpatrick of Castlefleming, who forfeited his estate under Cromwell; and great-grandson of Florence, Lord Baron of Upper Ossory. His early history is unknown, and he is first met with at the Revolution, when he had the command of a regiment given him by William of Orange, December 31st, 1688. He was made Colonel of the Royal English Fusiliers, August 1st, 1692, and was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, October 24th, 1694. He was drowned on the passage from England to Ireland, November 10th, 1696, leaving no issue. The following is his last will:

"I, Edward ffitzpatrick of Park Place, in the parish of St. James in the Liberty of Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, Esqr., doe make this my last will and testament in manner and forme following. Imprimis I do hereby give and devise all my manors, castles, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the Kingdom of Ireland, unto my brother Captain Richard Fitzpatrick and the heirs males of his body; and for default of such issue, unto Bryan ffitzpatrick (nephew to the Lord of Upper Ossory), and the heirs males of his body; and for default of such issue, unto the eldest son of my cousin, Brian ffitzpatrick of Castlefleming and the heirs males of his body; and for default of such issue unto his brother, the second son of my said cousin Brian ffitzpatrick, his heirs and assigns for ever,—provided always, nevertheless, and my mind and will is, that the said Brian ffitzpatrick herein first named, and the said two sons of my said cousin Brian ffitzpatrick, shall be brought up in

the Protestant religion, and also the issue of the said three last mentioned devisees. And if the said Brian ffitzpatrick, first above named, shall not, within three months after my decease, make profession of the Protestant religion, and continue in the same religion during his life, and if the said several sons of my said cousin Brian ffitzpatrick, shall not be educated in, and make profession of the said Protestant religion during their several and respective lives, from and after the expiration of the said three months after my death, or if default shall be made by them, or any of them, in the premises, or if the issue of them, or any of them, shall not, at the years of discretion, make profession of the said religion and continue therein during the life of such issue, that then the estate hereby given, devised, or intended unto or for such of my said devisees, or the issue of such devisees so making default, shall cease and determine, and my said manors, castles, lands, tenements, and hereditaments shall so remain, and be enjoyed by such of my said devisees as is next in remainder according to the limitation herein before made, as fully and effectually as he might have done in case the said person so making default had been actually dead, &c."

This will was made on the 30th May, 1695, and proved on the 1st November, 1697.

Captain Richard Fitzpatrick, brother and heir of Colonel, or Brigadier-General Edward Fitzpatrick, "being bred to the sea-service, had the command of a ship of war, in which station he signalized himself by his valour and conduct; and to him and his brother [Edward], in consideration of their faithful services King William, 12th October, 1696, granted the estate of Edmond Morris, forfeited by his being killed at Aughrim, which consisted of the towns and lands of Grantstown, Donoghmore, Raheendornoge, Barnaballycragh, Lower Derry, Belady, Derrylaghan, Camrosse, Magherabegg, Ballinrawly Wood, called Glanconragh, Monaghmore, and others in the Queen's County, and so acceptable was the report of his services to his country, his fidelity to the Crown, in promoting the Protestant succession in his Majesty's illustrious family, his integrity, humanity and other amiable qualities, that King George I. thought him worthy of a place among the Peers of Ireland, and by Privy Seal, dated at St. James's, 8th March, 1714 [1715], and by patent at Dublin, 27th April, 1715, created him Lord Gowran of Gowran." [1]

In July, 1718, he married Anne, younger daughter and co-heir of Sir John Robinson of Farming-wood, in the County of Northampton, Bart., and died 9th June, 1727, leaving two sons—John, his heir; and Richard, who had no male issue.[2]

John, the second Lord Gowran, born in 1719, was appointed, in January, 1745, Master of Farming-wood Forest, part of the Forest of Rockingham, for the term of 99 years; and by Privy Seal, dated at Kensington, 26th August, and by patent, 5th October, 1751, was created Earl of Upper Ossory, with limitation of the honour to his issue male.[3] In July, 1744, he married the Lady Evelyn Leveson Gower, youngest daughter of John, Earl of Gower, and died at Farming-wood, September 23rd, 1758, leaving issue,

John, his heir, born in May, 1745.

[1] Lodge's *Peerage*.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

Richard, born January, 1748; Chief Secretary for Ireland; died without issue, January 5th, 1796.

Mary, who married the Hon. S. Fox.

Louisa, who married Lord Lansdowne.

John, second and last Earl of Upper Ossory, born in 1745, married Anne, daughter of Baron Ravensworth, and by her, who died in 1804, had two daughters, Ladies Anne and Gertrude Fitzpatrick, but no male issue. The Earl himself died in 1818 when, having no lawful heir, his title became extinct, As he and his father and grandfather had their residence in England, they rarely, if ever, visited their Upper Ossory estates.

Though having no legitimate male issue, the last Earl of Upper Ossory left two sons, viz.: John Wilson Fitzpatrick and Richard Wilson Fitzpatrick. The former, to whom he bequeathed his estates, was born in 1809; was M.P. for the Queen's County for several years, till his promotion to the Peerage, as first Lord Castletown of Upper Ossory, during the Gladstonian administration, December 10th., 1869; and died in 1883. He was succeeded by his only son, Bernard Edward Fitzpatrick, the present Lord Castletown, born July 29th, 1848.

Richard Wilson Fitzpatrick, brother of the first Lord Castletown, was an officer in the Grenadier Guards. He purchased the estate of Oldglass from the White family, and made Oldglass House, now Granston Manor, his residence. He died, November 22nd, 1850, fortified by all the rites of the Catholic Church, of which he had become a member a few years before, and is buried at the old chapel of Clough, where a mortuary chapel and a splendid altar-tomb have been erected over his grave. Being unmarried at the time of his death, he bequeathed his property to his brother, John, who then lived in Lisduff House, but who removed soon after to Oldglass.

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

DIOCESE OF OSSORY.

VOL. I.

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

DIOCESE OF OSSORY.

CHAPTER I.

EXTENT OF OSSORY DIOCESE—DEANERIES—PARISHES.

IT is certain enough that, from St. Kieran's time to the beginning of the twelfth century, the Diocese of Ossory was not always of uniform extent. Nor is this to be wondered at, seeing that, during this period, Bishops were appointed, not so much over districts with fixed boundaries, as over clans or tribes; in other words, their jurisdiction was tribal rather than territorial. "In Patrick's Testament [it is decreed] that there be a chief Bishop for every chief tribe in Ireland, to ordain ecclesiastics, to consecrate churches, and for the spiritual direction of princes, superiors, and ordained persons."[1] Hence as the tribe added to, or lost part of, the land they occupied, so the territory subject to their Bishop became larger or more contracted. In those circumstances, it is plain, we cannot fix with certainty the boundaries of the ancient Diocese of Ossory. They must be supposed to have been substantially identical with those of the ancient Kingdom of Ossory; but they varied also whenever the latter underwent any change.

The parish of Seir-Kieran here presents some difficulty. Though far removed from the Kingdom of Ossory, and in all likelihood never subject to its Kings, it has always formed portion of Ossory Diocese. It is not difficult, however, to understand how an exception to the general rule arose in this case; for, Seir-Kieran, being the cradle of the Diocese, and its first cathedral city, was looked upon as inseparably connected, in spiritual matters, with the rest of Ossory;

[1] *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, translated by Stokes, clxxxii.

moreover, it must be borne in mind, that the whole parish of Seir-Kieran was church-land from the earliest times, and hence, though not dependent in temporal matters on the princes of Ossory, it owed practically no subjection to the princes of Eile, within whose territory it lay.

It was not till the Synod of Rathbreasail, held about the year 1118, that the number and boundaries of the Irish Sees were definitely fixed. In this Synod the Bishop of Kilkenny, or Ossory, and his successors, were assigned the territory lying between the Sliabh Bladhma [or the Slieve Bloom Mountains], and Mileadhach [that is, the *Comar* or meeting of the three Rivers, Suir, Nore and Barrow, above Waterford Harbour]; and between Grian-Airbh [now Grane Hill, parish of Urlingford] and Sliabh-Mairge [*i.e.*, the mountain range of which the Castlewarren, Johnswell and Coolcullen hills form the western side]. "Quidquid agri a monte Bladhmo ad Milahacham patet, et a Grenarbhia ad Montem Margium Kilkenniensi episcopo paret." [1] Here Seir-Kieran does not seem to be included in Ossory; but, as is evident, the boundaries of the Diocese are entered only in a very general way, in the account that has come down of the proceedings of the Synod.

Probably our Diocesan boundaries, at the present time, are exactly identical with those fixed at Rathbreasail. They are not, however, identical with those of the first half of the 13th century. In the year 1204, and thence to 1253, the Diocese extended as far eastward as the River Barrow, at Graiguenamanagh, formerly Duiske, the site of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Saviour's or De Valle Salvatoris; it took in, at the same time, the civil parish of Graiguenamanagh, but that it had claim to any part of Paulstown is more than doubtful. There is abundant evidence to prove that Graiguenamanagh belonged to Ossory during the first half of the 13th century, viz.:

(1) The following document, copied "*Ex Chartis Jacobi, Comitis Ormoniae*," 418, Lansdowne MSS., Brit. Museum:

"In charta Hugonis, epi. Ossor. recitatur Charta Albini, epi. Fern., his verbis:—Dno. Cisterciensi et ōib' reverendis Patribus qui omni recursu temporis ad Cisterciense devenerit Caplum., Albinus, Dei gra. Fernensis, de Ordine Cisterciensi creatus epus., ad suam filiorumque salutem recta discernere in eo qui salvat rectos corde: Noverit universitatis vestrae prudentia, quod Ao. ab Incarnatione Dni. 1204, 8 Id. Junii *in Ossoria & permissione & auctoritate Hugonis Ossor. epi.* qui tunc temporis, conga existente, in Angliam transfretaverat, *juxta ripam fluminis Baruae*, circumfluente populo & assistentibus nobis & rogantibus venerabilibus fribus. nostris, Gregorio & Imaro, S. Mariæ de Jeriponte & Valle Dei Abbatibus, *dedicationem cemiterii solempniter celebravimus in terra viz., cui nomen Adlacharan & fuit quondam Bren Udowisker*" [*i.e.* Bun-Duiske, or Mouth of the River Duiske], "quam nimirum Willmus. Marescallus, comes de Pembrok, Ordini Cistérciensi ad construendam Abbatiam donavit Anglicis & S. Mariæ Monachis de Stanleia in opus illud evocatis, &c."

(2) The following copied from a Bodleian MS., cited in *Bowles Bremhil*, p. 119:

A.D. 1204. "Depositus est R—, Abbas de Stanlegh, a Capitulo Cisterciense, eo quod duxerit conventum in Hiberniam absque licentia capituli. Eodem anno electus est Conventus novus in Stanlegh, in Wilts, cum Abbate proprio, scilicet venerabili viro Radulpho, 10 Calendis Augusti et in Hiberniam

[1] See Dr. Lynch's Latin Translation of *Keating's History of Ireland.*

Photo by] **SEIR-KIERAN.** [*Roche.*

A.—Ruins of Ancient Church. **B.**—Boundary Wall of Graveyard. **C.**—The Moat. **D.**—New Catholic Church. **E.**—Bell Hill.

To face page 2, Vol. I. (Text).

missus *in Provincia Ossoriense ad locum qui vocatur Sancti Salvatoris*, quem eis dedit bonæ memoriæ vir Wilhelmus Mareschallus, comes de Pembroke, cum aliis terris plurimis."

(3) The following also *Ex Chartis Jacobi, Comitis Ormoniae*, above :

"Charta Hugonis, Ossoriensis epi, qua concessit eccae. S. Mariæ de Abbatia S. Salvatoris, *totam villam de Stachmackestewan* [elsewhere more correctly written *Stomkarlewan*, now *Ti-Kerlevan*, in the parish of Graiguenamanagh], cum ecca. illius villæ. Reddendo inde annuatim *matrici cce. Ossor.* xxs. ad duos terminos pro omni servitio & exactione, viz., ad fest. S. Kannici xs., et ad Inventionem S. Crucis decem. His testibus Dno. W. Marescallo, Comite Pembrok, H. Epo. Lechl., O. Decano de Kilk., G. Archid. Ossor., O. Priore S. Jo. de Kilkenn."

Hugh, Bishop of Ossory, who made this grant, was appointed to the See in 1202, and died in 1218.

(4) The same Bishop Hugh *confirmed* the grant of the *chapel of Duiske* to the Abbey of the said place. [1]

(5) The following extract from Bliss's *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, Vol. I. :

"3 Id. Dec. 1253, Lateran. The Cistercian Abbots of Tintern (de Voto) and *Duisk*, in the Dioceses of Ferns and *Ossory*, are appointed conservators."

Perhaps we may have had here only a temporary arrangement of Diocesan boundaries, effected, with Papal sanction, by William Marshall the elder, Lord of Leinster and Earl of Pembroke, who, strange as it may appear, held and exercised the *jus patronatus* to the Bishopric of Ossory, and probably also to the Bishoprics of Ferns, Leighlin and Kildare. Be that as it may, there is nothing to show that Graiguenamanagh parish belonged to Ossory, either as a Kingdom or a Diocese, before the Norman Invasion ; and it certainly ceased to belong to Ossory before the episcopate of Bishop de Ledred (1317-1360).[2]

At present Ossory Diocese comprises the parish of Seir-Kieran, in the King's County ; the Baronies of Upperwoods, Clandonnagh (except the civil parish of Kyle or Ballaghmore), and Clarmallagh (except a small portion of the civil parish of Abbeyleix), in the Queen's County ; and the entire of County Kilkenny, except the small townland of Rathgarra, in the Barony of Fassaghdinin, and the civil parishes of Graiguenamanagh, Ullard, Powerstown, Grange Silvae, Kilmacahill and Shankill, in the Barony of Gowran.

Previous to the Reformation, it was divided into about 130 parishes, which were grouped into the following nine Deaneries :

Kenlys (or Kells).
Obargoun.
Ouerk.
Kilkenny.
Claragh.
Sillr. (*i.e.*, Shillelogher.)
Aghthour.
Odogh.
Aghebo.[3]

[1] *E. Regesto Coenobii Duiskensis &c.*, Lansdowne MSS., Brit. Mus.
[2] See Taxations of Ossory.
[3] Taxations of Ossory in *Red Book of Ossory*.

After the Reformation, owing to the poverty of the people, and the scarcity of priests, it was found necessary, in nearly every instance, to amalgamate the old parishes, sometimes two, sometimes four, and sometimes as many as six of them being given in charge to one pastor. In this way the number of parishes, or rather unions of parishes, was, in the 17th and 18th centuries, reduced to 28 or 30. At present the number of parishes is 41 which are grouped into three Deaneries, thus :

NORTHERN DEANERY :—Seir-Kieran, Aghaboe, Ballyragget, Borris-in-Ossory,

From Photo by] *[W. Lawrence, Dublin.*

CAPE CLEAR ISLAND. BIRTHPLACE OF ST. KIERAN.

Camross, Castlecomer, Castletown, Clough, Conahy, Durrow, Freshford, Galmoy, Johnstown, Lisdowney, Rathdowney and Urlingford.—16.

MIDDLE DEANERY :—St. Mary's, St. Canice's, St. Patrick's, St. John's, Callan, Clara, Danesfort, Gowran, Kilmanagh, Muckalee, Tullaherin and Tullaroan—12.

SOUTHERN DEANERY :—Aghavillar, Ballyhale, Dunnamaggan, Glenmore, Inistioge, Kilmacow, Mooncoin, Mullinavat, Rosbercon, Slieverue, Templeorum, Thomastown and Windgap—13.

CHAPTER II

THE BISHOPS OF OSSORY.—ST. KIERAN

THERE is not, perhaps, among our Irish Diocesan Patrons, one whose dates can be fixed, or even approximated, with less satisfaction, than those of St. Kieran, the founder and first Bishop of Ossory Diocese. This is mostly to be attributed to the different Lives (or, rather, corrupt and interpolated versions of the long lost original Life [1]) of the Saint, a study of which would lead to the conclusion, nowadays justly deemed inadmissible, that he lived to an age protracted far and away beyond that of ordinary long-lived mortals. Thus the Lives represent him as born in the year 352, or thereabouts, while, at the same time, they make him the contemporary and friend of St. Brendan of Birr, who died in 565, or 571; of St. Brendan of Clonfert, who died in 577; of St. Odhran, who died in 548; and of St. Kieran, "the son of the carpenter," while Abbot of Clonmacnois, that is, from May 4th, 544, to the 9th of the following September, when he died.

But whilst we cannot accept the conclusions respecting his longevity, forced upon us by the Lives, it is no easy matter to decide which is purely legendary, viz., the portion of the narrative which introduces St. Kieran to us at so early a date

[1] Cairneach Moel, or the Bald, who is called "Ciaran's Scribe," was the Saint's earliest biographer. "Cairnech Moel, Ciaran's scribe, it is he that wrote the wondrous writing, to wit, Ciaran's *Imirche* with its many *gressa*, and still remains that book in Saigir; and let everyone who shall read it give a blessing on the soul of Cairnech Moel."—(*Calendar of Aengus*, translated by Whitley Stokes, p. lxii.) Cathal Maguire's Latin translation of this passage, quoted by Colgan (—*AA. SS. Hib.*, p. 471), throws light on the meanings of the words *Imirche* and *gressa*: "Cairnechus cognomento Mael, est qui Kierani *miribilia miro et eleganti metro conscripsit*, ejusque opus Sagiriæ adhuc asservatur et quicumque illud legerit animam Carnechi scriptoris Deo recommendet." Carnech's volume must have served as the groundwork of all subsequent Lives of St. Kieran.

as 352,[1] and makes him a priest or Bishop fifty years later; or that which represents him as living during the first half of the sixth century. After as full a study of the subject as opportunities afforded, I cannot help concluding that his birth synchronises with the close of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century, and that in the latter century his career as Bishop began and ended.

He was the son of Luaigne,[2] one of the nobility of Ossory, and descended from Aengus Osrithe; and of Liadhain, daughter of Maine Cerr of the Corca-Laighdhe, descended from Lughaidh Mac Con, Monarch of Erin in the third century of our era. He was born in Cape Clear, in his mother's native territory of Corca-Laighdhe, which is, in part, co-extensive with the present Diocese of Ross, in the south of the County Cork. The exact place of his birth is marked by the ruins of the ancient church and graveyard of Kill-Kieran, close to the shore which was first called Fintracht-Clere, or the fair, white strand of [Cape] Clere, but which is now, and from St. Kieran's time, known as Traigh-Chiarain, or St. Kieran's Strand.

Smith in his *Natural and Civil History of Cork*, B. ii., ch. 4, writes:

"A little to the east of the castle [of Dunanore, on the north-west point of Cape Clear Island] is a cove called Tra-Kieran, *i.e.* St. Kieran's Strand, on which is a pillar stone[3] with a cross rudely cut towards the top, that, they say, was the workmanship of St. Kieran; and near it stand the walls of a ruined church, dedicated to the same saint. This stone they [the people of Cape Clear] hold in

[1] The belief in St. Kieran's early birth, his pre-Patrician mission, and his extraordinary longevity, was universal among all our Irish ecclesiastical historians down to Dr. Lanigan's time. Now no one would dream, for a moment, of admitting that he lived much beyond what is usually understood by a ripe old age. Of recent writers, some deny, others maintain, that he preceded St. Patrick as a missioner to this country. Cardinal Moran thus expresses his views on the subject:—

"To me it seems sufficiently proved, that it was through the preaching of St. Palladius that our saint, when he had attained the age of manhood, was awakened to the knowledge of Christian truth, and it seems equally certain that it was in the year 432 he proceeded to Rome, and received there the saving waters of Baptism. As we read in his ancient Life: 'Kieran set out for Rome of Letha, for it was made known to him by heaven that it was there he would receive divine instruction and be promoted to the highest dignity, because Rome was the fountain of the faith.'—(MSS. British Museum *Egerton* 91). This same ancient record further attests that he remained in Rome for about thirty years leading a life of heroic sanctity. . . . . It is probable that St. Kieran left Rome early in the year 461. . . . . St. Kieran received the episcopal consecration at the hands of that great Pontiff [St. Leo the Great], and returning to Ireland hastened to the territory of Eile, where he erected for himself a cell in a dense wood, on the brink of a spring-fountain which was called Saigher. There his sanctity and miracles soon gathered a large number of disciples around him, and in the presence and with the blessing of St. Patrick, he, in 462, laid the foundations of his great monastery." (—*Transactions of Ossory Archæol. Society*, Vol. I. pp. 3-4).

[2] St. Kieran's pedigree from the *Book of Leinster*:—"Ciaran Saigri m. Luaigne m. Ruamand Duach m. Conaill m. Corp. Niad [*recte* m. Coirpri m. Niad Corbb] m. Buain m. Dinbuain m. Ecac Lamdoit m. Amalgad m. Loegaire birn buad m. Oengusa Osrethi."

[3] In 1845 one John Gauley made a pen and ink sketch of this stone. "It was called Gallaun-Kierawn, which signifies 'St. Kieran's standing stone.' It was of a circular form, tapering towards the top, and it stood on the sea-shore. It measured four feet nine inches in height, by six feet in circumference; while near the top, there is a cross, sunk in the stone, and said to have been cut by St. Kieran's hands. There was formerly a cross on the western side, and [another] on its top. These could hardly be traced in 1845, being much defaced through the effects of time. (—Canon O'Hanlon's *Lives of Irish Saints*, Vol. III., p. 125.)

Photo by] **CAPE CLEAR. ST. KIERAN'S CHURCH AND STRAND.** [*Lawrence, Dublin.*

To face page 6, Vol. I. (Text).

great veneration, and assemble round it every 5th of March, on which day they celebrate the festiva of their patron."

Having received some knowledge of the Catholic Faith, either from Irish missionaries at home, or through the commercial intercourse carried on between his hardy sea-faring neighbours of Corca-Laighdhe with the north-west coast of France, St. Kieran bade adieu to Cape Clear when he had attained his thirtieth year, and, aided by grace and directed by the Spirit of God, set out for Rome, "because Rome was the fountain of the faith," that he might be there instructed in the Christian religion and admitted as a humble member into the church. His stay in the Eternal City was destined to be a long one. For twenty years, it is said, he remained there, drinking in lessons of heavenly and human science, and in such esteem was he held for sanctity and learning that, at the end of that period "he was ordained in the church." According to some of his Lives he was even raised to Episcopal rank before leaving Rome. If not a Bishop then, however, he was certainly one afterwards, but when or by whom consecrated is unknown. On his homeward journey, "on the Italian road," he met St. Patrick, destined afterwards to be the great Apostle of Ireland, though not yet a Bishop (say St. Kieran's Lives), and the meeting was the cause of much joy to both these holy men:

"And Patrick said to Ciaran, 'Go on before me to Erin, and in the middle of it you will find a well at the boundary of the northern division and the southern division, in its middle, and there found for yourself a monastery at that well; and the name of the well is Uarán, and there shall be thy honour and thy resurrection to judgment.' Ciaran answered and said: 'Direct me to the locality in which that well is.' Patrick said to him: 'The Lord be with thee and proceed on straight before thee, and take my little bell to thee, and it will not sound until thou reachest the well we have spoken of, and as you reach it, the little bell will ring out a bright, melodious sound. From that you will then know the well. About thirty years hence I shall follow you to that place.' And they then blessed and kissed each other. Ciaran came his own way to Erin, and Patrick remained in Italy." [1]

The Commentator on the *Calendar of Aengus* gives an Irish poetic version of St. Patrick's instructions to St. Kieran on this occasion, of which the following is an English translation:

"Cold Saig, [*Saig uar .i. nomen fontis*]
Build a city on its brink;
At the end of thirty . . . years
We shall meet there [I] and thou."

After his return to Ireland, our Saint reaped the first fruits of his missionary labours among his own maternal relatives of the Corca-Laighdhe: "and it was he that left to the King of the Corca-Laighdhe, the Eniclann of a King of a province for their having first believed in the Cross."[2]

The Lives next introduce us to St. Kieran on his arrival at the fountain

[1] *Life of St. Kieran*, literally translated from the Irish by Rev. D. Mulcahy.
[2] *Genealogy of the Corca Laidhe*, translated by John O'Donovan, pp. 21-3.

called Uaran, beside which, according to St. Patrick's prophecy, he was to build his great monastery, afterwards known as Saighir-Chiarain, and Seir-Kieran :

"Now Ciaran's bell tolled not until he came to the place where the well was which Patrick mentioned, namely, Uaran. And on Ciaran's coming to Erin, God directed him towards that well, which when he had reached, the little bell quickly rang with a bright, clear sound, and Barcan Chiarain is the name it gets. . . . . The well of which we have spoken is at the line where the two divisions of Erin meet, that is to say, the south division, Munster, and the division to the north ; although it is in Munster the land is which is called Eile ; and in this locality Ciaran began to dwell as a hermit, for it was surrounded by large woods at that time. At first he only built a little cell of frail work, and after that, by the favour of God, he built a monastery which was commonly called by all Saighir-Chiarain." [1]

Beyond the general statement that "he converted his own race or kindred the Ossorians, to the faith," the Saint's Lives do not suggest whether it was previous to his arrival at Saighir, or after that event, that he began his mission in Ossory. The living and wide-spread tradition of Upper Ossory here comes to our aid, and as it serves to throw light on St. Kieran's movements, and is, on other grounds, worth preserving, we cannot do better than insert it here :

St. Kieran came to Fertagh,[2] parish of Johnstown, and took up his residence there. He had a pet lamb that used to go around the country every day. If any of the neighbours wanted to send a present to the Saint, they tied it with a string round the lamb's neck, and the gentle animal brought it home safely to its master. At length some one from the locality stole and ate the lamb ; but the Saint made the lamb speak in the thief's stomach, and so exposed his villainy. Deeply offended at the unkind treatment thus received, St. Kieran departed from Fertagh, prophesying that the place would never be without a rogue and a liar till the end of time.

He then bent his steps northward to Errill,[3] in the parish of Rathdowney. Here he was given a suitable site for a monastery, and everything went on to his satisfaction. Early one morning, however, a few days after his arrival, he happened to be walking along the Errill road, when he saw a stranger coming towards him from the south. After the usual salutations had passed between them, the Saint asked the stranger whence he came, and at what hour he had started on his journey.

[1] *St. Kieran*, by Father Mulcahy.

[2] When St. Kieran lived at Fertagh, he sent his housekeeper one day for water to an adjacent well called Tubbernaviddawn. As she did not return within reasonable time he went to ascertain the cause of her delay. On arriving at the well he was horrified to find there the bones of a human being, quite lately stripped of flesh by some wild animal. Gathering the scattered members together, and arranging each in the position it should occupy in the human body, the Saint prayed for some time, and he had scarcely done so, when the bones began to knit together, the skeleton to be clothed with flesh, and life to return to the dead; and in the person thus miraculously brought back from the region of the dead, he discovered his own housekeeper.

It is strange to find this legend, often told at Fertagh, repeated in almost the same words in connection with another Ossory church dedicated to St. Kieran, viz. Kilkieran. in the parish of Templeorum, which is 35 miles (Irish) from Fertagh church.

[3] Errill is six or seven miles (Irish), north-west of Fertagh

The latter answered that he lived in the neighbourhood of Fertagh, and that he had set out from his home only a few hours before. This was enough for the Saint. He saw that Fertagh was too near, indeed much nearer than he had believed, to Errill ; and that he must depart hence and find a site for his monastery in some place farther removed from Fertagh and its disagreeable people.

Accordingly he took up his staff, and, again turned his steps to the north. He arrived towards nightfall of the same day, foot-sore and weary, at a clear spring well, since called St. Kieran's well, on the rising ground of Coolishall,[1] on the south-western slope of the Slieve Bloom Mountains. Having refreshed himself from the pure spring, he took a survey of his surroundings and saw at once that the place was one well suited for retirement and prayer, and sufficiently distant from Fertagh ; and so he resolved to set about the erection of a monastery here, with as little delay as possible. He then offered himself, and the work he was about to undertake, to the Divine Master, whose holy will alone he sought in all things and laid himself down, on the bare ground, beside the well, to take his night's repose. But if he solaced himself with the thought that Fertagh was now far behind, he soon had reason to know that undesirable neighbours may turn up where they are least expected ; for, when he awoke next morning, he found that some thief from Coolishall had been prowling around during the night, and had stolen the very sandals off his feet whilst he slept.

Highly indignant at this new outrage, our Saint took but little time to make up his mind to put a respectable distance between himself and Coolishall. Before his departure, he prophesied that for the future the place would never be without a thief, a liar, and a woman of bad character ; and the natives aver that the prophecy has never since been falsified. From Coolishall he journeyed to Seir-Kieran, and here, at last, he found the peaceful solitude that gave joy and contentment to his soul.

[5] The townland of Coolishall, about six miles north of Errill, is on the south-western shoulder of the Slieve Bloom Mountains, in the King's Co., and Diocese of Killaloe. It adjoins Ballaghmore in the Queen's Co., is about two miles from Roscrea, and about the same distance from the nearest part of Camross parish. The site of St. Kieran's monastery, with its encircling *cashel*, is a prominent feature in the rugged, rising ground of Coolishall. It is known as " the churchyard," but all trace of church and monastery has been long obliterated, and no head-stones nor even graves—except those of unbaptized children—are visible. About the centre of the enclosure, under the shade of some whitethorns, is the well beside which St. Kieran passed his first night in Coolishall ; it is a holy well of much repute, and is called " St. Kieran's well." In it were two small, whitish stones, partly round, which people suffering from headache used to press against their temples, at the same time invoking the Saint to procure by his intercession some alleviation of their pain. Only one of these stones remained in the well in 1896, the other having been brought a long distance to a sick person, some years before, and never returned. The field outside the enclosure, to the south, bears the very interesting Irish name of " Usseree," that is, Ossory. Bounding Coolishall towards the south, is the townland of Moonahincha in Co. Tipperary, famous for its " Holy Island," called in old writings Inis na mBeo, or Island of the Living, and described as situated in " Stagnum Cre," the Marsh of Cre, in the vicinity of Roscrea.

People may smile at this oft-repeated tradition, and look upon it as altogether nonsensical; still, there can be little doubt that a deep substratum of fact lies here, barely hidden beneath the thin, legendary veil. It shows clearly enough that St. Kieran, during his mission to our Pagan forefathers, met with annoyance and opposition from the obstinate upholders of the false doctrines which he came to combat. His ardent zeal, however, overcame all obstacles; and in each of these places thus traditionally connected with his name and presence, he not only succeeded in planting the sacred Symbol of Redemption, but also in raising up beside it a hastily-constructed monastery, which he committed, together with the people of the surrounding districts, to some of his zealous assistant missionaries.

The legend gives us to understand that his visits to Errill and Coolishall were brief; and in this it is, no doubt, fairly accurate. Still during his stay in each place, the monastery was erected and enclosed by the *caiseal*, or stone wall. In Errill the original *caiseal* has long disappeared, but in its place, and in all likelihood more than a thousand years ago, another was built of stone and grouting, and of great thickness and strength, as its remaining fragments testify. In Coolishall the *caiseal* was built of dry stones, and these remarkably small; and yet that wondrous wall, 7 feet high and 6 feet thick where perfect, enclosing about an Irish acre, and undoubtedly of St. Kieran's time, still remains in very fair preservation, after the lapse of fully fourteen hundred years. It is not surprising that the tradition of Coolishall attributes this wall to supernatural agency, asserting as it does, that it was built up miraculously, in one single night, viz., that during which St. Kieran, after his departure from Errill, lay down and slept by the well (now St. Kieran's well), which springs up in the centre of the enclosure.

But the Saint knew well that neither Errill, nor Coolishall, nor any of the other monasteries which he might have already founded throughout our Diocese, was to be "the city" of St. Patrick's prophecy, where his resurrection was to be, and his name and fame were to flourish to the end of time; for, the bell given to him by St. Patrick had not yet emitted a single sound. When, however, he set out from Coolishall, and marched on nine long Irish miles still further north, through the territory of Eile,[1] till he came close to the boundary of Leath Mogha and Leath Cuinn, the two ancient divisions of our country, the term of his journeyings was at hand. As he reached the summit of a high hill, now called "Bell Hill," over which an old road led him, the miraculous bell rang out in his satchel, with a clear,

[1] In later times Eile or Ele (pronounced *Aela*) was known as Ely O'Carroll. It originally belonged to Munster, and hence all ancient documents connected with St. Kieran place his great monastery of Saighir, in Munster. In later times the portion of Eile comprised in the modern Baronies of Ballybritt and Clonlisk, was allotted to the King's Co., and now belongs to Leinster.

sweet sound, and Kieran knew that he had found his home at last. We can imagine his feelings at this wonderful manifestation of the Divine Will, and what fervent acts of thanksgiving he then and there offered to God in return. We can imagine the holy man, too, at the close of his prayer, looking out eagerly for the stream or well called Uaran. He had not far to seek. The stream was just beneath him, at the base of the hill on which the bell had rung ; the well from which it flowed, now St. Kieran's well, he found a little less than a quarter of a mile farther away. Nearly midway between the hill and the well, on a gentle eminence of greenest verdure, sloping down to the brink of the stream, he laid the foundations of his city and greatest monastery, ever since known as Saighir-Chiarain, the Cathedral city of Ossory for about six hundred years.

The fame of his sanctity and of his skill as a master of the spiritual life soon brought many disciples around him to Saighir, and with their aid he was enabled to build the monastery and complete it in all its details. Princes and nobles enriched the new foundation with no sparing hand, and even in the lifetime of our saint its material wealth is said to have been very considerable. But the holy founder lavished its riches in supporting the poor and lowly, and not on himself and the mortified recluses under his charge. " Wondrous now," says the Scholiast of *Aengus*, " was that holy Ciaran of Saighir, for numerous was his cattle. For there were ten doors to the shed of his kine, and ten stalls at every door, and ten calves in every stall and ten cows with every calf. Now Ciaran consumed not any little kind of their great produce so long as he was alive, but distributed it to the poor and to the needy ones of the Lord. Moreover, there were fifty tame horses with Ciaran for tilling and ploughing the ground. And this was his dinner every night of all those things, to wit, a little bit of barley bread and two roots of murathach [probably some garden vegetable] and water of a spring. Skins of fawns, this was his raiment and a wet hair-cloth over them outside. A pillar of stone, thereon he used to sleep always."

From Saighir its Abbot-Bishop sent out zealous missionaries to every part of Ossory, for, as the writer of his Life says, " to the parish [*i.e.*, Diocese] of Ciaran every plain in Ossory belonged ; " and to their labours, and those of their holy father, Kieran, and of the great National Apostle St. Patrick, the complete conversion of our Diocese from Paganism must be attributed.

The labours of St. Kieran were not, however, confined to Ossory, or Ireland. Like countless other Saints of our early Irish church, his zeal for the conversion of pagan nations and peoples, sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death, knew no bounds. We learn from Blight's *Churches in West Cornwall* that he passed some time in the south-west of England, and that his memory is still cherished there.

Under the Cornish form Perran or Piran, his name is borne by four ancient parochial churches in Cornwall. These are Perran-zabuloe or St. Piran-in-the-sand ; Perran-arworthal ; Perran-uthnoe ; and St. Keveran or Piran. St. Kieran's holy well is also pointed out on the northern coast of Perranzabuloe.

Brittany, Wales, and Scotland also reaped the fruits of his missionary zeal. "In the most ancient extant list of the Abbots of St. Iltud's monastery [at the city of Caerworgan in Wales], the second name is that of St. Kieran of Saighir, patron of the Diocese of Ossory. It was probably about the year 500 that St. Kieran dwelt in this hallowed retreat of piety. Thence he proceeded to a small island situated in the Wye, where he erected a small monastery, and many devout persons flocked thither to receive his lessons of heavenly instruction. St. Kieran, however, soon after proceeded thence to the north of Britain, and thence returned to Saighir. He had already laboured in the sacred ministry throughout Brittany, where he is still honoured in many places under the name of St. Seizin. He was among the first of the missionary Bishops who hastened to minister to the spiritual wants of his countrymen in Scottish Dalriada. . . . . He is honoured to the present day at Campbelltown, and all along the Mull of Cantyre where the Scottish mainland approaches nearest to Ireland. The oldest church of Campbelltown still bears his name, and other churches were dedicated to him in Carrick, and Islay and Lismore. His feast was kept throughout Argyll and Ayrshire, as it is in Ossory, on the 5th of March. His hermitage near Campbelltown, and his cave deep hidden in the rocks, whither he used to retire for prayer and solitude, and his holy well are visited by pilgrims ; and year by year on each recurring festival, pious crowds may be seen wending their way for about a quarter of a mile along the path of pilgrimage, from the venerable oratory of the saint down to the seashore, to St. Kieran's rock, which bears the impress of his knees, for there he was wont to kneel, and oftentimes, thence looking towards Erin, he prayed a blessing upon his native land."

Though St. Patrick and St. Kieran, doubtless, met each other frequently in Ireland, still only two such meetings are recorded in the Lives of the latter, viz., one at Cashel, when St. Patrick first began his mission in Munster about the year 446 ; the other at Saighir-Chiarian, the date of which is unknown.

"Ciaran from his youth to the time of his death, did not drink a draught from which he would be drunk, nor did he use soft or downy clothing about him. Nor did he partake of a banquet, nor sleep his fill, nor did he run off to any place, through sake of drinking for good fellowship. And he converted his own race or kindred, the Ossorians, to the faith, and a great deal of other people. He had frequent visits from the angels. And the angel gave him information of a wonderful well ; and many are healed by it from diseases and infirmities. And the name it has is Tobar-Chiarain." [2]

[1] Cardinal Moran's *Irish Saints in Great Britain*, pp. 32, 166-7.
[2] *Life of St. Kieran*, by Father Mulcahy.

At length after a long life the "Primogenitus seu Primarius Sanctorum Hiberniæ," as our saint is styled, being worn out with age and infirmity, felt that the time of his death was close at hand. He accordingly summoned his religious brethren and his "parishioners [*i.e.*, his Diocesans] from every point"; thirty Bishops, all of whom had been trained by St. Kieran in piety, and had received the sacerdotal ordination at his hands, also came to take their last sorrowful leave of him:

"These being assembled around him, he said to them: 'My brethren, pray with me to God that I may not stand alone before his judgment-seat, but that His holy saints and angels may be with me; and pray that my path unto the King may not be through darkness, and that His smile may welcome me.' And turning to his religious he blessed them and bequeathed them to God and Mochuda: he exhorted them to uphold piety, to love their monastery, and to guard themselves against the son of malediction, that their days of blessing might not be shortened. And then raising his eyes to Heaven he prophetically added: 'For a time will come when evils shall prevail, and the churches shall be demolished, and the monasteries be reduced to a wilderness, and sacred truth shall be corrupted into falsehood, and holy Baptism be tinged with corruption, and each one will seek not what is his own, but what does not belong to him.'

"He then went at their head into the *Regles*, or church of the monastery, where he was wont to celebrate, and there at the altar he offered the Holy Sacrifice, and having partaken of the Body and Blood of Christ, and received the last sacrament of Extreme Unction, he asked his brethren to inter his body in a secret place, which none but themselves should know, close to the spot which was hallowed by the relics of St. Martin, and where the remains of the holy men who preceded him had been laid. And now, having perfected his victory of abstinence and penance, and attained his triumph over the demons and the world, the choirs of angels came to meet the soul of Kieran, to give to him the greetings of Heaven, and to conduct him to God. At midnight he breathed his last, but so many were the lights that burned around him that night seemed changed into day. His remains were wrapped into precious linen, and for seven days hymns and canticles were chanted in thanksgiving to God for the mercy shown to him, and earth seemed to breathe the fragrance of heaven; but his soul was in bliss in the company of St. Patrick and St. Martin and the other saints of God."[1]

Whether the beautiful death-scene here described so well, took place in Saighir or in some far-off monastery, and where the Saint's remains were committed to the earth, may never be known. True it is that in the Irish *Life of St. Kieran*, the writer makes St. Patrick prophesy that at the well of Uaran, that is, at Saighir, would be the place of St. Kieran's resurrection,[2] thereby expressing his own belief, at least, that the Saint's body rested here. On the other hand "it is the constant tradition of Cornwall, that he was interred in that county An arm of the saint was enshrined in Exeter cathedral, and, as late as the 15th century, several other relics of this great Irish Bishop were venerated in Cornwall. An inventory made in the year 1481, mentions a reliquary with St. Kieran's head, a silver plate with his scutella, a silver cross containing some relics of the saint, his pastoral staff adorned with silver and gold, and precious stones, a text of the Gospels richly encased, and a small copper bell also belonging to the saint."

[1] *Ossory Archæological Society*, Vol. I., Inaugural Address by Cardinal Moran.
[2] P. 7, *supra*.
[3] Cardinal Moran's *Irish Saints in Great Britain*, p. 33.

The saint is thus commemorated in the *Martyrology of Donegal :*

" March 5, Ciaran, of Saighir, Bishop and Confessor. Ciaran is of the race of Aenghus Osraighe, who is of the posterity of Labhraidh Lorc, from whom are the Leinstermen, and who is of the seed of Heremon. And Liuen [1] was the name of his mother, according to his own Life, chap. 21. Countless were the signs and miracles which God performed on earth through him. It was he that used to order the stones to kindle with a puff of his breath. It was he also that made fish, honey, and oil, of the little bit of meat in the time of the fast, when Brenainn of Birr and Ciaran of Cluain came on a visit

RUINS OF KILLYON NUNNERY.

to him, as appears from his Life ; together with many other miracles. He used to be often immersed in a vat of cold water for the love of the Lord whom he served. It is he that used to go to the sea

[1] In the Lives of St. Kieran it is stated that his mother, Liadhain, or Liuen, in her old age, became a nun and that a cell, called from her Ceall-Liadhain, now Killyon, was built for her by St. Kieran, near his own monastery of Saighir. Around this cell a Nunnery soon grew up, in which several young virgins devoted themselves to God under Liadhain's guidance. Killyon is immediately outside Seir-Kieran parish, on the road to Birr. St. Nem Mac Ua Birn, Abbot of Arran, who died June 14th, 654, is said to have been a brother of St. Kieran, but the statement cannot be true. Both saints were related, no doubt, Leaghaire Birn Buadhach being their common ancestor ; but St. Kieran must have lived at least four generations before St. Nem Mac Ua Birn. The Scholiast of Aengus, at June 14, has : " Nem *i.e.* Papa of Aran, *i.e.* of Dal Birn of Ossory was he, *i.e.* a brother of Ciaran of Saigher, and successor of St. Enda of Aran ; and he is called the Papa who used to be in Aran, for it was from Rome that that Papa came, and he chose his sepulture in Aran." The *Sanctilogium Genealogicum*, quoted by Colgan (—*AA. SS. Hib.*, p. 472), numbers seven of St. Kieran's paternal uncles, the sons of Ruman Duach, among the Saints, their names being Coirpre, Ceallach, Ceannfaeladh, Muireadhach, Rudghus, and Bishops Uibhne and Connall, The same authority mentions the following saints, also descended of the Dal Birn of Ossory, and therefore relatives of St. Kieran, viz., Laimiodhan (Feb. 6) ; Aduair ; Erc, Bishop (Oct. 27) ; Maelanfaid (Jan. 31) ; Sinell, Bishop (Jan. 12, or Nov. 11) ; and Fanchea or Finchea, Virgin (Nov. 9).

rock that was far distant in the sea (where his nurse, *i.e.* Coca, was), without ship or boat, and used to return again, as appears from his own Life, chap. 19. Sixty years and three hundred was his age when he yielded his spirit. Ciaran dedicated his congregation to God and to Carthach.

"A very ancient vellum old book, which we have mentioned at Brighit, 1st of February, states that Ciaran of Saighir was, in his manners and life, like unto Pope Clement."

The 5th of March, the day of St. Kieran's happy death and translation to Heaven, has been always observed as his festival day. In this Diocese, it was celebrated as a holiday of strict obligation, down to the year 1773, when by a Decree of Pope Clement XIV., it was retrenched. It is still observed as a holiday

From Photo by] [*W. Lawrence, Dublin.*

ST. KIERAN'S STRAND, CAPE CLEAR. VIEW FROM SEA.

in the parish of Seir-Kieran. The office for the day is a double of the first class, in Ossory Diocese, and a double major in the rest of Ireland.

Throughout Ossory there are very many memorials of St. Kieran, such as churches, trees, wells, etc.; but as all these will be mentioned under the different parishes in which they are found, they may remain unnoticed here. His name is very commonly used as a Christian name in our Diocese; also in Cape Clear, among the O'Driscolls, and their co-relatives, the Cadogans; but it is rarely found elsewhere.

In accordance with the monastic system of diocesan government, universal,

or almost so, in Ireland, in early centuries, St. Kieran's Episcopal jurisdiction over his "parish [*i.e.* Diocese], to which every Plain in Ossory belonged," descended to his Comharbas, or successors, in the Abbacy of Saighir. Through them the Episcopal succession was kept up, till about the year 1118, when the Synod of Rathbreasail definitely fixed the number of Irish Sees, and established the present system of Episcopal government in each.

From what follows we shall see that, previous to 1118, some, at least, of the Abbots of Saighir were themselves Bishops. Indeed it is not at all improbable that they all received Episcopal consecration on their promotion to the Abbatial dignity. Should it happen, however, that any individual Abbot was not a Bishop, the case would present no difficulty. Being the Comharba of Kieran, and therefore possessed of quasi-Episcopal jurisdiction, he could grant faculties for purely Episcopal functions, to some Bishop either resident at Saighir Abbey, or in charge of a See elsewhere.

Connected with this question of the Episcopal succession in Ossory, from St. Kieran's time to the Synod of Rathbreasail, it may be asked, if, during the same period, our Diocese was not broken up into several small Sees, each having its own Bishop or Abbot, with jurisdiction, of course, dependent upon, and derived from, the Comharbas of St. Kieran at Saighir? There is some evidence that such Sees did exist. Ancient See lands in any place, if their origin as such cannot be otherwise explained, always point to that place as the site of an Episcopal See in far off times. Such See lands can still be traced in eight out of the nine Deaneries, into which Ossory was formerly divided; and hence there is, to say the least, a very strong presumption that each of our old Deaneries, with the possible exception of Sillr., was formerly a Diocese in itself. As the See lands in the Deanery of Claragh were so far apart from each other, it is not unlikely that this Deanery, at one time, constituted two distinct bishoprics. Omitting the See lands at Saighir, which belonged immediately to the Comharbas of St. Kieran there, the following will show the situation of the ancient See lands, and—if our theory be found correct—of the ancient Sees, in the present Diocese of Ossory:

Deanery of Aghaboe.—See lands at Aghaboe.
„ Odogh.— „ at Durrow.
„ Aghoure.— „ at Freshford.
„ Kilkenny.— „ in St. Canice's Parish.
„ Claragh.— „ at Tullaherin (and Kilfane), and Toscoffin.
„ Sillr.—No See lands can be traced here till after 1202.
„ Kenlys.—See lands at Killamery.
„ Overk.— „ at Rathkieran.
„ Obargoun.—See lands in the parish of Cloneamery.

CHAPTER III.

THE BISHOPS OF OSSORY FROM THE 6th TO THE 12th CENTURY.

St. Carthach.

ST. KIERAN was succeeded, in the Abbacy of Saighir, by his beloved disciple, St. Carthach, otherwise called Mochuda, to whom he had committed his brethren and monastery a little before his death. Carthach, surnamed the Elder, to distinguish him from his namesake and pupil, St. Carthach or Carthage of Lismore, was a near relative of Aengus MacNadfraech, King of Cashel, slain in 489. In early life he embraced the religious state at Saighir, under St. Kieran, with whom he appears from the first to have been a great favourite. As a penance for an attempted crime St. Kieran sent him on a pilgrimage to Rome, whence after a while, he returned to Ireland, and again placed himself under the direction of his old master. He died in the odour of sanctity, probably during the first half of the 6th century. He is commemorated with St. Kieran, in the native Calendars, on the 5th of March, on which day the *Feilire of Aengus* has :

> "Unsilently his renown
> Sprang over the eastern sea,
> Carthach royal, Roman,
> Ciaran the hostful of Saigir."

And the gloss is added : "*Carthach royal*, *i.e.*, descendant of a King of Munster. Ruamach, *i.e.*, to Rome Ciaran sent him for having come into a woman's company." [Here follows an incorrect pedigree of the Saint, which I omit.] The following gloss also occurs :— "Carthach now a pupil of Ciaran of Saigir, and a son of the King of the Eoghanacht of Caisil, and in Cairpre Hua-Ciarda his place is, and Druim Fertain, and Inis-Uachtair on Loch-Silenn are his also, and he was Mochuda's tutor."

The *Martyrology of Donegal* enters him under the 5th of March, thus: "Carthach, Bishop, alumnus of Ciaran of Saighir."

St. Sedna.

He was successor of St. Carthach, as Abbot and Bishop of Saighir, at the time St. Molua (born 554, died 605) was Abbot of Kyle, near Borris-in-Ossory; as appears from the following extract from the Life of St. Molua, in Colgan's *AA. SS. Hib.* :—

"Another day, towards evening, came the Bishop of Saighir, Setna by name. Hearing this the holy father Molua came to meet him, saying: 'Remain, holy father, with us, thy servants, this night, as the day is now drawing to a close.' Bishop Setna replied: 'True servant of God, I cannot, as I have pledged my word to my brethren (*civibus meis*) that I would arrive to-day at my city (*civitatem meam*) of Saighir; but pray to God for us that the day [light] may not fail till we reach our city. We have confidence that through your most holy prayer this will be granted to us, opposed though it be to nature's laws.' Now it is a good day's journey from Molua's city of Cluainferta to the city of Saighir. And the Saints having kissed and blessed each other, the Bishop went on his way; but St. Molua betook himself to prayer, and a bright sun shone on the Bishop and his companions on their way, whilst the whole country around them was in darkness, till he rested after prayer in his own city. Now the brethren of the city of Saighir attributed this miracle to their Bishop; the holy Bishop attributed it to St. Molua; and we know it was the work of the Lord through the merits of both."

St. Sedna's feast day is said to be April 10th; but no saint of his name occurs in the Martyrologies on that day. There is a St. Sedna, Bishop, with whom he may be identical, commemorated on March 10th.[1]

His immediate successors in the Abbacy of Saighir are unknown.

St. Killen Mac Lubnen.

A.D. 695. "St. Killen, son of Lubne[n], Abbot of Saigir, with forty other holy Prelates, assisted at a Synod held in Ireland by St. Flann, Archbishop of Armagh, and St. Adamnan, as the Acts of that Synod now in my possession testify. St. Killen is venerated on the 12th April according to the *Martyrology of Donegal* and Marian O'Gorman."[2]

St. Killen Mac Lubnen is venerated, not on the 12th, but on the 14th of April.[3]

Laidhgnen, son of Doineannach.

A.D. 739. "Laidhgnen, son of Doinneannach, Abbot of Saighir, died."[4]

Laidhgnen was, it appears, both Bishop and Abbot, and met a death by violence. The *Annals of Ulster*, at A.D. 743, have: "Jugulatio Laidggnein filii Doinennaig, Episcopi et abbatis Saighre"; and the *Annals of Tighernach*, at

[1] *Martyrol. of Donegal.*
[2] Colgan's *AA.SS. Hib.*, p. 673.
[3] *Martyrology of Donegal.*
[4] *Four Masters.*

A.D. 744, record the "Guin [*i.e.* the mortal wounding of] Laidgnen mc Donennaigh, Ab. Saighri."

Tnuthghall.

A.D. 771 "Tnuthghal, Abbot of Saighir, died." [1]

Maccog.

A.D. 783 [*recte* 788]. "Maccog, Abbot of Saighir, died." [2]

Cobhthach.

A.D. 807 [*recte* 812]. "Cobhthach, Abbot of Saighir, died." [3]

Fearadhach.

A.D. 809 [*recte* 814]. "Fearadhach, Abbot of Saighir, died." [4]

Conchobhar.

A.D. 810. [*recte* 815]. "Conchobhar, Abbot of Saighir, died." [5]

Connmhach Ua Loichene.

A.D. 826. "Connmhach Ua Loichene, Abbot of Saighir, died." [6]

Irghalach.

A.D. 832. "Irghalach, Abbot of Saighir, died." [7]

Anlaun.

A.D. 846. "Anluan, Abbot of Saighir, died." [8]

Cormac, Son of Eladhach.

A.D. 867. "Cormac, son of Eladhach, Abbot of Saighir, bishop and scribe, died." [9]

The same event is thus recorded under 868 by the *Annals of Ulster*:—

"Cormac mac Elaai, Abbot of Saigir, et scriba, vitam senilem finivit."

[1] *Four Masters.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*

Under the year 869 the *Three Fragments of Annals* have :—

"In this year came Tomrar the Earl, from Luimneach to Cluain-fearta-Brenainn, (he was a fierce, rough, cruel man of the Lochlanns), thinking that he would find a great prey in that church, but he did not find it as he thought, for intelligence had gone a short time before him, and they fled expertly from him, some in boats, others into the morasses and others into the church. Those whom he caught on the floor and in the churchyard he killed. Cormac, son of Elathach, chief of Erin for wisdom, the successor of old Ciarain of Saighir (Cormac mac Elathoigh, saoi eagna Eirenn, comharba sen Ciarain Saighre), was in the church . . . [a deficiency in the text here]. . . . God and Brenann thus saved them. And Tomrar died of madness in this year, Brenann having wrought a miracle upon him. . . . . Cormac, son of Elothach, Abbot of Saighir, and a scribe, died."

Geran, Son of Dicosc.

A.D. 870. "Geran, son of Dicosc, Abbot of Saighir, quievti." [1]

Sloghadhach Ua Raithnen.

A.D. 885. "Sloghadhach Ua Raithnen, Abbot of Saighir, died." [2]

In the *Three Fragments of Annals*, under A.D. 870, we find : "In this year, the seventh of the reign of Aedh, the Leinstermen provoked Cearbhall, son of Dunlang [*i.e.*, the King of Ossory], to battle. Cearbhall prepared for this battle. The two cavalries met together and fought, and many were slain between them. Before, however, much fighting had gone on between them, Sloighedhach Ua Raithnen, successor of Leithghlinn (who, *i.e.* Sloighedhach, was a deacon at this time, but afterwards a bishop and comharba of Ciaran of Saighir), came with his . . [deficiency in text here] . . ., and he made a sincere peace between them."

Cormac.

A.D. 912. "Cormac, Bishop of Saighir, died." [3]

Fearghal, Son of Maelmordha.

The following record of his death is found in the *Four Masters.* :

"A.D. 919. Maenach, son of Siadhal, Abbot of Beannchair, and the best scribe of all the Irish race, died. Cairbre, son of Fearadhach, head of the piety of Leinster, successor of Diarmaid. son of Aed Roin, airchinneach of Tigh-Mochua, and an anchorite, died after a good life, at a very advanced age; and Fearghal, son of Maelmordha, Abbot of Saighir, died. Of them was said :—

"It was not a year without events ; premature died the Abbot of lasting Beannchair ;
And the successor of Diarmaid, Cairbre, the gifted above all good pillar ;
The Abbot of Saighir with multitudes, Fearghal, man of gentle exactions ;
Domhnall, a scion all-good ; a plague among the Gaeidhil.
I have not enumerated, I shall not enumerate, because I am sorrowful,
What misfortunes came upon Ireland in this year."

[1] *Three Fragments of Annals.*
[2] *Four Masters.*
[3] *Three Fragments of Annals.*

Fogartach.

A.D. 941. "Fogartach, Abbot of Saighir, died."[1]

Ceannfaeladh, Son of Suibhne.

A.D. 951. "Ceannfaeladh, son of Suibhne, Abbot of Saighir, died on his pilgrimage at Gleann da locha."[2]

Under A.D. 971, the *Four Masters* record that "Dunchadh, the foster-son of Diarmaid, distinguished Bishop and chief poet of Ossory (saoi. & epscop. & ollamh Osraighe) [died]." Dunchadh was probably Bishop of some small see in Ossory. His death is entered as follows in the collection of Annals, entitled *Ex Annalibus Lageniensibus* (418, Lansdowne, Brit. Museum):

"A.D. 973. Dunchadh dalta Diarmata sui & eps. & ollaim Ossairg [mortuus est].

Foghartach.

A.D. 1004. "Foghartach, Abbot of Leithghlinn and Saighir, died."[3]

Dunchadh Ua Ceileachair.

A.D. 1048. "Dunchadh Ua Ceileachair, successor (comharba) of Ciaran of Saighir, died."[4]

Ceallach Reamhar.

A.D. 1079. "Ceallach Reamhar [*i.e.* the Fat], successor of Brenainn of Birr and of Ciaran of Saighir, died."[5]

[1] *Three Fragments of Annals.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Four Masters.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV.

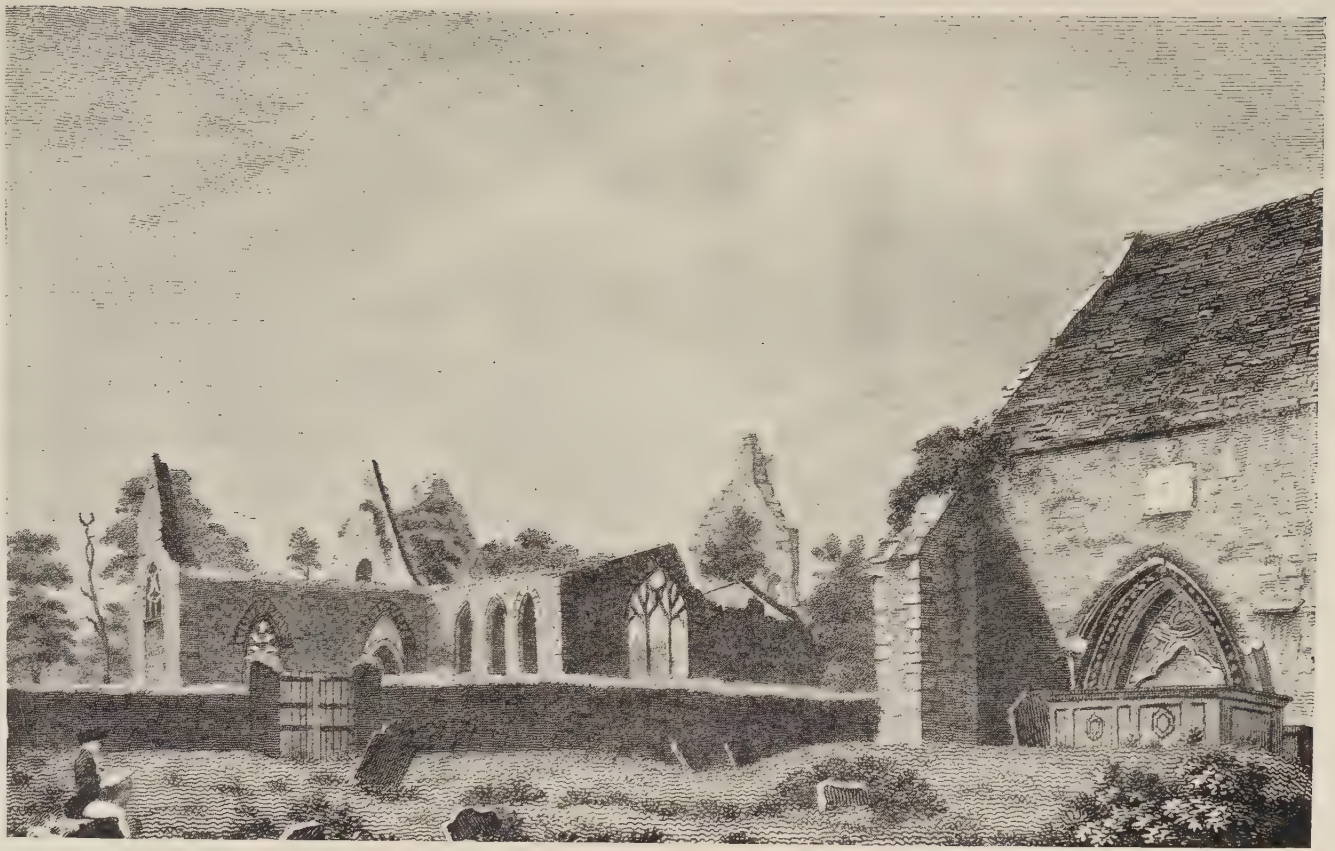
THE BISHOPS OF OSSORY DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE 12th CENTURY.

DONNELL O'FOGARTY (DIED 1178).

FOR about three-quarters of a century after Ceallach Reamhar's death, the links in the Episcopal succession of Ossory are, it is to be feared, irrecoverably lost. This is all the more to be regretted as regulations and changes of a very important nature were, during this period, effected in the government of the Diocese. These were, the fixing of the Diocesan boundaries, the suppression of the old system of monastic Episcopal rule, and the transference of the See from Saighir. The first was effected by the Synod of Rathbreasail, about the year 1118 (see p. 15); the second and third were also, most probably, the result of the decrees of the same Synod. According to Ware, the See was directly transferred to Aghaboe; but for this no proof can be adduced, though it is, no doubt, correct. Ware's statement, however, that this translation occurred as far back as the year 1052, is entirely devoid of probability, and rests on no other foundation than the following entry taken from a small MS. compilation in the British Museum, entitled "*Ex Annalibus Lageniensibus*":

"A.D. 1052. The church of Achad bo was built this year, and the shrine of St. Canice was placed in it." (Templum Achad bo constructum est hoc anno, et scrin. Canic. do fagvail and.)

Among the absentees from the Synod of Kells, held in 1152, was the Bishop who then ruled over Ossory. His name was *Donaldus*, according to Cardinal Moran, who quotes Lynch's MS. *De Præsulibus Hiberniæ*, as his authority: the copy of Lynch's work in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, however, makes no mention of him. But though absent from the Synod himself, the Bishop took care to send to it his representative, in the person of his Vicar-General; and among the signatures to its decrees, as given in Keating's autograph of his *History of Ireland*, we find that of "Domhnall O'Fogarta, Biocaire Genearaltha Easbuig Osraighe," that is,



AGHABOE.

Ancient Parish Church to right; ruins of Abbey, Abbey Church, and Phelan's Chapel to left.

From engraving in Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*, 1791.

To face page 22, Vol. I. (Text).

Donnell O'Fogarty, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Ossory. "However, as an ordinary Vicar-General," writes Cardinal Moran, "it is clear that he would have no place in that national Synod, and hence we may justly conclude that his position must have corresponded in some way to that of an Auxiliary or Coadjutor Bishop at the present day."

The date of Bishop O'Fogarty's succession to the See is unknown. The same must be said of the situation of his Cathedral City, though it was most likely at Aghaboe. He died in 1178, at Rathkieran (parish of Mooncoin), which was then part of the See-lands of Ossory, as appears from the following extract *Ex Annalibus Lageniensibus :*

"A.D. 1178. Donnell O'Fogarty, Bishop of Ossory and successor of Ciaran, died in a good old age, in the peace of Christ, at Rathkieran, on the 8th May. ("Donnail O'Fogertach, eps. Ossorien. et com. Ciarain in bona senectute in pace Christi quievit irraithciarain 8 Idus Maii.")

Felix O'Dulany (1178-1202).

The next Bishop, Felix O'Dulany, was a member of the old O'Duibhshlaine or O'Dulany sept, of Coill-Uachtarach, in Upper Ossory. In early life he embraced the Cistercian Institute, which had been introduced into this country by Christian O'Conarchy and other disciples trained to the religious life by the great St. Bernard himself. Mellifont in the County Louth was the first foundation of the order in Ireland. Its date was 1142. Its first Abbot was Christian O'Conarchy above, subsequently Bishop of Lismore, and Legate of the Apostolic See. The new Abbey was a fruitful mother. During the few first years of its existence, it established many branch houses, or daughters, as they are called ; of these Baltinglass, founded in 1148 or 1151, was not the least famous. It was most probably at Baltinglass or Mellifont that Felix O'Dulany made his religious profession. He was certainly a monk of the former Abbey for a time, and earned such a reputation among its religious brethren, for holiness, strict observance of rule, and sound common-sense, that he was selected as head or abbot of the little band of devoted monks, sent thence to establish a daughter-house at Jerpoint, in Ossory.

All writers are agreed in assigning the foundation of Jerpoint to the year 1180. This date is, however, incorrect, as will be shown conclusively later on. The true date is about 1158. The years that followed were filled with care and labour for the holy Abbot. The erection, under his supervision, of the great monastery of Jerpoint, effected though it was through the munificence of two of Ossory's Kings, must have often taxed his energies and caused him endless worry and toil. That his exertions were crowned with success, may be gathered from the fact, that, within half-a-dozen years after he had laid the first stone of the Abbey, he was able to send a body of monks thence, sufficient to establish a daughter abbey at Killenny, now Barrowmount, in the country of O'Ryan.

In 1178 he was called from the seclusion of the cloister, to take upon himself the government of the See of Ossory. His Episcopate was cast in troubled times. Nine years before, the Anglo-Norman invaders landed on our shores, and soon the ravages of war were experienced on every plain in Leinster. The old race to which O'Dulany belonged, were worsted in the fight, and their broad lands passed on to their conquerors. In such trying and difficult circumstances, consummate zeal, charity and prudence are required in a Bishop, and in Felix O'Dulany all these needed qualities were found. He regarded himself, and consequently acted, as the father of those committed to his care, whether they were Celts or Normans, and, as far as can be judged, he succeeded in gaining the confidence and esteem of all.

He was no respector of persons, and hence did not hesitate to pronounce sentence of excommunication against Theobald fitzWalter, founder of the Ormond family, for having seized on some lands belonging to the church. It was only during the episcopate of his successor that restitution was made of the ill-gotten goods and that Theobald was absolved from the censure he had incurred, as will appear from the following document, addressed by that nobleman, to his liegemen in Ossory :

"Theobald fitzWalter Butler, to all his vassals throughout Ossory, Salvation in the Lord.
"Know you that my followers and myself have been excommunicated by Felix of blessed memory, Bishop of Ossory, for seizing on the lands of the church, and that, by the advice and warning of my brother, Hubert of blessed memory, Archbishop of Canterbury, I, the said Theobald, have restored to the venerable Father, Hugh, Bishop of Ossory, successor of the aforesaid Bishop, the lands and possessions I and mine had seized on."

In Bishop Rothe's unfinished tract "De Ossoriensi Dioecesi,"[1] the learned author, after stating that he finds that peoples of three different nationalities were concerned in the foundation of Kilkenny city, continues thus in Paragraph 13 :

"For as to the northern portion [*i.e.* the Irishtown], the Episcopal See of Ossory Diocese which was ruled over by Felix O'Dullany at the beginning of the Conquest, in the reign of Henry the Second, was removed thither from the Ford or Field of the Oxen, now commonly called Aghboo, in Upper Ossory. For that venerable prelate beholding strifes and animosities abounding on all sides, and his diocese on fire with war and dissensions, with a view to greater security and peace, betook himself to this place, with his husbandmen and tenants, and *laid the foundation of the future temple* [*i.e.* St. Canice's Cathedral] and town, that they might serve the inhabitants for both the worship of God and civil habitation, and as a defence against the attacks of robbers. The municipality thus established was called in former times, as it is to day, the Irish Town. It enjoys its own special privileges. viz., a market twice in the week ; a civil magistrate called the Portreeve who, on his election each year, by the votes of the Burgesses, is presented for confirmation to the Bishop, as it is by him he is created; and [an officer of] the Cross, called a Seneschal, who is usually a gentleman of distinction, either a knight or an esquire. This municipality is thickly inhabited, according to the custom of the country, is surrounded by its own walls, and is cut off from the adjoining city by the Bregach rivulet, almost in the same way that the city of Nobiliacum (as it was formerly called) in Artois, is separated from the town of Arras."

[1] Sloane, 4796, Brit. Museum

To this he adds the following marginal note :

"Felix *designed* rather than *founded* the [Cathedral] Church of St. Canice ; for in the *Catalogue of Bishops*, of which below, Hugh Mapilton, who flourished A.D. 1245, is called the first founder of the Church."

Again, in paragraph 26, of the same work, Bishop Rothe has :—

"The first planning out and commencement of the work [of the erection of St. Canice's Cathedral], are attributed to Felix O'Dullany, Bishop of the Diocese, who translated the See thither, and of whose holiness of life mention shall be made below, for since his death and burial in Jeriponte Abbey he is also stated to have wrought many miracles. The completion of the building is attributed to Hugh Mapilton whom some call the first founder of the church, and who was Felix's fourth successor in the Government of the Diocese. Geoffry St. Leger is also said to have added to the work, and to have roofed it in ; Richard de Ledred put in the stained glass windows ; and David Hacket arched with cut-stone groining the bell-tower springing from the roof. All which Bishops, as well as the order of their succession, may be found in the *Catalogue* which we shall give below."

The *Catalogue* of the Bishops of Ossory, the ancient authority referred to by Bishop Rothe, in the above extracts, has the following notice of Felix O'Dulany :

"A.D. 1202. Died the reverend Father, Felix O'Dullaine, Bishop of Ossory, whose Cathedral Church was then at Aghboo in Upper Ossory. He ruled the said church well and in a praiseworthy manner for several years, his Episcopate coinciding with the conquest of Ireland by the English. This holy Pastor was buried in the Abbey of the B. V. M. of Jeriponte, near the high altar on the north side, and many miracles have been wrought by him. At this time the Decrees of [the Synod of] Cashel were confirmed, viz., in 1172."

These extracts make it certain enough that, at least in the early part of his Episcopate, Bishop O'Dulany resided on the See-lands at Aghaboe, and that the church of Aghaboe was then the Cathedral church of Ossory. If we are to credit the *Catalogue*, we must also hold that Aghaboe church maintained its position, as the Cathedral of the Diocese, down to Bishop O'Dulany's death ; and that, therefore, no transference of the See from Aghaboe to Kilkenny was effected in this Bishop's time. There is convincing proof, however, that the Cathedral church of Ossory was situated at Kilkenny in the lifetime of Bishop O'Dulany. We find it in Ware's Abstract *Ex Registro de Kenlis*.[1] Here notices are given of two charters each of which is witnessed by Felix, Bishop of Ossory, and Odo, *Dean of Kilkenny*. Now Odo it is plain, could not have been styled Dean of Kilkenny, unless the Cathedral, from which he took his title, was situated there at the same time. Therefore, there can be no doubt that the Cathedral church of Ossory, which had been at Aghaboe in the beginning of Bishop O'Dulany's Episcopate, was translated to Kilkenny, by the same Prelate, at some time previous to his death.

Among the witnesses to one of the above-mentioned charters, we also find

[1] Brit. Museum.

Gilbert, the *Archdeacon* of Ossory ; from which we must conclude, that, even as far back as Felix O'Dulany's time, there was the nucleus of a Chapter in the Diocese.

Our Bishop's Episcopate, if cast in very troubled times, was still not devoid of those consolations which bring joy to the heart of the zealous shepherd of souls. It must have been a happy day for Felix O'Dulany when, about the year 1193, he welcomed the Canons Regular of St. Augustine to their new foundation at Kells ; it must also have been a happy day for him, when about the same year he was enabled to grant by his charter, the tithes of all the provisions to be consumed in the Castle of Kilkenny, to another house of the same Order, just then established

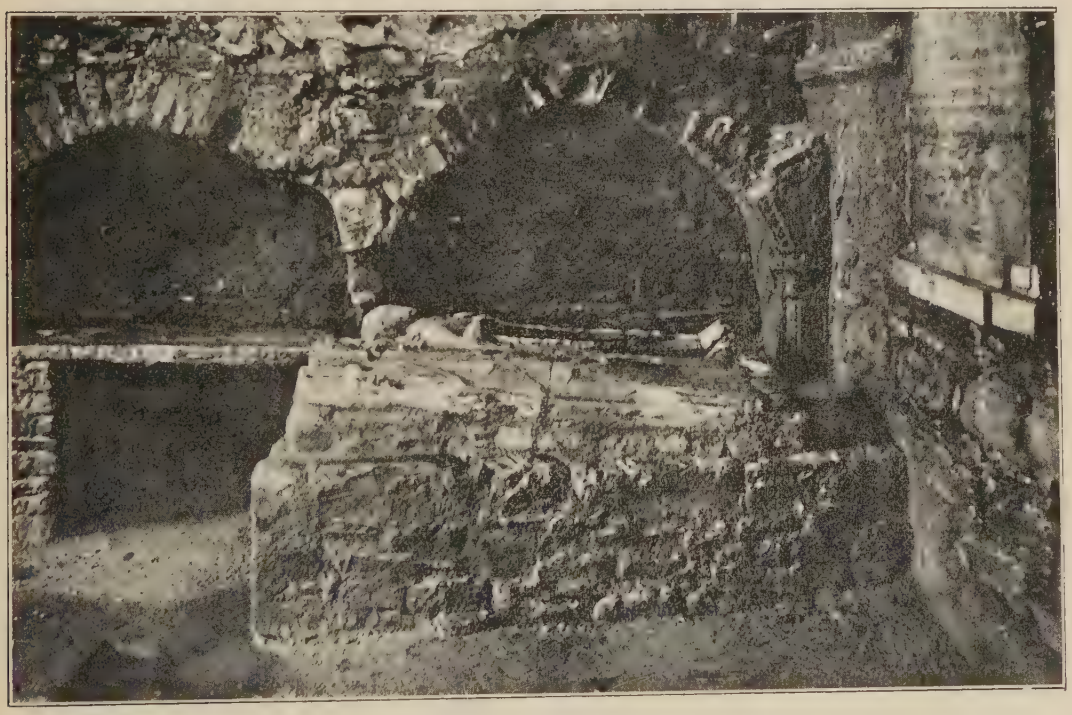
JERPOINT ABBEY.

at John's Bridge, Kilkenny. But probably the happiest day of the twenty-four years of his pastoral charge of Ossory, was that on which he consecrated the glorious church of his own loved abbey of Jerpoint, when complete in all its parts, to the service of his Master.

He was called to his reward in 1202. The *Annals of Loch Ce* under this year enter :—"Felix O'Dubhlain, bishop of Osraighe, mortuus est." His monument at Jerpoint, an altar-tomb, is still in its original position, and very perfect. The covering slab, of whitish stone, has an effigy, in relief, of a Bishop reclining on a pallet, and arrayed in vestments, with low mitre on head, and crozier, broken

at top, in hand ; there is no inscription. The tomb was much frequented by pilgrims till the abbey gate was secured by a lock about 1850. Even as late as 1892, two persons labouring under some infirmity, came here all the way from Tullagher, to seek relief through the intercession of this long-departed chief Pastor of the Diocese. Owing to the custom of pilgrims bearing away with them some of the clay over his remains, the tomb, which is open at the west end, has been hollowed out on the inside, to a considerable depth.

His name is entered on the list of the Beatified of the Cistercian Order, and his feast was celebrated on the 24th January, according to the *Menelogium Cisterciencium*.



BISHOP O'DULANY'S TOMB, JERPOINT ABBEY.

The following notice from the *Triumphalia Sanctae Crucis*, written in 1649, may be subjoined :

"The Blessed Felix O'Dulany was famed throughout Ireland. He was at first a Cistercian monk and afterwards Bishop of Ossory, the See of which was then at Aghaboe. He transferred it thence to the city of Kilkenny and dedicated it to St. Canice, a Benedictine Monk or Abbot. We read in some authors as follows :—' Felix O'Dulany, Bishop of Ossory, was buried in the monastery of the Blessed Mary of Geriponte, of the Holy Order of the Cistercians, in the Diocese of Ossory, near the high altar

on the north side, and up to this day divers miracles are wrought by him there.' I have often seen the said monument of white stone, having thereon the effigy of the Lord Bishop in his pontificals elegantly wrought."

Reference has been made above, more than once, to the *Catalogue of the Bishops of Ossory*. Of the original of this work, which is lost, there are two copies, both in Latin, in the British Museum. One of these (Sloane, 4796) is in the handwriting of Bishop Rothe, and commences with Felix O'Dulany, and ends with the appointment of the Protestant Bishop, Christopher Gaffney. The other (Sloane, 4789), which is in the handwriting of Sir James Ware, also commences with Felix O'Dulany; agrees word for word, as far as it goes, with Bishop Rothe's transcript; but ends abruptly towards the close of the paragraph dealing with John Bale's flight from Kilkenny: after which occur some entries of Ware's own, in reference to Bishop Tonory and a few of the Protestant Bishops who came after his time. The title is identical in both copies, and is as follows:—

" Nomina reuerendorum prum. Eporum.
Ossorien. cum quibusdam eorum bonis
et pntib. opib. ac ædificiis per eos
in eorum maneriis et ecclesiis
peractis, a tempore Conquestus Ang-
liæ usq. ad pns., hic seriatim
breui stilo intitulantr."

Ware's copy has, on the title page, the entry: " in the White Book "; and at the end, the note: " Huc usque transcript. ex Registro albo Ossoriensi." This shows it to have been transcribed from the White Book of Ossory, an invaluable Diocesan compilation now lost. Bishop Rothe's copy appears to have been made, not from the original in the White Book, but from an accurate transcript of same, to which had been added a couple of lines on Bale, a long paragraph on Bishop Tonory, and a bare entry of Christopher Gaffney's election in 1567.

Brought down to his own time, and written into one of the ancient Diocesan Registers, the authorship of the *Catalogue*, (with the exception of the notice of Bale), may with every reason be assigned to Bishop O'Tonory, who in the second year of his Episcopate, that is, in 1555, " omnes antiquas libertates Ossoriensis Ecclesiae, chartas item non tantum vetustas, verum etiam pro parte corruptas, restitui fecit." [1] An examination of the work, through the copies now extant, leads to the following conclusions:

(1) The author compiled it from original charters and other records of great value, that have long since perished.

[1] Rothe's copy of *Catalogue*.

(2) Through want of tabulated lists of the Bishops of the Diocese, he was unable, except with a great deal of inaccuracy, to fix either the Episcopal succession, or the period covered by each Episcopate, from 1202 down to 1406 : he even omits some of the Bishops, especially about the year 1400 ; and he enters one Hugh as a Bishop in the 13th century, who was never a Bishop here at all.

(3) On several occasions he mixes up Bishops of the same Christian name, attributing to one what of right belonged to another, and this evidently owing to the fact that, in almost all ancient Episcopal documents, the Bishops' Christian names only are used, while dates are as often omitted as not.

(4) He gives the succession accurately, and supplies several interesting details of the Episcopates, from 1406 to the State appointment of Bale in 1553.

As the *Catalogue*, notwithstanding its many inaccuracies, is such a valuable record of our Bishops, I shall add it, in its original Latin, as an Appendix to this volume ; an English translation of each notice it contains, will, at the same time, be appended in the body of the work to my own notes on each respective Bishop, as I have already done above in the case of Bishop O'Dulany.

CHAPTER V.

THE BISHOPS OF OSSORY DURING THE 13th CENTURY.

HUGH DE ROUS (1202-18).

HUGH DE ROUS, or Le Rous, had been a Canon Regular of the Augustinian Priory of Bodmin, in Cornwall; and was one of the four religious sent thence, about the year 1193, to occupy the newly founded Priory of Kells, in Ossory. He was prior of the latter house at the time of Bishop O'Dulany's death, and, as Ware writes, "was by the unanimous voice of the clergy elected Bishop, in 1202, and, before the end of the year, was consecrated." He was the first of the long series of Anglo-Norman Bishops of this Diocese, and he appears to have stood high in the esteem of his countrymen.

It was probably in the very beginning of his Episcopate that he exchanged with Earl William Marshall the elder, the See-lands at Aghaboe and elsewhere in Upper Ossory, together with the advowson of the church of Aghaboe, for the lands of Ballinaslee, Grovine and Stonecarty, and the advowsons of the churches of St. Mary's and St. Patrick's of Donoughmore, at Kilkenny. The Bishop's charter on this transaction is preserved at Kilkenny Castle, and runs as follows when translated from the original Latin:

"To all sons of Holy Mother Church to whom the present charter shall come: Hugh, by the grace of God, Bishop of Ossory, sends greeting in the Lord. Know ye that we, by consent and assent of our Chapter, have given and granted to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, for his homage and service, the vill of Achboo, with all its appurtenances, and with all the claims of lands which I demand in the Cantred of Achbo, to have and to hold to him and his heirs, of us and our successors, in fee and inheritance, freely, entirely, and honourably, in wood, in plain, in paths, in waters, in meadows, in pastures, in moors, and marshes, in mills, stews, castles, fortalices, and in all other places, with all liberties and free customs; paying annually thereout to the Cathedral Church at Kilkenny two wax [candles] of six pounds of wax, for all service and demand. And although we have given to the aforesaid Lord, for his homage and service, the vill of Achbo; nevertheless, that he might benefit more largely us and our successors, the said Earl has given to us and our successors eight carucates of land, to be possessed for ever, to wit, Ballisle for three carucates, and Growen for four carucates, and the ecclesiastical benefice of the same land, and one carucate of land on the other side of the bridge

of Insnake, towards the south. Moreover the said Earl has given to us and our successors the patronage of the churches of the Blessed Mary of Kilkenny and St. Patrick of Donnaghmore, with all their appurtenances, to hold in exchange for the advowson of the church of St. Canice, of the vill of Achbo, and of all other churches of the same place, with all their appurtenances. And that this our grant might remain sure and unshaken, we have confirmed it with our own seal and the seal of our chapter, &c."

During his Episcopal regime, two great religious houses were established in this Diocese, viz., the Cistercian Abbey of Duiske, otherwise Graiguenamanagh, founded in 1204, to which he granted the neighbouring townland of Stamkerlevan, now Tikerlevan ; and the Priory of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, at Inistioge, dating from about 1210. To these may be added the Priory of St. John's, Kilkenny, founded about 1211, by Earl Marshall, for the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, whom he transferred thither from their original establishment at John's Bridge.

Judging from the great number of charters still extant, or on record, in which Bishop de Rous figures as a grantor, or as a witness, or in some other capacity, we must conclude that he was an extremely active man. Several of these charters have reference to the Priory of Kells ; others to the Abbey of St. Thomas's, Dublin ; others to the Abbey of Duiske ; &c., &c. An inquisition at Kilkenny, in 1269, found that our Bishop had granted, by his charter, to Earl William Marshall, the elder, to enable the said Earl " to enlarge his vill," all that part of the Diocesan See-lands extending from St. Keuerocke's Well, (now St. Kieran's Well, beside the Old Market, Kilkenny city), to the river Bregathe (now the river Braegach, which separates Irishtown from Parliament Street, at Watergate) running under Coterel Bridge ; and that he and his successors were wont to receive in return for same, a yearly rent of an ounce of gold.

According to the *Catalogue*, Hugh de Rous was a great benefactor of the Priory of Kells, but did nothing for the See. Though the former part of this statement is undoubtedly correct, and its accuracy can be established by an examination of the *Register* of Kells Priory ; yet it is far from true that Bishop de Rous did nothing for his Diocese. The establishment of the religious houses of Duiske, Inistioge and St. John's, was not effected without his active co-operation ; his approval and confirmation were always forthcoming when, as it frequently happened, lay patrons, through motives of piety, and especially to consult for the spiritual welfare of their dependents, transferred the advowsons of their churches, and parishes to the religious orders ; and his exchange of the See-lands at Aghaboe for others more advantageously situated, as recorded in his charter above, certainly benefited the Diocese, seeing that in his time, and for nearly two centuries afterwards, Aghaboe was the scene of war and strife between its English garrison and their Irish enemies in Upper Ossory, and must, therefore, have long continued, in the

expressive phraseology of these times, a *terra vastata*. All this shows, the *Catalogue* notwithstanding, that he did something, and even a great deal, for his See.

Was he the founder of St. Canice's Cathedral? This is a much debated question. The Cathedral, it must be remarked, was not all built at the same time, nor in a uniform style of architecture. The chancel, side chapels, and transepts, which constitute the more ancient portion of the structure, are a blending of Norman and early English, the latter predominating, but the former being well in

From Photo. by] [*W. Lawrence, Dublin.*

ST. CANICE'S CATHEDRAL AND ROUND TOWER. SOUTH-WEST VIEW.

evidence; the nave and side aisles are pure Early English, form the less ancient work, and are later than Hugh de Rous' time.

Some attribute the older work to Felix O'Dulany; others to Hugh de Rous; and others again to one of the latter's immediate successors. The claims of Hugh de Rous to be considered its founder are certainly strong. The blending of the Norman and Early English styles, marked by the preponderance of the latter, as found in St. Canice's Cathedral, is just what we should expect to find in a building of his time. In his predecessor's time the Norman would predominate in the blend;

and in that of his immediate successors, the Norman element would have been eliminated entirely or almost so.

The compiler of the *Catalogue* styles Hugh de Mapilton "the first founder" of the Cathedral, and attributes to him the establishment of Canons to minister therein. From this we may draw another argument in favour of Bishop de Rous' claims. We have stated already that the *Catalogue* sometimes mixes up Bishops of the same Christian name. There is here a case in point. A full Chapter existed in this Diocese in the time of Hugh de Rous [1] and, no doubt, established by him, more than thirty years before Hugh de Mapilton became Bishop of Ossory. If Canons, then, were introduced into St. Canice's Cathedral by a Bishop Hugh, its first founder, that first founder can be no other than Bishop Hugh de Rous.

After an Episcopate of 16 years, this Bishop died in 1218. Regarding him the *Catalogue* has :—

"A.D. 1232. Died Hugh de Rous, Bishop of Ossory, successor of the said Felix, and the first Englishman [who governed the See]. He was one of the four Canons Regular brought from the Abbey of St. Mary's, in England, by Mathew fitzGriffin Fitzgerald, founder of the Abbey of the Blessed Mary of Kells, in Ossory Diocese, and he was first prior of that place. Afterwards, the See of Ossory becoming vacant, the aforesaid Hugh was unanimously elected Bishop of the Diocese by the clergy. He did much for the said Abbey, but nothing for the Episcopal See. He is buried in the middle of the choir of that Abbey, under a raised monument of stone ; but how long he lived in the Episcopate is doubtful."

Peter Malveisin (1221-30).

On the 8th December, 1218, King Henry the Third writes to the Archbishop of Dublin, Papal Legate, to inform him that Odo, Dean of Ossory, William, Chancellor and Master G——, envoys from the Dean and Chapter of Ossory, had brought letters from the latter, announcing the death of Hugh, late Bishop of that See, and praying that a licence be granted to the Chapter to elect a successor, and further that the said envoys would be empowered to proceed to such election. The King having granted the licence they had elected Peter Malveisin to the vacant See. The King approved of the election, and now prays the Archbishop "to do what belongs to him in this respect." Letters of the same import were addressed to the Justiciary, and to the knights and tenants of the See, commanding them to give seisin to Master Peter ; and other letters were sent to the Chapter of Ossory notifying the royal assent to the election, and commanding them "to admit Master Peter and be intentive and respondent to him as elect." [2]

Peter Malveisin, or Mauveisin (in Latin Malvicinus, or Malus Vicinus), though at the time of his election, a Canon of the Cathedral Churches of St. Canice's, Kilkenny, and St. Patrick's, Dublin, was not in Holy Orders. A difficulty now

[1] See his charter above, pp. 30 31.
[2] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland*, 1171-1251.

arose as to his ordination, as he was of illegitimate birth; and the matter being referred to Rome, the Pope refused to ratify his election, declaring it to be uncanonical and invalid. There is extant a letter of Pope Honorius the Third, the 21st May, 1219, to Pandulf, Bishop-elect of Norwich, Legate of the Holy See, in which he commands him, "on the intimation of W[illiam] the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, after examination had, to remove Master P. Malvicinus, Canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin, of illegitimate birth, from the church of Ossory, of *which the Earl has the right of patronage.* It appears that during the voidance of that See, Master P[eter], without a dispensation, attempted, in the hope first of election and then of postulation, to put himself into the church and minister in it, and that when he came with four Canons to ask for confirmation from the Archbishop of Dublin, he procured certain letters to be sealed with the seal of the Chapter, by which, as far as he could, he bound the church in a sum of 500 marks, although the Chapter had expressly forbidden any letters, except those of procuration, to be sealed. It is feared that there are others sealed, to the great injury of the church of Ossory, as the letters of Archdeacon G[ilbert] and official R., sent to the Pope by the said Marshall, fully declare." [1]

Six months later, November 19th, 1219, a dispensation was granted in regard to Malveisin's birth, permitting him to be promoted to Holy Orders, and to hold ecclesiastical preferments; but the proviso is added: "Hac vice tamen volumus quod abstineas a susceptione regiminis Ossoriensis Ecclesiae, quae destituta Pastore, in te sua vota direxit antequam esses nostrae dispositionis gratiam consecutus."[2]

As the Pope refused to confirm Malveisin's appointment, the King, on the 15th August, 1220, wrote to the Justiciary of Ireland, annulling the election:— "Wherefore the King revokes what has been done in this election as of no effect, and commands the Justiciary to take into the King's hands the See of Ossory and deliver the custody thereof to Thomas fitzAdam. The King has written to the Dean and Chapter in favour of John de St. John, that he may be promoted as Bishop, and wills and commands that the issues of the See, from the time that the custody thereof was assigned to Master Peter, be restored to the King. The Justiciary shall exact from Master Peter the restoration of the issues and safely keep them till the King shall otherwise order." [3] On the same day a royal mandate was forwarded to the Dean and Chapter of Ossory to elect John de St. John, as Bishop.[4]

[1] Bliss's *Papal Letters*, Vol. I., 1198-1304.
[2] *Regest.* an. 3, epist. 507.
[3] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland*, 1171-1251.
[4] *Ibid.*

Ere the arrival of the King's letters, and therefore without his *conge d'elire*, the Chapter of Ossory came together and again made choice of Peter Malveisin, now dispensed from illegitimacy, for the vacant See. Two of their body W[illiam of Kilkenny], the Chancellor, and Master G., a Canon, journeyed to Rome to present their postulation. The result was that the Pope, by letter of August 30th, 1220, referred the matter to the Archbishop of Dublin, directing him to examine the postulation of P[eter], Canon of Ossory, of illegitimate birth, to that See, made by the Chapter, and if he find it canonically made to confirm it.[1] The Archbishop appears to have found the election canonical; and to have given it his full approbation.

The King now, it would seem, refused to sanction the appointment, for on the 8th March, 1221, "letters of presentation from the King were directed to the Dean and Chapter of Kilkenny, for Bartholomew de Camera, touching the prebend held by Alexander Fisicus, in that church, now vacant, and which belongs to the King's gift, owing to vacancy in the See of Ossory;[2] and a few days after the King bestowed the prebend on Master Alexander de Suwell.[3] At last all difficulties were got over and Malveisin was consecrated with the consent of both the Pope and the King, in 1221 or the beginning of 1222.

On the 13th June, 1222, the King wrote to the Archbishop of Dublin, Justiciary of Ireland, that Gilbert de Kentewell had lodged a complaint before him to the effect "that Peter, Bishop of Ossory, disseised him of the land of Kilfane which he held from the Bishop, because it was reported that Gilbert was dead. As Gilbert is in good health in the King's service, the King commands the Justiciary to give him seisin of his land, unless he was disseised for some other reason."[4]

In the Ormond MSS. there is preserved an original letter from Bishop Malveisin to Theobald Walter the younger, first chief butler in Ireland, enjoining him, under pain of excommunication, to pay "in the Cathedral church of St. Canice," a sum of 128 marks, for certain reasons therein set forth. This certainly proves that St. Canice's Cathedral, or at least a considerable part of it, existed in Bishop Malveisin's time, and cannot, therefore, have Bishop Hugh de Mapilton for its first founder.

Bishop Malveisin held the See till the end of 1230 or the beginning of 1231, when he died. In reference to him the *Catalogue* has:

"One Peter, styled Bishop of Ossory, ruled the said church for a time. He acquired for the same the common wood of Aghlong near Clonmore, and other lands. The length of his Episcopate and [date of his] death, are uncertain."

[1] Bliss's *Papal Letters*.
[2] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland*, 1171-1251.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*

Walter De Brackley (1232-43.)

On the 16th March, 1231, Royal licence was granted to the "Chapter of Ossory, to elect a Bishop in their church, vacant by the death of Peter, their late Bishop."[1] Their choice fell upon Master William of Kilkenny, Chancellor of the Diocese, and received the royal assent, June 25th following.[2] Master William, however, refused the proffered dignity. He continued his connection with the church of Ossory, at the same time, till 1251, when he was appointed Archdeacon of Coventry; he was soon after promoted to the Bishopric of Ely.

A new "licence to elect a Bishop, on the resignation of Master William of Kilkenny," was granted to the Dean and Chapter of Ossory, by royal letters dated May 8th, 1232. On this occasion the votes were cast in favour of Walter de Brackley, a Canon of the Diocese, whose election accordingly received the royal assent, June 14th, 1232. De Brackley was clerk of the Chamber to the King, who held him in high favour, and endeavoured, but ineffectually, to secure his appointment to the Bishopric of Meath in 1227. A royal mandate was issued to the Justiciary of Ireland, September 25th, 1234, "to give Walter, Bishop of Ossory, such seisin of the lands and tenements of the See as Peter, his predecessor, had at his death."[3]

During the early part of his Episcopate, Bishop de Brackley was engaged in a heavy lawsuit with Gilbert, Earl Marshall, in reference to the See lands of the Manor of Durrow. The suit had already commenced in the year 1230 between Bishop Malveisin and William, Earl Marshall, the brother and predecessor of Gilbert. Such references to this controversy as are now to be had, will be given in the Chapter dealing with Durrow. As the Manor of Durrow remained in possession of the Bishops, it may be rightfully concluded that the final victory also rested with them.

In the year 1237, our Bishop assisted at the dedication of the Abbey church of Peterborough, in England; on which occasion he granted there an Indulgence of ten days. He likewise was reckoned among the benefactors of the famous Abbey of St. Alban's, and he is said to have granted to those who would visit it a special Indulgence of fourteen days. On the 18th May, 1241, a letter was addressed to him by Pope Gregory the Ninth, reminding him of the duty of residence, and admonishing him to return to his See without further delay.[4] Ware places his death on the 5th December, 1243; but it must have occurred sometime earlier, as,

[1] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland,* 1171-1251.
[2] *Ibid., n.* 1895.
[3] *Ibid., n.* 2172.
[4] Theiner's *Monumenta.*

on the 12th October, 1243, the King writes to the Justiciary that "as Walter, Bishop of Ossory, is dead," he shall "take into the King's hand and cause to be safely kept, all the property of the See." [1]

"A.D. 1256. Died the reverend Father, Walter Barcle, Bishop of Ossory, successor of the said Geoffrey. He lived 13 years in the Episcopate." [2]

Geoffry De Turville (1244-50).

On the 5th February, 1244, royal licence to elect a Bishop was granted to the Dean and Chapter of Ossory, through their envoys, John Long and Ralph de Baligaveran. Geoffry, or Godfrey, de Turville appears as "Elect of Ossory" on the 10th June following. His nomination received the royal assent three days later, and his consecration took place previous to June 22nd, 1245. He had been Archdeacon of Dublin from 1228, and had been connected with that See since 1218. He held various offices under the Crown, among others the important one of Treasurer of the Exchequer, which he filled from 1234 till his death.

Being high in favour with the Crown, he was enabled to secure certain privileges for the Diocesan Episcopal Manors, as will be seen from the following royal concessions of October 28th, 1245 :—"Grants to Geoffry, Bishop of Ossory, of a yearly fair in his manor of Kilkenny, to last for 8 days, namely, on the morrow of the Octave of the Holy Trinity and 7 following days; a weekly market there on Wednesday; a yearly fair in his manor of Athethur [*i.e.* Freshford] for 8 days, namely, on the morrow of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr and 7 following days [8-15 July]; a weekly market there on Tuesday; a yearly fair in his manor of Derevald [*i.e.*, Durrow] for 6 days, namely, on the feast of St. Swithin, and 5 following days [15-20 July]; a weekly market there on Thursday; a yearly fair in his manor of Tachsquithin for 6 days, namely, on the day of St. Kenelm, King and Martyr, and 5 following days [17-22 July]; a weekly market there on Friday; a yearly fair in his manor of Clinnmore for 8 days, namely, on the day of St. Martin and 7 following days [11-18 November]; and of a weekly market there on Monday. Further grant to Geoffry and his successors, Bishops of Ossory, of free warren in all the demesne lands of the above manors." [3]

The Archives of the Corporation, Kilkenny, preserve among their most valuable deeds and charters, the original grant made by Bishop de Turville to the Friars Preachers of the Black Abbey, of a conduit of water from St. Kenny's Well, for the use of the religious of the monastery. The stipulation is added that the cir-

[1] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland,* 1171-1251.
[2] *Catalogue.*
[3] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland,* 1171-1251.

cumference of the water-pipe at the well should not be larger than that of the Bishop's ring, and at the end where it enters the monastery, it should be only of such a size that it could be stopped by a man's little finger. A fac-simile of this interesting concession has been printed by Sir John Gilbert in the *Irish National MSS. Series*, Vol. 2, n. lxxii. It still retains a considerable portion of the Bishop's seal with part of an inscription, viz. " . . . ATA SIGILLA . . . . . URVILLA," *i.e.*, Privata Sigilla Galfridi de Turvilla—the private seal of Geoffry de Turville. On the obverse is partly visible the figure of a prelate robed and holding a crozier in his left hand ; on the reverse is the Blessed Virgin and Child, beneath which is an ecclesiastic kneeling in the attitude of prayer. A ring of copper is attached to the seal to mark the size of the Bishop's ring. The charter runs as follows :—

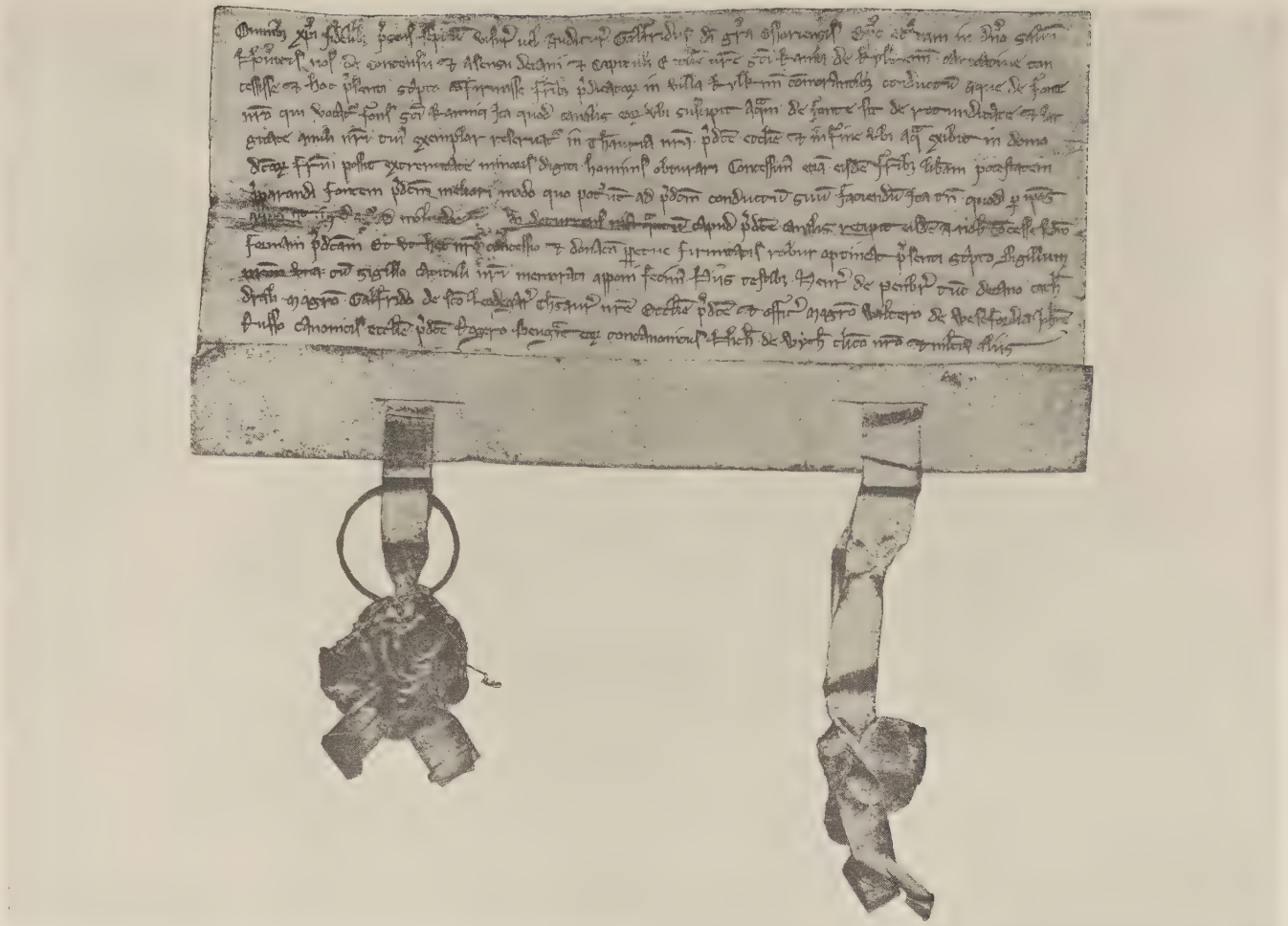
ST. KENNY'S WELL, KILKENNY.

" Omnibus Christi fidelibus praesens scriptum visuris vel audituris, Galfridus Dei gratia Ossoriensis Episcopus eternam in Domino salutem. Noveritis nos de concensu et assensu Decani et capituli Ecclesiae nostre Sancti Kanici de Kylkennia caritative concessisse et hoc præsenti scripto confirmasse fratribus predicatoribus in villa Kylkenie commorantibus conductum aque de fonte nostro qui vocatur fons Sancti Kanici. Ita quod canalis eorum ubi suscipit aquam de fonte sit de rotunditate et largitate annuli nostri cuius exemplar reservatur in Thesauraria nostra predicte ecclesie, et inferius ubi aqua exibit in domo dictorum Fratrum possit extremitate minoris digiti hominis obturari. Concessimus etiam eisdem Fratribus liberam potestatem preparandi fontem predictum meliori modo quo potuerint ad predictum conductum suum faciendum : ita tamen quod per ipsos aqua non impediatur ad molendinum nostrum decurrens, nisi quantum caput predicti canalis recipit, eisdem a nobis concessum secundum formam predictam. Et ut hec nostra concessio et donacio perpetue firmitatis robur optineat presenti scripto sigillum nostrum una cum sigillo capituli nostri memorati apponi fecimus. Hiis testibus Henrico de Pembroke tunc Decano Cathedralis, Magistro Galfrido de sancto Leodegario Thesaurario nostre ecclesie predicte et officiali, Magistro Waltero de Wesefordia, Johanne Duffo, canonicis ecclesie predicte, Rogero Bengram eorum concanonico, Nicholao de Wych clerico nostro, et multis aliis."

Bishop de Turville was still living on the 18th June, 1250, but was dead before the 18th of the following October.[1] The *Catalogue* has :—

" A.D. 1204 [*sic* for 1240]. Died Geoffry Turwell, Bishop of Ossory, who acquired the lands of

[1] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland*, 1171-1251.



BISHOP DE TURVILLE'S GRANT OF A CONDUIT OF WATER FROM ST. KENNY'S WELL TO THE FRIARS PREACHERS, BLACK ABBEY, KILKENNY.

From Gilbert's *Fac-similes of National MSS. of Ireland*, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

To face page 38, Vol. I. (Text).

Clonemacormike; he also built the manor of Doroghe [*i.e.*, Durrow], and acquired therefor many lands. He ruled the church of Ossory in a praiseworthy manner during ten years, and is buried at London in the church of the Inner Temple, ubi regia jura exercentur."

Hugh De Mapilton (1251-60).

In accordance with the custom of the time, Master William of Kilkenny, clerk, and John Long, canons of St. Canice's Cathedral Church, were sent to the King, with letters patent from the Dean and Chapter of Ossory, to announce the death of Bishop de Turville, and to procure a licence for the election of his successor. The licence was granted December 12th, 1250. The choice of the Chapter fell on Hugh de Mapilton, also called Hugh of Glendalough, Archdeacon of Dublin, and it received the royal assent, April 17th, 1251. Hugh is mentioned as "Bishop of Ossory," on the 15th of the following month, which shows that he must have been consecrated in the meantime. In the same year he was appointed Treasurer of Ireland, in which office he continued till the end of his life. On the 22nd October, 1258, the King "gives power to Hugh, Bishop of Ossory, Treasurer, and to Stephen Lungespeye, Justiciary of Ireland, or his deputy, to receive the fealty of Simon of Kilkenny, canon, and Bishop-elect of Kildare, and to restore the temporalities to him when confirmed."[1] He was still living on Monday in Easter week, 1259, when he confirmed an agreement arrived at, in reference to some Diocesan churches, by the Dean and Chapter of St. Canice's, on the one part, and the Prior and Brethren of Kells, on the other.[2] His death occurred before June 4th, 1260, at which date the See of Ossory was vacant.[3]

The *Catalogue* styles him "the first founder" of St. Canice's Cathedral, but in doing so it is clearly in error, as I have shown already.[4] He may, indeed, have done much for the Cathedral, left unfinished by De Rous, but nothing further can be claimed for him in this respect.

"A.D. 1256. Died the reverend Father, Hugh de Mapilton, Bishop of Ossory, the second of this name, and first founder of the church of St. Canice, Kilkenny; who first began the building of same, and, at great cost, labour and expense, brought the work almost to completion; who established two canons to minister there and gave them for their support several churches both in tithes and other offerings, as in the [charter of the] foundation of the said Canons is set forth more fully; and who built the Bishop's Court at Freshford, furnishing it with fish ponds and other necessary appurtenances, and accomplished many other good works throughout the said Bishopric. He ruled the Diocese 20 years, and lies buried in front of the Lady Chapel in the same church [of St. Canice], in an altar-tomb of stone ornamented with sculptured effigies of Canons."[5]

[1] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland,* 1252-84.
[2] *Registry of Kells Priory.*
[3] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland.*
[4] See pp. 32-3, *supra.*
[5] *Catalogue.*

The *Catalogue* gives as the immediate successor of Hugh de Mapilton, a Dominican friar also named Hugh, of whom it has the following :

"A.D., 1270. Died Hugh, of the Order of Preachers, Professor, Bishop of Ossory, who gave the Brethren of the Dominican Abbey St. Kenny's well and a conduit of the water of the same, and remitted to the Brethren dwelling there the head rent of two messuages in the street of the said [Brethren], near the said Abbey. He was buried in the said Abbey near the high altar, to the left. He was a great benefactor to the said Abbey, but did nothing worthy of note for the Cathedral Church. His Episcopate lasted 16 years."

This Hugh finds a place in all the lists of the Bishops of Ossory that I have ever come across. The duration of his Episcopate is not agreed upon by authorities : for, whilst the writer of the *Catalogue* extends it to 16 (14 ?) years, others limit it to 4 or 3 years, and others, such as Cardinal Moran, make it but 2 years or something less. Now it is sufficiently certain that this Hugh was never Bishop of Ossory. We cannot accept unquestioned the unsupported authority of the *Catalogue*, even for the bare fact of his existence, when we find that record assigning to him the grant of the conduit from St. Kenny's well, which we know already was made by another. But the proofs of Hugh's non-existence are sufficiently convincing :

(1) There is absolute silence observed regarding him by all the contemporary Crown documents. In the appointments of preceding Bishops of the Diocese, since the beginning of the 13th century, the sanction of the English Kings was always required, and its concession duly recorded in the records of the State. Similar Crown references to the Bishops who succeeded the supposed Bishop Hugh are to be found down to the early part of the 14th century, that is, as far as the Crown documents, dealing with Episcopal appointments, have been yet published. The same may be said of all Irish Dioceses during the 13th century and beginning of the 14th. If then a Bishop Hugh succeeded to Ossory, after the death of Bishop de Mapilton, his appointment would not be utterly ignored, as it is, in the State Papers of the time.

(2) Bishop Geoffry St. Leger, who succeeded the supposed Bishop Hugh, made arrangements, according to the *Catalogue* itself, that the Vicars Choral of St. Canice's should every year hold one anniversary for himself, and another "for the venerable Fathers, Geoffry Turwell, Walter Barcle and Hugh Mapilton, his predecessors, and his successors, the deceased Bishops and Canons of the said church of Ossory." Here we have Geoffry St. Leger giving the true succession of his immediate predecessors in the See, and in his list, whose accuracy no one can impugn, we find no mention of this Bishop Hugh.

Geoffry St. Leger (1260-86).

On the 29th June, 1260, the King notified to Fulk, Archbishop of Dublin,

or his vice-gerent, that he gives the royal assent to the election lately made in the church of Ossory, of Master Geoffry de St. Leger, Treasurer of that church, as Bishop of Ossory.[1] A few days later he empowered the Justiciary of Ireland and Master William de Bakepuz, escheator in that country, or their lieutenants, to receive fealty from the elect and to restore the temporalities to him if he be confirmed ;[2] and he issued a mandate for livery of seisin of the temporalities of the See, the 30th of August following.

Though an Anglo-Norman by lineage, Geoffry St. Leger was probably an Irishman by birth, and connected with the St. Legers, of Tullaghanbroge and Ballyfennor. Previous to his appointment as Bishop, he had been, for several years, Treasurer of the Cathedral church of Ossory.[3] Clyn states that in 1284, Bishop St. Leger "acquired [*recte* recovered] the minor of Serkerran by combat." In reference to this entry Cardinal Moran writes :—"Ware is of opinion that the Bishop himself was not required to engage in personal combat, and that a champion was appointed by each of the contending parties. It is to be hoped that it was so, but this construction of the old law of trial by combat is not at all so clear, and it is not improbable that the Anglo-Norman Bishops of the 13th century were no less skilful than the Barons of the Kingdom in the use of the sword and spear. It was probably in consequence of this contest that it was deemed expedient to issue royal letters on the 22nd July, 1284, granting 'simple protection for three years to Geoffry, Bishop of Ossory.'"[4]

Bishop St. Leger died in the end of 1286 or the beginning of 1287. The acts of his Episcopate receive the following notice from the writer of the *Catalogue* :

"A.D., 1286. Died Geoffry de St. Leger, Bishop of Ossory, the second founder of the said church [*i.e.*, of the Cathedral of St. Canice], and first founder of the College of Vicars of St. Canice's church, Kilkenny. He granted to the said College, and to the Vicars serving God, in the said Church, his Episcopal mansion and other buildings close to it, together with the Rectory of Kilkeshe [Kilkeasy], and also the rent de manubrinium, and one mark sterling, to be received from the Abbot of Duiske, for the land of Stomkarlewan [now Tikerlevan, near Graiguenamanagh], which mark the said Geoffry and his predecessors were wont to have and receive. He also granted to the same Vicars many other rents. In the year 1284 the same Geoffry acquired the manor of Serkerran by combat. He also built part of the manors of Aghbo [Aghour ?] and Dorough, as well as a great portion of St. Canice's church, which had been begun by Hugh Mapilton. He exchanged the town of Killamery for that of Stamcartie, with William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. He ordained that the Collegiate Vicars of Kilkenny should hold his anniversary every year, and another anniversary for Geoffry Turwell, Walter Barcle, and Hugh Mapilton, his predecessors, and his successors, the deceased Bishops and Canons of the said church of Ossory. In many other ways he proved himself a benefactor to the said church. He established many burgesses in the [lands of the] Cross of Ossory, as is more fully contained and set forth in the enrolments of the burgesses. He lived in the Episcopate 13 years, and is buried beneath another altar-tomb of stone, before the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the Cathedral Church of Ossory."

[1] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland*, 1252-84.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] See p. 38, *supra.*
[4] *Bishops of Ossory.*

Roger of Wexford (1287-89.)

He was elected Bishop previous to June 22nd, 1287, on which date the King intimates to "Stephen, Archbishop of Tuam, Justiciary of Ireland, that he gives the royal assent to the election lately celebrated in the Cathedral Church of St. Canice of Kilkenny, of Roger of Wexford, Dean of St. Canice, as Bishop of that church." [1] He was dead before September 5th, 1289. The *Catalogue* has :

"On the vigil of St. Peter's Chains [*i.e.*, July 31st], died Roger, Bishop of Ossory, who had presided over that See, in a praiseworthy manner, 13 years. He is buried in the same [Cathedral] church of Ossory. Note that he was consecrated on the 3rd Nov., 1382 (*sic*), by Patrick [*recte* John] de Samford, Archbishop of Dublin, in St. Canice's church, Kilkenny."

Michael of Exeter (1289-1302).

The death of Roger of Wexford having been announced to the King, he, on the 5th September, 1289, gave letters to the Dean and Chapter of Ossory, through their envoy, Nicholas fitzRichard, Precentor of the Diocese, to elect a Bishop in his place. The election took place without undue delay, and the votes having been cast in favour of Michael of Exeter, a Canon of the Diocese, the Dean and Chapter wrote to the King, September 27th, 1289, announcing their selection, and begging him to confirm same. On the 2nd November following, the royal assent was granted, and on the same day the mandate to the Justiciary was issued for the temporalities of the See, as the King wished "on account of the good and laudable testimony afforded him regarding the Bishop-elect, to render him a more abundant grace, and to spare him labour and expense." [2]

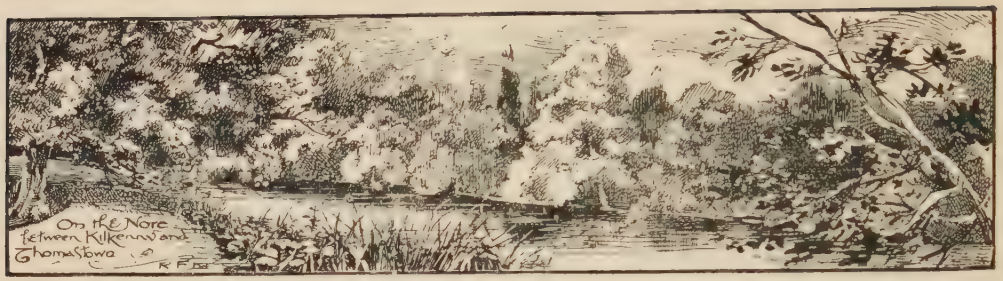
Bishop Michael stood well with the King (Edward I.), who, on the 26th March, 1292, issued a decree that "whereas, according to custom in Ireland, it is not allowed to any person despoiled of his goods by his or the King's Irish enemies, to receive amends, or otherwise make peace with them ; and whereas M[ichael], Bishop of Ossory and his predecessors, have been much impoverished by such spoliation, the King, in order to save him and his church from being injured by this custom, grants that when depredations are made on him by the Irish he may treat with them, receive amends, or get back his goods by making peace." [3] In the month of October, same year, the Bishop was made a member of the Privy Council, the King judging "that his presence in giving counsel and in treating of the King's affairs, would be very useful to the King." Friar John

[1] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

Clyn thus records his demise: "A.D. 1302. About the feast of Pentecost, died Michael, Bishop of Ossory, who was succeeded by William FitzJohn, whose consecration took place at Kilkenny, on the Sunday within the Octave of the Epiphany in the same year."

"A.D. 1302. On the 12th of July died the most excellent Father, Michael, Bishop of Ossory, who, among other good and pious works, ordained and decreed that all houses, manses and lands, possessed already, or to be acquired hereafter, by the Prelates and Canons of the said church of Ossory, be quit of all rent due to him and his successors, and of suits of courts of every description, and of all lay claim and demand; and that distraints of all officials and Deans cease within the precincts of these manses; and, moreover, that the same Prelates dwell in the manses, and hold them, as freely as any sanctuary whatever can be held of him, his successors, and the Deans, on the presentation of anyone whosoever, as is more fully contained in the letters drawn up on the subject. This good Pastor lived in the Episcopal see 3 years, and ruled the said church in a praiseworthy manner." [1]

[1] *Catalogue.*



CHAPTER VI.

THE BISHOPS OF OSSORY DURING THE 14th CENTURY.

William FitzJohn (1303-17).

THE Dean and Chapter of Ossory having notified the King of the death of their late Bishop, Michael, received the *conge d'elire*. July 9th, 1302. They elected to the vacant See their brother Canon, William FitzJohn, and wrote to the King to this effect, September 10th following, requesting at the same time his confirmation of their choice. The King gave his assent the 18th of the next month, and a few days later (October 24th), notified to the Justiciary of Ireland, "that wishing to save labour and expense to the Elect of Ossory, the King grants and gives power to the Justiciary that, if the election be canonically confirmed by the above-named Archbishop [of Dublin], and this appears by letters of the latter, the Justiciary may then receive fealty from the Elect and restore the temporalities, having first received from the Elect letters patent as above." [1] The consecration of this Prelate took place during the Octave of the Epiphany, 1303.[2]

Bishop FitzJohn is sometimes stated to have been a member of the Anglo-Irish family of Rothe, and in some of the Rothe Pedigrees he is styled William fitzJohn Rothe; but this is incorrect, for though, previous to his consecration, he held a Canonry in this Diocese, still he was by birth an Englishman, and not of any Anglo-Irish family, as will appear from a Latin document to be quoted immediately. On the 2nd December, 1315, he granted the *Vicariate* of the church of Claragh to the Brethren of the Hospital or Priory of St. John the Evangelist,

[1] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland.*
[2] *Clyn.*

Kilkenny, reserving 20 shillings thereout to be paid every year to the Vicars Choral of St. Canice's Cathedral. The *Rectory* of Claragh had been already appropriated to the same Priory, nearly a century before, by Bishop Peter Malveisin. During part of his Episcopate Bishop FitzJohn filled the high post of Chancellor of Ireland. He was translated by the Holy See from Ossory to the Archiepiscopal See of Cashel, before Easter, in the year 1317 ; the King gave his sanction to the translation on the 1st April, and the Brief granting the Pallium bears date, December 23rd, the same year. From a letter of the King (Henry V.) to the Pope, August 4th, 1317, expressive of his thanks for the promotion of FitzJohn to the Archiepiscopal dignity, we extract the following :—

"Super eo siquidem, Pater Sancte, quod venerabilem Patrem Willielmum nuper Ossoriensem Episcopum, Cancellarium nostrum Hiberniae, *Anglicum*, quem morum probitas, probata fidelitas, vitae sanctitas, litterarum scientia, aliaque virtutum merita gratiose reddunt multipliciter commendatum, nuper de Ecclesia Ossoriensi ad Ecclesiam Casselensem nostri intuitu transtulistis, praeficiendo ipsum in ipsius Ecclesiae Casselensis Archiepiscopum et pastorem, et venerabilem patrem fratrem Richardum de Ordine Minorum, similiter *Anglicum*, in dictae Ossoriensis Ecclesiae episcopum praeficiendo, ipsumque faciendo in ejusdem ecclesiae episcopum consecrari, Vestrae Sanctitatis clementiae ad gratias assurgimus quas valemus." [1]

After his translation Archbishop FitzJohn was made Deputy Governor of Ireland, in 1318. "He died," writes Clyn, "in 1326, on Monday, the day after the feast of the Exaltation [of the Holy Cross] ; he was a man powerful and wealthy, and venerable among the people and clergy."

"To him [*i.e.* to Michael of Exeter] succeeded William fitzJohn, who was consecrated at Kilkenny during the Octave of Epiphany in the same year [1302-3], but of the time of his death and place of burial nothing is known." [2]

Richard de Ledrede (1317-60).

Richard de Ledrede was appointed Bishop of Ossory by Pope John XXII. on the 24th of April, 1317, (viii., Kal. Maii, an. 1), as is expressly attested by the Papal Brief notifying his appointment, published in Theiner's *Monumenta*, p. 125. His consecration, at the hands of Cardinal Nicholas, Bishop of Ostia, took place at Avignon, where the Papal Court was then held, sometime previous to the 4th of the following August.[3]

The new Bishop was an Englishman by birth, and a Franciscan Friar by religious profession. Almost immediately after his consecration he set out for his See, where he inaugurated his Episcopal regime by holding a Synod of his Chapter and clergy, at Kilkenny, during the Octave of the feast of St. Michael

[1] *Lib. Munerum.*, i, part 4, p. 64.
[2] *Catalogue.*
[3] See the King's Letter above.

the Archangel (September 29th), 1317. As the Constitutions of this Synod are still extant in the *Red Book of Ossory*, and have been copied therefrom by the present writer, he thinks it well to insert an abstract of them here, that the reader may be enabled to form an idea of some of the evils and abuses affecting the Church of Ossory at the opening of the 14th century:

RICHARD DE LEDREDE,
Bishop of Ossory.

From a painting of the recumbent effigy on his supposed monument in St. Canice's Cathedral, by the late John Hogan, Kilkenny.

"HIC INCIPIUNT CONSTITUTIONES SINODALES ECCLESIE OSSOR.

"In Dei nomine, Amen. Zelo sanctitatis & ecclesie sancte Dei, ac sancti Cannici Ossor., cuius, licet immeriti, sponsus non mediocriter accensi ut, iuxta verbum prophete, dicere valeamus: Tota pulcra es amica mea & macula non est in te, subscripta statuta synodalia ad mundiciam & sanctitatem universalis ecclesie episcopatus Ossor., Diuina gracia adiuti & suffulti, presentis synodi auxilio & concilio confratrum canonicorum dicte ecclesie sancti Cannici, auctoritate ordinaria, duximus ordinanda in Domino Ihesu Christo.

"Firmiter credimus & specialiter confitemur quod unus est solus Deus verus, omnipotens, eternus, immensus, incomutabilis, incomprehensibilis, Pater & Filius & Spiritus Sanctus, tres quidam persone, set una essencia, substancia seu natura, simplex omnium, &c., prout in articulis fidei plenius continetur.

"Super quibusdam quidem articulis volumus & districte precipiendo mandamus omnibus subditis nostris, quatinus si quempiam contra articulos fidei delinquentem vel dogmatizantem in dyocesi Ossor. sciuerunt, vel scire poterunt in futurum, extunc ut exnunc, ipsum de nomine delinquentis & modo culpe certificare non omittant infra mensem a tempore sciencie computandum, sicut diuinam voluerunt effugere ulcionem.

"DE CONSECRACIONE & RECONCILIACIONE ECCLESIARUM.

"Per presentis synodi approbacionem precipimus quod conuentuales & parochiales ecclesie totius Ossor. dyoc. non dedicate, siue rurales, siue prebende, aut dignitatibus vel prebendis sint annexe, cum earum cimiteriis, nec non capelle proprios Rectores habentes, que iam perfectis parietibus sunt constructe ac precipue maiora altaria in eisdem infra sex mensium spacium, a proximo preterito festo sancti Michaelis computandum, ad consecrandum sufficienter preparentur & honeste. Eas autem Rectores earum & parochiani infra idem tempus, procurent consecrari, ac eciam consecratas ecclesias, si violate fuerint, reconsiliari infra idem tempus, sub pena XLS. elemosine Episcopi, una cum procurationibus suis ad hoc faciendum soluandorum pro qualibet ecclesia, capella vel cimiterio non dedicato. In ecclesiis vero dedicatis annus & dies dedicacionis earum & nomen [ ] in cuius honore dedicatur, cum nomine

dedicantis, & numero dierum indulgencie in consecracione concesse, distincte & aperte circa maius altare in loco ad hoc ydoneo, conscribantur, ut aniuersaria dies dedicacionis a parochianis memoretur, & reuerenter annis singulis solempniter ferianda. Alias ferianda obseruetur.

"DE RESIDENCIA FACIENDA IN ECCLESIA CURATA.

"Cum ecclesiastica sacramenta in parochialibus ecclesiis per eos, quibus cura animarum, si in ipsis inibi a diocesano committitur, secundum iusticiam tractari debeant & dispensari; Nos, felicis recordacionis Bonefaci pape Octaui vestigiis inherentes, statuendo precipimus, quod omnes & singuli beneficia ecclesiastica quibus cura animarum est annexa, in Dyoc. Ossor. optinentes, nondum in presbyteros ordinati, infra annum a tempore publicacionis presentium, ad omnes sacros ordines, quos beneficiorum suorum cura requirit, statutis a iure temporibus, se faciant promoueri ad sacramenta ecclesiastica ministranda, ut tenentur; et ad hoc in suis beneficiis residenciam faciant corporalem, nisi a iure vel ab homine cum ipsis fuerit super hoc legitime dispensatum, sicut penas contra non residentes sancitas alias canonicas voluerunt euitare.

Added in another hand :—"Ad quam residenciam in continenti faciendam, nos, episcopus Ossor., omnes huiusmodi beneficia optinentes monemus primo, secundo, tertio sub pena priuacionis.

"DE RESIDENCIA FACIENDA & IURAMENTO VICARIORUM.

"Ad vicariam perpetuam, curam animarum habentem, statuimus nullum decetero fore admittendum, nisi iam in presbiterum ordinatum, vel saltem in diaconum, vel sub-diaconum, in proximis IIII^or^. temporibus in presbiterum ordinandum; qui renuncians aliis beneficiis, si que habeat, iuret residenciam facere continuam in eandem [*sic*] corporalem, et faciat ut iurabit; alioquin institucionem illius decernimus fore nullam, & vicariam alii fore conferendam iuxta sanctorum patrum sancciones.

"DE CURA SUPER NON RESIDENTE & PORCIONE ASSIGNANDA RESIDENTI.

"Omnes vero & singuli quodcunque benfiecium ecclesiasticum curatum in Ossor. dyoc. optinentes, cum quibus est a iure vel ab homine, super non residencia facienda in eodem, legitime dispensatum, certum procuratorem unum vel plures in singulis ecclesiis suis per literas patentes, si religiosi fuerint, sub sigillo communi domus, siues eculares sub sigillo auttentico vel per instrumentum publicum, in quibu inter cetera subscripta clausula, ponatur, videlicet capitulis, congregacionibus, conuocacionibus & synodis interessendi, statutis & statuendis seu ordinatis in eisdem a maiore & saluiori parte cleri ad comodum & honorem sancte ecclesie consenciendi, & ea obseruare promittendi, [constituant]; etiam dinittere teneantur ut status absencium & beneficiorum suorum per ipsos procuratores defendi poterit & illesus conseruari, prouisa tamen quod dum beneficati sic absentes fuerint, siue sint religiosi, siue seculares, si perpetui vicarii non fuerint in eorum beneficiis constituti, certus presbiter die licencie eis concesse super non residencia facienda episcopo presentetur, & certa porcio fructuum, secundum ordinacionem episcopi, sibi assignetur, de fructibus beneficiorum absencium pro sustentacione sua, & pro omnibus ecclesie incumbentibus supportandis, erga loci ordinarios, & eis soluenda temporibus opportunis.

"DE FIRMA ECCLESIARUM LAICIS NON CONCEDENDA.

"Ffama publica referente, audiuimus de quadam abusione in hiis partibus minus usitata, scilicet, quod Ecclesiastica beneficia communiter laicis quibusdam ad longum tempus, quasi perpetuo, ad firmam traduntur, qui fructus eorundam beneficiorum colligentes, et in laicum feodum reponentes, edificia ecclesiastica, que magnanimitas erexerat predecessorum, funditus rui permittunt, et quod amare est dolendum, per huiusmodi fructuum distraccionem diuinus cultus minuitur, animarum cura in ipsis ecclesiis negligitur & iurisdictio ordinaria deperit; quodque turpius est, uxores talium firmariorum, cum earum mariti ab hac luce migrauerint, oblaciones & decimas ad cornu altaris, contra doctrinam apostoli, intra missarum solempnia, sibi vendicant, & recipiunt sentencias excommunicacionum *propter intentantes*; sic itaque quod in scriptura sacra solis ministris ecclesie Dei concessum est, transfertur ad indignos, in scandalum ecclesie Dei non modicum & dedecus manifestum: Nos, igitur, tot malorum tantatorumque discriminum & scandalorum occasionem eradicare proposse cupientes, districtius inhibemus, ne ecclesia, parochia, prebenda, vicaria nec dignitas vel iurisdiccionis officium, sub quocunque colore, laicis nunquam [*sic*] decetero tradatur ad firmam, sub pena excommunicacionis

maioris quam, exnunc prout extunc, canonica monicione premissa, in tradentes, & recipientes, detinentesque firmas huiusmodi, nisi ipsas a tempore publicacionis presencium infra mensem exnunc proxime sequentem, dimiserint, & tradentibus restituerint, ipsas nullatenus decetero recepturi, canonica monicione premissa ferimus in hiis scriptis.

"DE MODO CONCEDENDI FIRMAM.

"Prohibemus insuper palam & expresse, ne dignitates vel officia, puta Decanatus, precentoria, cancellaria, thesauraria, archidiaconatus, nec spiritualis iurisdiccionis exercitium, neque prebenda, nec ecclesia parochialis, nec vicaria, personis ecclesiasticis ad longum tempus, propter cotinnuacionem temporis que afferre consuevit maximum periculum ecclesiis, decetero ad firmam tradatur, nisi urgente necessitate fiat, & de licencia episcopi, & etiam non ultra quinquennium, & in principio huiusmodi conuencionis quam plures litere inde conscribantur, quarum una penes episcopum, relique vero due remaneant penes partes. Et si perpetui vicarii non fuerint in eisdem, etiam certa porcio fructuum, de concensu episcopi, assignatur presbitero parochali, pro eius sustentacione qui etiam episcopo presentetur ad deseruiendum ecclesiis in diuinis, et ad soluenda onera ordinaria dicte ecclesie incumbencia, dum firma durabit, loci ordinariis, temporibus opportunis: finito vero ipso quinquenio, conuenciones huiusmodi renouentur eisdem, de licencia episcopi, si sibi videbitur vel viderit expedire sub forma predicta. Item vicarie nunquam tradantur ad firmam quovismodo. Si vero contra hoc statutum aliqua vicaria, vel aliud beneficium ecclesiasticum, laicis vel clericis ad firmam sit tradita vel dimissa, Nos, de expresso consensu capituli ecclesie sancti Cannici & maioris partis cleri dyoc. Ossor., terciam partem prouentuum omnium huiusmodi beneficiorum, siue clericis siue laicis, sine licencia episcopi sic de facto ad firmam traditorum, decernimus in hiis scriptis fabrice maioris ecclesie cathedr. Ossor. & elemosine episcopi, pro equali porcione, modis omnibus applicandam.

. . . . . .

"DE IMMUNITATE ECCLESIARUM.

"Ad tutelam & refugium oppressorum ita emunitatem ecclesiasticam, ex privilegiis nostrorum patrum & principum terrenorum, cernimus constitutam, ut tam reos sanguinum, insontes criminum, prae timore confugientes ad ipsam ecclesiam, & res nulli vicio subiacentes, hostilis depredacionis metu, intra ecclesiarum cepta reponitur [*sic*], conuenit non solum exinde non abstrahere, vel minime rapere, etiam nec tangere. Predicta circa tuicionem tam personarum ad ecclesias vel eadem cimiteria confugiencium, & rerum que in ipsis, pro securitate, fiducialiter reponuntur, quam circa salutem hominum parochianorum qui, Dei timore postposito & ecclesie Dei reuerencia prorus abiecta, ad huiusmodi confugiatorum abstractionem ac rerum predam & rapinam de locis ipsis, se conferunt impudenter. Ausos huiusmodi, iniquitates & scelera, perfecto odio ex officiis nostris debito, prosequentes, statuimus, ut si quis aliquem ad ecclesiam, cimiterium vel claustrum confugientem, inde abstraxerit violenter, vel res alienas in locis predictis depositos, contra uoluntatem possidencium, ceperit, consumpserit, asportaverit, uefecerit, aut abstrahentibus, consumentibus vel asportantibus prebuerit publice vel occulte auxilium, concilium, concensum vel fauorem, ipso facto sit excommunicacionis maioris vinculo innodatus, a quo nullatenus absoluatur nisi prius ecclesie, cui tantam iniuriam intulerit, de contemptu & dampno passo, si uiuat, de dampno satisfaciat competenter, iniunctaque sibi postmodum super hiis, pro modo culpe, penitencia salutari donec absolucionis beneficium meruerit optinere.

. . . . . .

"DE IMMUNITATE ECCLESIARUM & IURISDICCIONEM ECCLESIASTICAM IMPEDIENTE.

[This chapter begins by establishing, from various arguments and examples, that respect is due to Bishops and priests by their flocks; and then continues:—]

"Ex quibus concluditur, quod omnis gens, omnis status, omnis secta, episcopos & sacerdotes Dei solet honorare. Sola, tamen, quedam gens pestifera nouella in quibusdam partibus nostris, ab aliis terre fidelibus discrepans, spiritu diabolico plena, ab secta omnium Dei cultorum exorbitans, gentilibus & Iudeis crudelior, episcopos, sacerdotes Dei summi, prosequitur in vita pariter & in morte, spoliando & lacerando Christi patrimonium in dyoc. Ossor., Dominicam incurrendo maledicionem,

quorum maliciis, que plus solito inualuerunt & inualescunt, cogimur, ut possimus, obuiare. Ad hec cum dispensacio clauium Ecclesie, quas Christus apostolis commisit, & episcopis, eorum successoribus, commode exerceri non possit sine ecclesiastica iurisdiccione, per quam extirpantur vicia & inseruntur virtutes. Nonnulli tamen iniquitatis filii, subditi nostri, instinctu quodam diabolico, episcopis & eorum ministris, iurisdiccionem ecclesiasticam secundum canonica instituta exercentibus, minas machinantur & intentant grauissimas, ad indictandum, vexandum, intractandum, & imbrigandum in curiis secularibus, ac per hoc impedire nituntur correcciones peccatorum, & salutem animarum, in contemptu Dei & ecclesie & cumulum proprie dampnacionis eterne. Super quo speciali remedio statuere compellimur & ordinare.

"Nosque de unanimi consensu capituli nostri, necnon tocius cleri in plena synodo constituti, statuimus & ordinamus quod quecunque persone episcopi violenciam intulerint aut scandalum; quicunque eciam episcopum, sacerdotem, Rectorem, vicarium, seu clericum bonis spoliauerint mobilibus sive immobilibus, ubicuncque, in vita vel in morte; omnes & singuli qui in maneriis episcopalibus episcopum spoliaverint . . . . . ; omnes eciam iurisdiccionem episcopalem impedientes, indictantes maliciose & interminantes episcopum & ministros iurisdiccionis sue propter exercicium eiusdem infra suam Dioc. ad corrigendum peccata, & ad hoc vel aliquod premissorum auxilium prestiterint, concilium vel fauorem, ipso facto sint excommunicati excommunicacione maiore. . . . . "

The following note, deliberately erased, but still legible for the most part, is found appended to these Constitutions:

"Memorandum quod anno Domini Millesimo CCC^{o}. sexto decimo, translato Willelmo, episcopo Ossor., quarto die post festum Annunciacionis beate Virginis, ad archiepiscopatum Cassellensem, ffrater Ricardus de Ledred, de ordine minorum, de Anglia oriundus, per sedem apostolicam factus est episcopus Ossor., pro illo substitutus, qui admissus a rege temporalibus erat, traditis & literis apostolicis archiepiscopo Dublinensi, et capitulo suo Kilken. publicatis, celebrata inauguracione sua apud Kilkenniam, convocato capitulo & clero totius dyoc., synodum solempnem in octauis beati Michaelis sequentis solempniter celebravit & statuta synodalia supradicta per eum facta publicauit, et de consensu capituli & cleri publice statuit obseruari. Qua synodo celebrata, pro eo quod maneria episcopalia fuerunt destructa per guerram Scotorum et ut. . . . . Episcopus . . . [four lines entirely illegible. . .] & viri religiosi occupant. . . . partem: ideo exiliter responsum est episcopo de beneficiis supradictis. Acta sunt hec die & loco supradictis."

The fact of Bishop de Ledrede's making legislation, at this, his first Synod, against persons tainted with unorthodoxy, shows that at the very outset of his Episcopate, heresy in some shape or other had made its appearance in the Diocese. What efforts he made, in the years immediately succeeding, to root out the evil are not recorded. From what we know of his character we must conclude they were all that zeal and a strong, determined will could effect; they were not, however, crowned with success.

Kilkenny, his episcopal city, was the headquarters of these disloyal members of his flock. Their leader was a rich lady named Alice Kyteler, descended from an Anglo-Norman family then settled in Kilkenny for some generations. She had been married four times, 1st to William Utlagh, or Outlaw, of Kilkenny, banker; 2ndly to Adam le Blund, of Callan; 3rdly to Richard de Valle—all of whom she was supposed to have got rid of by poison—and 4thly to Sir John le Poer, whom she was accused of depriving of his natural senses by philtres and incantations. Next in command to Alice was William Outlaw, her son by her first husband. Their confederates, or fellow sectaries, were Robert de Bristol, clerk, John Galrussyn,

William Payn of Boly, Petronilla de Meath and Sarah, her daughter, Alice, wife of Henry Smith, Annota Lange, Elena Galrussyn, Syssok Galrussyn, and Eva of Brownestown—all evidently of the Anglo-Norman race.

Failing otherwise to bring the guilty parties to a sense of the evil of their ways, the Bishop determined to invoke against them the aid of the civil power. And, first, he had an inquisition held early in 1324, in presence of five knights, and nobles in great numbers, by which it was found that in the town of Kilkenny there were many heretical sorcerers, viz. :—Dame Alice Kyteler, her son, William Outlaw, and her confederates, and that they had engaged in various heresies, to wit :

To obtain their ends by nefarious sorceries, they entirely denied the faith of Christ and of the Church, for a month or a year, according as that which they desired to secure from the powers of darkness was less or greater ; so that during that time they believed in nothing in which the Church believes, neither did they adore the Body of Christ, nor hear Mass, nor take blessed bread, nor holy water.

They sacrificed to demons with living animals, which they divided in pieces at the cross-roads, and while so dividing, offered them [in sacrifice] to a certain inferior demon calling himself Art's son (Artis filius.)

They sought from demons advice and responses by their sorceries.

They made use of incantations.

And further, the sons and daughters of the four husbands of Dame Alice, pressed the Bishop with loud complaints, demanding a remedy against her, alleging publicly before the people that, by her sorceries, she had slain some of their fathers, and had infatuated others of them to such a degree of imbecility that they gave all their wealth to her and her son, to the perpetual impoverishment of their own sons and heirs ; and that even her present husband, Sir John le Poer, was reduced to such a state, by powders, pills, and sorceries, that he has become totally emaciated, deprived of his nails, without hair on his body ; but, being warned by the Lady Alice's servant maid, he forcibly took away the keys out of his wife's hands and, on opening her boxes, found therein a sackful of horrible and detestable things, which he transmitted to the Bishop, by the hands of two religious priests.

All these and other crimes having been made public by the testimony of those who had participated in them, Bishop de Ledrede wrote to the Lord Chancellor, Roger Outlaw, Prior of Kilmainham, demanding that the accused parties be forthwith committed to prison. This the Lord Chancellor, who was Lady Alice's brother-in-law, refused to do. Wherefore the Bishop cited the Lady Alice to appear before him in her son's house, where she resided, on a certain day ; but when the day arrived she did not appear, having fled the town. He then cited her son,

William Outlaw, on the charges of heresy, and of its protection and defence. When Sir Arnold le Poer, Seneschal of the Liberty of Kilkenny, and a powerful nobleman, heard this, he came with Outlaw to the Priory of Kells, where the Bishop was holding his visitation, and earnestly besought him to ignore or withdraw the indictment. But when the Bishop finally declared that, in the cause of Faith he neither dared nor wished to dissimulate, Sir Arnold offered him many reproaches and threats. Early next morning, being in the Lenten season, as the Bishop was going forth from the Priory to continue his visitation in Clonmore, one Stephen le Poer, bailiff of the Cantred of Overk, accompanied by a band of armed men, met him at the end of Kells town, arrested him by the authority of Sir Arnold, the Seneschal, and lodged him the same day in Kilkenny jail.

The arrest of the Bishop created an immense sensation in Kilkenny. All the people flocked to his prison ; and the clergy, both secular and regular, taking up the theme from the mouth of a Dominican : " Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur," &c., consoled the persecuted pastor of their Diocese, and showed how deeply they sympathised with him in the indignities that had been offered him. Seeing this, William Outlaw was seized with great fear, and immediately proceeded to Kells, to Sir Arnold, and told him how matters went with the Bishop, how the whole clergy and laity of the city were crowded round his prison, were showing him great honour and reverence, and sending him many presents, and how all went to obtain his blessing as they are wont to go to a place of pilgrimage. Sir Arnold, hoping that a closer confinement of the Bishop might allay the commotion somewhat, directed the chief constable of the prison to allow no one access to him but a brother companion, a servant to make his bed, and a boy to prepare his food. The constable remonstrated, " Master, it is novel, and unheard of in Ireland, to imprison a Bishop and we know not what will be the result or end of this matter, nor am I the sort of man to dare imprison so great a prelate in this manner. I had rather renounce my office and emolument for ever than that he should be thus guarded, or even detained by me." Wherefore the constable permitted the Bishop to have in his company, day and night, in prison, two Franciscans, two Dominicans, and two secular chaplains, and permitted all friends and servants of the Bishop to have free access to him according to his pleasure.

The Bishop having been detained in prison for seventeen days, and the end for which Sir Arnold had caused his arrest, viz., that the day for which he had cited William Outlaw might in the meantime pass by, having been attained, the constable received a mandate to liberate his prisoner. When the message was conveyed to the Bishop he addressed those around him : " It is not becoming a Bishop to go forth from prison as a thief or a homicide. Bring our pontificals

to us, for this day the church of God begins to triumph over its enemies, and it is just and laudable, therefore, that we should give thanks to God, with due solemnity and joy of heart." And thus accompanied by the whole clergy and a great crowd of people, with great solemnity he approached his cathedral, in procession, through the midst of the city, both himself and his people taking up the theme: "Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus; adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini."

If his enemies thought that, by imprisonment, they could break the Bishop's spirit, or make him swerve from the path of duty, they were greatly mistaken; for immediately on his release he cited William Outlaw to appear on another day; he, moreover, boldly applied to the Seneschal, Sir Arnold, while holding his court at Kilkenny, the Monday following the Octave of Easter in the year 1324, to evoke the aid of the secular power for the arrest of the incriminated individuals. To this request Sir Arnold made answer: "You may provide yourself with other assistance in the royal court or elsewhere, but you shall obtain no aid from us." After much violent opposition on the part of the Seneschal and other powerful adversaries, the Bishop at length succeeded in forcing on the trial of the accused. It will not be necessary here to go into the details of this memorable trial, a full account of which was published from a contemporary record by the Camden Club in 1843. Suffice it to say that Lady Alice Kyteller, her son William Outlaw, and their confederates, already named, all beyond doubt a bad lot, or to use the Bishop's words, "a diabolical nest worse than was ever before found in the King's dominion," were found guilty of the different charges made against them, and warrants were at once issued for their arrest. Lady Alice having timely notice of the decision of the court, and aided by her friends, succeeded in escaping from Dublin (where she had been living since the Bishop first took proceedings against her), and fled to England, where she spent her remaining years. William Outlaw acknowledged his fault and abjured his heresy in St. Mary's Church: but, relapsing, was sentenced, as part of his punishment "to cover with lead within the next four years the entire Cathedral church [of St. Canice] from the belfry above eastward, with the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, along with all its appurtenances." Of the others, Sarah, daughter of Petronilla, saved herself by flight; Petronilla was burned at the stake in Kilkenny; the fate of the rest is unknown. John Clynn, who was a friar at Kilkenny at the time, has the following references to the trial:

"1324. On Monday, the feast of SS. Processus and Martinianus, Martyrs (July 2nd), the lady Alice Kyteler was tried, found guilty, and condemned as a heretic, for divers sorceries, manifold heresy, and offering sacrifices to demons.

"Also in the same year, on the morrow of All Souls (Nov. 2nd), one Petronilla de Midia, of the sect and school of the aforesaid Alice, was condemned for heresy, witchcraft, and offering sacrifice

to demons, and was sentenced to [death by] fire, and burned. Previous to this it was never seen or heard of, that anyone suffered death for heresy in Ireland."

The conviction and punishment of so many heretical persons did not bring peace to the Bishop ; indeed he was but at the beginning of those heavy troubles, from which he was scarcely ever free during the next thirty years of his Episcopate. Heresy, it appears, had not yet been entirely uprooted in his Diocese. The Seneschal, Arnold le Poer, whose active support of Alice Kyteller and her son, during the trial, naturally gave grounds to a suspicion of sympathy on his part with their errors against Catholic dogma, was now brought to account. The Bishop accused him of heresy, had him excommunicated, and, by virtue of a writ, *excommunicatus capiendo*, grounded on his certificate, Le Poer was committed to the castle of Dublin. Here he died in 1331, without receiving absolution from the Bishop's censures, in consequence of which his body lay long unburied.

Through the machinations of his enemies the Bishop himself was now in turn accused of heresy, was thrown into prison by the Seneschal of Kilkenny, and detained there several weeks. Means were also found to prejudice Alexander de Bicknor, the Archbishop of Dublin, against him ; so much so, that he was repeatedly summoned to answer at the Metropolitan Ecclesiastical Court, as well as before the civil tribunals, for various alleged crimes. In particular he was accused of being an accomplice in the crime of murder. Thomas FitzGilbert had attacked and burnt the castle of Moycobir and slain there Thomas le Poer ; and this crime, it was alleged, was committed at the Bishop's instigation. The Bishop, knowing the character of the court tribunals, as well as that of the men who accused him, appealed at once to the Holy See, and set out in person for Avignon. It would be tedious to enter into the minute details of the many trials that ensued. The result, however, was that the Bishop had to endure the bitterness of a nine years' exile from his Diocese, his temporalities were seized for the Crown in the year 1329, whilst royal letters were sent to the Pope, on the 8th of June that year, and again in 1331, warning the Pontiff against showing favour to Bishop de Ledrede. The feelings entertained for the Bishop by the Sovereign Pontiff about this period may be gathered from an epistle written by Pope Benedict XII. to King Edward III., in 1334, in which he admonishes the King that grave injury had been done to the Bishop of Ossory, and that wicked men, whose consciences were seared with heresy, had, by plottings and deceits, induced the officers of the Crown to seize on the temporalities of the See ; wherefore the Pontiff implores the King to see that those injuries be repaired and that the temporalities be restored to the calumniated prelate.

Another letter of the same Pontiff to the same King, Edward III., written

6th November, 1334, is so interesting that I insert it here in full in the English translation :

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of the true and living God, who by his ineffable charity enlightens the hearts of the faithful, that they may acknowledge his greatness and believe in his almighty power, to the end that they may be saved, and after the exile of this life be admitted into the Kingdom of the heavenly citizens, has in those last days detected in your land of Ireland, crafty wolves in sheep's clothing—foxes going about and to the utmost of their power laying waste the vineyard of the Lord; wicked men scattering the thistle among the good seed; pestiferous heretics assuming the mask of hypocrisy, but whose conversations are execrable and deserve to be execrated. For it has lately appeared to us and come to the knowledge of our Apostolic See, that while our venerable brother, Richard, Bishop of Ossory, was, by ordinary right, visiting his Diocese, there appeared in the midst of his Catholic people, men who were heretics together with their abettors, some of whom asserted that Jesus Christ was a mere man and a sinner and was justly crucified for his own sins; others after having done homage and offered sacrifice to demons, thought otherwise of the sacrament of the Body of Christ than the Catholic Church teaches, saying that the same venerable sacrament is by no means to be worshipped; and also asserting that they are not bound to obey or believe the decrees, decretals and apostolic mandates; in the meantime, consulting demons according to the rites of those sects among the Gentiles and Pagans, despising the sacraments of the Catholic Church, and drawing the faithful of Christ after them by their superstitions. Most truly this pestiferous heresy making its way among the congregation of the faithful, has infected some; this plague by the venom of its contagion has brought death on those whom it approached; this poisonous serpent has destroyed the souls of those whom it infected with its pestilence. Wherefore, as we understood that neither in the same Ireland, nor in any land of your realm of England, have inquisitors of heresy been appointed, in short, that heretical depravity is not wont to be detected and punished by the regular officers of an inquisition. For these reasons, most beloved son, your holy mother, the Church, confidently flies to the shield of your protection, by which the splendour of the orthodox Faith is irradiated far and near, that you may, as the champion of Christ and of his Faith, confound and extirpate the aforesaid depravity. We therefore require and earnestly deprecate your royal excellency, that in consideration of the reverence and honour which are due to the Faith, and likewise to that concern which shoul be manifested for the salvation of the people, you would without delay cause letters mandatory to be written, as well to your justiciary in the aforesaid Ireland, as also to your other ministers constituted over that realm, that thereby they may be obliged to afford prompt and immediate assistance to the said Bishop of Ossory, and all other prelates of Ireland, in taking, punishing, and expelling the aforesaid heretics and their followers, according to the rules and instructions of the canons. In thus acting you will offer a holocaust of due gratitude to the Eternal Majesty; you will exalt the Catholic Faith, do honor to the Church, comply with our request, exhortation and entreaty, extol even higher the dignity of your royal name, and contribute to the safety, renown and prosperity of your reign. Given at Avignon, on the 8th of the Ides of November, in the first year of our pontificate."

Bishop de Ledrede appears to have recovered the royal favour in 1339, as in that year a royal writ was issued cancelling the various orders that had been issued against him by the Sheriffs and other Ministers of the Crown, and declaring that such orders had been obtained surreptitiously and by error from the Court. But about the same period a protracted controversy arose between him and his Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Dublin. During the term of the Bishop's enforced absence from Ossory, the Archbishop, in 1335, commenced a series of annual visitations of the Diocese, which no Metropolitan had attempted for more than 40 years. Against this the Bishop appealed to the Holy See, and Cardinal Bernard, of the Title of St. Cyriacus, was deputed by the Pope to inquire into the matter, as well as into other matters of dispute between both the Prelates. A Papal commission was also given to the Archbishop of Armagh to the same effect. The

decision of the Pope was again entirely in favour of the Bishop; and to prevent further disputes, the See of Ossory, during the life-time of De Ledrede, was declared exempt from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin. The indult was granted by Pope Clement VI., April 10th, 1347, and runs as follows in the English translation :

"It becometh the prudence and circumspection of the Roman Pontiff, when consulting the interest of churches, prelates, and ecclesiastical persons, to relieve with paternal solicitude all those who are oppressed, and to make such concessions as may, with God's help, tend to their general tranquillity. Your petition, most truly, has set forth whilst you, having first consulted us according to the canons, had proceeded against certain heretics discovered by you in your Diocese of Ossory, the aforesaid heretics seized your person and for seventeen days had detained you, ignominiously bound in chains and in a prison ; that afterwards, when you, being liberated from prison, had appealed to us from our venerable brother, Alexander, Archbishop of Dublin, who inflicted many and great injuries upon you, on your church of Ossory, on your clergy, and on your subjects, and when you had set out for the purpose of proceeding to the Apostolic See, in prosecution of this appeal, the aforesaid Archbishop had caused his letters to be despatched to all the seaports and other places through which it was necessary for you to pass, causing thereby and procuring, to the utmost of his power, that your person may be again seized on and cast into prison. Moreover, when you, through fear of incarceration and death, had been compelled to leave your country and live as an exile for nine years, your temporalities, moveable and immoveable, having been in the meantime seized upon, the said Archbishop by fraud, extortion, and various other ways annoyed and oppressed your church, your clergy, and the laity, who had assisted you resisting and suppressing the aforesaid heretics. And whereas, we, by our letters, have commanded the said Archbishop to be cited before us, and that within a given time peremptorily specified, and as you in the meantime may have reason to fear lest he should proceed with more severity against you, your clergy and people, and by this means be prevented from governing your church in the manner which behoveth you ; we, therefore, anxious to protect your person, as also to relieve your clergy and people from oppression, and yielding to the prayer of your petition, do, by our apostolic authority, and by special favour, altogether exempt you, your church, your city, your Diocese of Ossory, your clergy, laity, and all persons therein, as long as you preside over the see, and the aforesaid persecution continues, from all jurisdiction, dominion, power and superiority of the aforesaid Archbishop ; and we hereby subject and place you, your clergy and people, under the immediate jurisdiction of the Apostolic See, &c. Given at Avignon on the 4 of the Ides of April, the 5th year of our pontificate."

After the death of Archbishop de Bicknor (the 14th July, 1349), and the promotion of John de St. Paul to the See of Dublin, the same Pope issued another Bull, dated 21st July, 1351, restoring to the metropolitical See its former jurisdiction and superiority over the Diocese of Ossory. In 1349 further accusations were brought to the King of England against the Bishop, in consequence of which the temporalities of the See were again seized, and other severe measures threatened against him. After a few years, however, this storm blew over, the accusations having been found to be groundless ; and the temporalities were again restored to him by royal mandate of April 16th, 1356. During the remainder of his life he seems to have enjoyed the peace and quiet to which he had been long a stranger. He died at an advanced age, in the year 1360, having governed this Diocese for 43 years, and was buried in the chancel of St. Canice's Cathedral, at the north side of the high altar.

The light thrown on Bishop de Ledrede's history and character, by the many contemporary documents dealing with his Episcopate, taken, especially, in connection

with the high esteem in which he was held by succeeding Popes, can leave no doubt on the impartial mind, that he proved himself ever the stern and unbending champion of orthodoxy, without respect of persons; that, through his exertions, heresy and its supporters were entirely banished from his Diocese; that in defence of the purity of the Faith he nobly suffered imprisonment, long years of exile and cruel annoyance and persecution; and that, therefore, he well deserves to be ranked among the greatest and most illustrious of the Bishops of Ossory.

The *Catalogue* gives the following notice of Bishop de Ledrede:

"A.D. 1382. Richard Ledred, a Franciscan Friar, was consecrated Bishop of Ossory. After the pattern of the good pastor, he spared not his own life, and was prepared to lay it down for his sheep. For, when one William Outlaw, and Alice Kyteler, of Kilkenny, his mother, holding communication with demons, fell into a most wicked heresy, the Bishop rose up manfully against them and had to submit to many troubles, at one time in the King's Court, at another in the Court of the Supreme

SUPPOSED TOMB OF BISHOP DE LEDREDE, ST. CANICE'S CATHEDRAL.

Pontiff, now on land, again on sea, and again in chains and prisons. The aforesaid William had made for himself many friends of the mammon of iniquity, but he [the Bishop] got him afterwards to repent, brought him back, as a sheep lost and found again, to the fold, and reconciled him to the Church of Christ. The said Alice, his mother, persevering in her detestable heresy, was denounced as a heretic in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Kilkenny, in the presence of the aforesaid Bishop of Ossory, John Darcy the King's Justiciary in Ireland, the Chancellor, Treasurer, and many other nobles of

Ireland. In the same year, one Petronilla of Meath, of the sect of the aforesaid Alice Kyteler, was condemned for heresy and witchcraft, for which she was burned at Kilkenny, on Nov. 3rd. The aforesaid Bishop, with the consent of the King, took down three churches built outside the walls of Kilkenny, and, out of the stones and timber thereof, built the New Court, at Kilkenny, with great expense and labour, and, moreover, erected therein an altar dedicated to the three aforesaid saints, at which the Collegiate Vicars are bound to celebrate Mass whenever the Bishop requires them. The same Bishop also furnished all the windows of the entire [cathedral] church of St. Canice with stained glass, and gave a garden situated beside Hockershill street to the aforesaid Collegiate Vicars of St. Canice's. This saintly pastor is buried in the choir of the said church, in a raised tomb of stone to the left as one goes to the high altar."

John De Tatenhall (1361-1366).

Upon the death of Bishop de Ledrede, Milo Sweetman, Treasurer of the Diocese, was elected by the Chapter to succeed him. The Supreme Pontiff, however, refused to sanction the election, and provided for the vacant See by the promotion thereto of John of Tatenhall or Tatenale. That his Holiness in quashing the election of the Canos, was not influenced by any objection, on the score of personal demerits, to the object of their choice, is clear from the fact that almost immediately after, he promoted Milo to the still higher dignity of Archbishop of Armagh.

By a Papal Decree dated at Avignon, the 22nd June, 1361, John de Tatenhall, a Friar Preacher, Doctor of Divinity, and Provincial, was appointed to the office of Minor Primarius in England, vacant by the death of Robert de Wigornia, monk of St. Alban's.[1] He was promoted to Ossory soon after, for, on the 20th November, 1361, John, *Bishop-Elect* of Ossory, being present at Avignon, signed the usual form of agreement to pay the Camera Apostolica a tax of 200 florins. He was consecrated at Avignon, by Cardinal Raymond, Bishop of Praeneste, previous to December 14th, 1361, at which date, John, *Bishop* of Ossory, received faculties to grant the Plenary Indulgence *in articulo mortis* to twelve persons to be named by him.[2] A Papal Brief conveying special faculties, and dated March 21st, 1364, was granted to our Bishop by Pope Urban the Fifth. He was dead before February or March, 1366.

The *Catalogue* omits him altogether, confounding him, no doubt, with Bishop John of Oxford, who died in 1370.

William (1366).

He was Bishop of Ossory "on the Thursday next after Ash-Wednesday, the 40th of Edward III.," that is, in February or March, 1366, when as "William Evesque de Ossorie," he joined with other Prelates in issuing sentence of excommunication against all persons violating the "Statutes of Kilkenny, passed at that date."[3] The dates of his appointment and death are unknown.

[1] Bliss's *Papal Registers.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Hardiman's *Statutes of Kilkenny,* p. 118.

His Episcopate can have lasted but a very few years. He is omitted altogether by Ware. The *Catalogue* incorrectly enters his death under the year 1375, which is five or six years too late, and attributes to him the handing over of the [vicariate of the] church of Claragh to the Canons of St. John's Abbey—a transference, effected half a century before his time by another Bishop William, viz., William FitzJohn. The entry in the *Catalogue* is :

"A.D. 1375. [Died] William, Bishop of Ossory, who united the church of Claragh to the Priory of the Canons of St. John the Evangelist, Kilkenny, from whom the Vicars Choral of St Canice's are to receive [for same] a yearly pension of 20s. for ever."

John de Oxford (1370-70).

John de Oxford was an Augustinian Friar, and, as the Annals of his Order attest, was appointed Bishop of Ossory in 1370. He died before the 19th December, same year, as appears from his successor's Brief of appointment. Regarding him the *Catalogue* has :

"A.D., 1370. Died the Rev. Father, John of Oxford, of the Order of St. Augustine, Bishop of Ossory, who released all proxies accruing to the said [cathedral] church—except the sum of 26s. 8d.—that they might be applied to the ornamentation and repairs of same ; he, also, for himself and successors, released all proxies—except the sum of 6s. 8d.—due and usually paid, at time of visitation, to himself and successors, from the Common Hall, or the Vicars of same, by reason of certain churches belonging in any way whatever to the said Common Hall, with an obligation on the said Vicars *sub poena &c.* of holding his anniversary each year on the day of his death."

Alexander de Balscot (1371-86).

Alexander Petit, otherwise de Balscot, a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Kilkenny, was elected by the Diocesan Chapter to the vacant See, and was soon after canonically appointed thereto, "loco Joannis defuncti," by Papal Brief of Feb. 9th, 1371. He was, according to Ware, a man of great prudence and learning. He was appointed Treasurer of Ireland in 1376, and afterwards Chancellor and Justiciary. On the death of William Andrew, Bishop of Meath, Sept. 28th, 1385, he was translated to the vacant See, sometime between Jan. 20th, 1386, and the 19th October following. He died at Ardbraccan, Nov. 10th, 1400, and was buried in the Abbey Church of the Blessed Virgin, Trim. The *Catalogue*, ignoring his translation, merely has :

"A.D., 1376. Died Alexander, Bishop of Ossory, who ruled the flock committed to him both by word and example."

Richard de Northalis (1387-95).

He was the son of a wealthy merchant, who had held the office of Lord Mayor of London. At an early age he embraced the religious Order of Our Lady of Mount

Carmel, and being distinguished among his brethren for learning and piety, was deemed worthy to be promoted to the See of Ossory, vacant by the translation of Alexander de Balscot. The exact year of his appointment cannot be gathered from the *Patent Rolls*, for, while they make mention of "Richard, Bishop of Ossory," on the 4th Dec., 1386, and June 16th, 1387, they contradict themselves by representing the See as vacant on the 16th Dec, 1386, and June 16th, 1387. The probability is that Richard was appointed to Ossory, towards the close of 1386. His promise to pay the usual tax of 200 florins (£40), due from the Diocese to the Camera Apostolica, bears date Feb. 17th, 1386-7. During the first six years of his Episcopate he was, for the most part, absent from the Diocese, being employed by the King as his Ambassador at the Papal and other Courts. He was also for some time Chancellor of Ireland. He was promoted to the Archbishopric of Dublin in 1395, and died, according to Ware, on the 20th July, 1397. The *Catalogue* omits his name altogether, probably confounding him with Bishop Richard de Ledrede.

Thomas Peverell (1395-98).

Thomas Peverell, also called Pierevil, who succeeded, was, like his predecessor, a member of the Carmelite Order. He was born of an honourable family in Suffolk; studied at Oxford, where he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity; and was, writes Ware, "a man famous in his time." Very soon after his appointment to Ossory, he signed the deed for the usual payment of 200 florins to the Camera Apostolica, on the 3rd Nov., 1395. In May, 1398, Bishop Peverell was translated from Ossory to the See of Llandaff in Wales, whence he was again translated to the See of Worcester, in 1407. According to Ware, he died March 1st, 1417, and was buried in the Cathedral of Worcester. Bale makes him the author of "Quaestiones Theologicæ," "Sermones Solennes," "Ordinationes suae Ecclesiae," and other works. The *Catalogue* omits all mention of this Bishop.

John (1399).

On the 1st of February, 1399, soon after his appointment to this Diocese, he signed a written engagement to pay the Camera Apostolica the usual 200 florins for himself, and another sum of 200 florins, being the tax imposed on Thomas, his predecessor, and left unpaid at the time of that Bishop's translation to another see. The temporalities of Ossory were restored to Bishop John, by royal writ of 20th March, 1399. He was translated to Dromore, on or before July 2nd, 1399.

John Griffin (1399-1400).

In 1385 John Griffin was advanced from the Chancellorship of Limerick to

the See of Leighlin, which he governed for 14 years. In 1394 he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer by the King. He was translated to Ossory by Brief of July 2nd, 1399. On the 12th of the same month he signed an engagement to pay the Camera Apostolica 185 florins and 44 solidos, portion of the tax remaining unpaid by John, his predecessor, and in addition the sum of 100 florins still due from the time of the appointment of Thomas Peverell; as to himself no new tax was imposed as his was the second appointment that had been made to Ossory within twelve months ("die 12 Julii, 1399, Johannes Ossoriensis Electus, promotus 6 nonas Julias, promisit flor. 185 et solidos 44, monetæ currentis, pro communi servitio alterius D. Johannis prædecessoris sui; et 100 alios flor. pro Thoma præntecessore; pro se autem non promisit, quia fuit facta bis promotio infra annum").[1] On the seventh of February, 1400, he received the custody of the temporalities of Ossory, by royal writ, in which he is still mentioned as "John, Bishop of Leghlyng."[2] On the 2nd March, 1399, *i.e.* 1400 (new style), he confirmed some grant or grants that had been already made to St. John's Abbey, Kilkenny. He passed to his reward in the same or following month.

Richard Rocomb, his successor, in the Diocese of Leighlin, is mentioned as Bishop of that See in 1400, and as being in the *second* year of his consecration, on the 25th April, 1401.[3] He died in 1403.[4]

John (1400-1400).

John, Bishop-Elect of Ossory, signed on the 14th May, 1400, immediately after his appointment to the See, the acknowledgment of his personal obligation to pay the Camera Apostolica the usual tax of 200 florins, and moreover engaged to pay 81 florins and 47 solidos "pro residuis Domini Johannis prae-antecessoris sui." He was still living on the 8th June, 1400, when John de Brothir, chaplain, had the King's letter of presentation to the Church of St. Canice of Clonmore, directed to J[ohn], Bishop of Ossory.[5] He died within the next couple of months.

Roger de Appleby (1400-1403)

His Bull of appointment to the See of Ossory, is dated Sept. 26th, 1400 (sexto Kalend, Octobris, 1400). The See is described as then vacant "per obitum Johannis extra curiam defuncti," and the new Bishop is stated to have been "Prior Prioratus de Noneton, Ordinis Fontis Ebrandi, Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis Dioecesis." Two days after his appointment, *i.e.* Sept. 28th, 1400, he bound him-

[1] *Obligazioni*, tom. 81, pag. 47.
[2] *Pat. Rolls.*
[3] *Annals of Duiske.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Pat. Rolls*, 1 Hen. IV.

self to pay the Camera Apostolica the debt left unpaid by John his predecessor, as well as 81 florins and 47 solidos due of another John ; for himself he had to pay nothing, his appointment to the diocese being the second within a year. (" Rogerius Ossoriensis Episcopus recognovit seu ratas habuit obligationes tum Johannis sui praedecessoris immediati, tum alterius Johannis in flor. 81 sol. 47 ; pro se autem nihil obligavit, quia fuit facta promotio bis in anno.") [1] Bishop de Appleby was admitted to the temporalities of his See on the 6th April, 1401. On the 10th March, 1403, he had a licence from the King to absent himself beyond the sea for three years, and on the 16th of the same month, being about to set out to England, he had letters of general attorney, under the names of Thomas de Everdown and John Middletoun, clerks.[2] He died, resigned, or was translated elsewhere, during the course of the same year, 1403.

[1] *Obligazioni*, tom. 52, p. 96.
[2] *Pat. Rolls.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE BISHOPS OF OSSORY DURING THE 15th CENTURY.

John Vulcan (1403-1405).

He was appointed to Ossory sometime in 1403, and on the 1st of January, 1404, had the King's letters granting him the custody of the temporalities of the See, at a rent of £40.[1] On the 17th Nov., 1403, soon after his appointment, he engaged to pay the usual tax of 200 florins, and also the residue of the debt of a former Bishop John, amounting to 81 florins and 47 solidos. He was living on October 4th, 1405, but had been summoned to his reward before Nov. 14th, following.[2]

Thanks to the labours of Cardinal Moran among the Roman Archives, we have been enabled to give an accurate account of the succession of our bishops at this period. Owing to the many Bishops named John, who succeeded each other with such unusual rapidity in a few years, it is little wonder that Ware, whom succeeding writers blindly followed, was unable to give anything but a most defective account of our Episcopate, at the close of the 14th century and beginning of the 15th. The *Catalogue* omits all the preceding Bishops, beginning with Thomas Peverell, except John Vulcan, of whom it writes:

"A.D. 405. Nov. 5th, Died John Vulcan, Bishop of Ossory, who for six years, after the manner of a good shepherd, governed the church of Ossory by word and example."

[1] *Pat. Rolls.*
[2] *Pat. Rolls*, 7 Hen. IV.

Thomas Snell (1407-17).

On the 18th November, 1405, a *congé d'elire* was granted by the King to the Dean and Chapter of Ossory, to elect a Bishop in place of John, deceased. The result of their election is not known, but probably Thomas Snell, who next succeeded to the Episcopate, was the object of their choice. Dr. Snell was Archdeacon of Glendalough, and was thence promoted to the See of Waterford and Lismore, in 1399. His translation to Ossory took place before Oct. 1st, 1407, at which date his successor in the See of Waterford undertook to pay the usual tax to the Camera Apostolica. During his Episcopate the Council of Constance was held ; and we learn from the Acts of the Council, that William Purcell took part in its sessions as "Proxy of Thomas, Bishop of Ossory," at the beginning of 1416. He was still living May 23rd, 1417, but died before the end of that year.[1] The *Catalogue* has:

"A.D. 413. On the 16th day of October, died Thomas Snell, who presented to the Cathedral church a new mitre set with precious stones, pontifical gloves and sandals, and a fair silken cope interwoven with gold."

Patrick Ragged or Foxe (1417-21).

The Consistorial Acts, on the 15th Dec., 1417, register the translation of "Patrick, Bishop of Cork, to the See of Ossory, vacant by the death of Bishop Thomas." Patrick had been Dean of Cork and, in the two Briefs appointing him to that See and dated Oct. 14th and 24th, 1409, is styled Patrick Foxe. On the other hand the *Catalogue* gives his name as Patrick Ragged. He took part in the Sessions of the Council of Constance as Bishop of Cork, and subsequently as Bishop of Ossory. On the 11th January, 1418, he was appointed Collector of the taxes of the Camera Apostolica in Ireland. He was, writes Cotton, a man esteemed for his piety, learning, and diligence in the duties of his spiritual office.[2] He died, April 20th, 1421. In the *Catalogue* we read :

"A.D, 1421. April 20th, Died Patrick Ragged, Bishop of Ossory, who ruled his clergy and people five years with justice and piety, feeding them both by word and example."

Denis O'Dea (1421-26).

His Brief of appointment to Ossory, vacant "per obitum Patricii," is dated July 4th, 1421 ; and at the same time a dispensation was granted him in regard to age "should such dispensation be found necessary." Bishop O'Dea was Precentor

[1] *Red Book of Ossory.*
[2] *Fasti.*

of Limerick, on the 3rd February, 1415, when he received the King's permission to absent himself from Ireland for five years, while prosecuting his studies at Oxford or Cambridge. His studies in England were not unfruitful, as he became "Bachelor of the Civil and Canon Laws," and acquired great skill "in the municipal laws of his own country."[1] He was still living in June, 1425. On the 12th Dec., 1426, custody of the temporalities of the See of Ossory was granted to Thomas Stacy and Geoffry Mayowe, which shows that Bishop O'Dea had just then departed this life. The *Catalogue* has:

"A.D. 1429. Nov. 26th. The venerable Father Denis, Bachelor of both Laws, and skilled in the municipal law, is elected Bishop of Ossory with the full recommendation of the spiritual and temporal authorities of Ireland, but the time of his death and place of interment are unknown."

Thomas Barry (1427-60).

He was Bachelor in Civil and Canon Law, and was appointed Bishop of Ossory in the Consistory of Feb. 19th, 1427. His consecration took place previous to July 4th, 1427. He was appointed Treasurer of Ireland on the 1st January, 1429, at a salary of 5s. *per diem*, but vacated that office ere the 4th of May, 1442, when the King ordered £10 to be paid to Thomas, Bishop of Ossory, late Treasurer of Ireland "as a reward for his good services past and to come."[2] He held the See for 33 years and died March 3rd, 1459-60. The *Catalogue* has the following particulars regarding him:

"A.D. 1459, March 3rd. Thomas Barre, Bishop of Ossory, who for 37 years happily shone in the episcopal office, strengthening the church, departed to the Lord. This Prelate of good memory built a castle and hall in the manor of [Bishop's] Loghe. He also granted to the Collegiate Vicars of St. Canice's, for the souls of his predecessors and successors, 4 marks to be paid out of Le Marshall's Lands. He was interred, with all solemnity, in the choir of St. Canice's, before the high altar."

David Hacket (1460-78).

The Pontifical Archives preserve the record that David Hacket, formerly Prior of the Augustinian Monastery of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, at Athassel, in the Diocese of Cashel, was advanced by Pope Pius II., to the See of Ossory, vacant by the demise of its late Bishop, and that he was duly consecrated at Rome in the year 1460.[3] His name appears on the lists of the Camera Apostolica on the 14th of July, 1460, as "Episcopus Ossoriensis Electus." Bishop Hacket was an architect of distinction, one of the best known specimens of his skill now remaining

[1] Ware.
[2] *Close Rolls*, 20 Hen. VI.
[3] *Regest, Paul II.*, tom., p. 191.

being the groining or vaulting of the tower of St. Canice's Cathedral. He died October 24th, 1478, and is buried in St. Canice's. In the *Catalogue* we find :

"A.D. 1478. Oct. 24th. The venerable Father David Hacked, Bishop of Ossory, who exercised the pastoral office in that See 18 years, fell asleep in the Lord. This Father of happy memory built the castle of [Ballina-] Bole[y], the hall and kitchen of Clonmore, and the arch of the bell-tower of St. Canice's Church, Kilkenny. He also united the Church of Ballybur, at the instance and petition of the principal patron of said church, to the College of the Vicars of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny. This most praiseworthy Prelate was buried in the choir of St. Canice's, at the highest step in front of the high altar."

John O'Hayden (1479-87).

John O'Heyden, whose name is also written O'hedyan, O'Hedian, Hidian, &c., (in Irish, O h-Eitigein, pronounced *O'Haedeen*), was promoted to Ossory, "vacant by the demise of its late Bishop," in the Consistory of January 15th, 1479, and was consecrated in Rome on the 21st of February following, in the church of St. Tryphon, by Benedict, Archbishop of Mitylene, "assistentibus sibi Stephano Brichi, Episcopo Antibarensi et Stephano, Sagiensi Episcopo." The new Bishop was long connected with Cashel and Ossory, having been appointed Archdeacon of both Dioceses, by Pope Nicholas V., about the year 1450, an appointment subsequently confirmed by Pope Pius II., on the 8th January, 1460. After many years however, he was deprived of the Archdeaconry of Ossory, as appears from the Papal Rescripts copied by Bliss, in which we find that on the 3rd Sept., 1471, Peter Cantwell, Clerk, was appointed Archdeacon of Ossory vacant "per privationem Johannis Ohedian quondam Archidiaconi" ; and that, on the 22nd Feb., 1472, Cantwell was succeeded as Archdeacon by Richard Stakbol. Soon after, O'Hayden was again restored to the Archdeaconry of Ossory, and is found, besides, filling the post of Collector of the Taxes of the Camera Apostolica in Ireland, as Bliss's extracts from the Papal Rescripts thus testify :

"Die XIII. mensis Augusti 1476. Venerabilis viri Dom. Joh. Hedian, Ossoriensis et Cassilensis Archidiaconus, ac fructuum et proventuum Camere Apostolice debitorum per totam Hiberniam collector, et Tadeus Obrin, Rector parrochialis ecclesie de Diruach [Durrow] Ossoriensis diocesis et principalis, &c., obligaverunt se Camere Apostolice nomine domini Willelmi Odowogyn, clerici Laouiensis diocesis pro annata prioratus Monasterii, per priorem soliti gubernari, Sancti Rerani [*i.e.*, Kierani], Fortheragh [*i.e.*, Fertagh] Ordinis S. Augustini, Ossoriensis diocesis, cuius fructus 20 march. sterl. &c. vacantis per devolutionem ad Romanam Curiam, &c."

Bishop O'Hayden died in the month of January, 1487 (or 1486. *Old Style*). The *Catalogue* has the following entry :

"A.D. 1486 [ ] day of January, died John Hidian, Bishop of Ossory, who like a good pastor governed with the greatest care, for eight years, the church committed to him. He was buried in St. Kenny's Church, in a chapel near the western door of the same church."

Dr. de Burgo, on the authority of various historians of the Dominican Order

writes that Richard Winchelsey of the said Order was appointed Bishop of Ossory in the year 1479; and that, as such, he was admitted to special religious privileges of the Order in 1481. Other writers, however, call him not Episcopus Ossoriensis, but "Episcopus Ollonensis," and others, again, style him "Episcopus Ossonensis." Whatever See Dr. Winchelsey occupied, it is plain, from the Consistorial Records cited above, that he cannot have been Bishop of Ossory.

Oliver Cantwell (1487-1527).

Oliver Cantwell, a Dominican Friar, was promoted to the See of Ossory by Pope Innocent VIII., on the 27th March, 1487. The Bull of his appointment is printed by De Burgo in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 478. It was only, however, on the 28th Feb., 1496, that the King restored the temporalities of the See "to Oliver Cantwell, whom the late Pope Innocent appointed Bishop of Ossory, the See being vacant by the death of John Hedian."[1] In the record of a Provincial Synod, held in Dublin, in 1494, he is styled "the Dean of the Province" which, writes Cardinal Moran, "was probably meant to indicate an honorary precedence accorded to his See, as he otherwise, with one exception, was the junior among the Bishops assembled in the Synod." He died January 9th, 1527, (*New Style*) having almost completed the 40th year of his episcopate. In the *Catalogue*, the writer of which must have been his contemporary, are recorded the following interesting facts relating to Bishop Cantwell:

"A.D. 1526, and on the 9th day of January, died Oliver Cantwell, of the Order of Preachers, Bishop of Ossory, who, although raised to the Episcopal dignity, still never laid aside the religious habit till his death. This most excellent man built a castle in the manor of Aghore, at the head of the hall there, and another castle in Frenistone. He also fully and firmly repaired the larger bridge, in the Irish-towne of Kilkenny, to a great extent broken down in the middle by the floods. He also united the Church of St. Maul's to the college of the Vicars of St. Canice's Church, Kilkenny, at the instance of James Shortall, then Prebendary of Kilmanagh and afterwards Prior of [the Abbey of] St. John the Evangelist, Kilkenny. This pious Prelate fell asleep in Christ at a very advanced age, after he had completed 39 [years] in the Episcopate, and was buried in the Abbey of the Friars Preachers, Kilkenny, near the high altar."

[1] *Pat. Rolls*, II., Hen. VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

BISHOPS OF OSSORY DURING THE 16th CENTURY.

MILO BARON, OTHERWISE FITZGERALD (1528-50).

HE was a member of the Baron, or Fitzgerald, family of Brownsford and Cloone, long prominent among our Co. Kilkenny gentry. He had studied at Oxford; had embraced the Order of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine; and had presided for some years as Prior over the Augustinian Priory of Inistioge. In 1527 he was nominated to this See by the King, but did not receive his appointment from the Pope till the 8th June, 1528, as we learn from the following Consistorial entry:

"Die 8° Junii, 1528, ad relationem R. D. P. Cardinalis de Cesis, Sua Sanctitas providit Ecclesiae Ossoriensi in Hibernia, vacanti per obitum Oliverii, extra Romanam Curiam defuncti, de persona viri religiosi, Milonis Baron Prioratus S. Columbae Abbatis de Ynystyok, ordinis S. Augustini, cum retentione dicti prioratus."

He received, at the same time, a special Brief authorising him to retain the revenues of his former Priory. Soon after he paid the Camera Apostolica a portion of the Diocesan tax, as the following record shows:

"Dicta die (12 Junii, 1528), Dom. Franciscus de Piscia obtulit Camere Apostolice, nomine Reverendi Patris, Domini Millonis, Electi Ossoriensis, pro communi dicte ecclesie ratione provisionis et prefectionis de persona sua eidem ecclesie, per bullas Domini Clementis Pope VII., sub data sexto Idus Junii, anno quinto, auctoritate apostolica facte, florenos auri de Camera ducentos, ad quos dicta ecclesia in libris Camere Apostolice taxata reperitur; et quinque minuta servitia consueta, eorumdem autem communis et minutorum servitiorum medietatem infra sex menses proximos, aliam vero medietatem infra alias sex menses extunc immediate sequentes solvere promisit, submisit, &c., constituit, &c., juravit, &c., et se in pleniori forma Camere obligavit. Dicta die bulle dicte Ecclesie fuerunt date prefato Domino Francisco, quia, solvit omnia jura Camere et Collegii, patet per cedulas depositariorum." [1]

[1] Bliss's *MSS.*

He continued to hold the Priory of Inistioge *in commendam*, from the time of his consecration till the year 1540, when, by the decree of Henry VIII., all the religious houses in his dominions were suppressed, their superiors compelled to resign their offices, and their communities turned out of doors. Even now, after more than three centuries, when the mind goes back and dwells on the countless evils caused at the time to the poor, the country and religion, by the wholesale edict of Suppression promulgated by a ruthless King and carried out unmercifully by his satellites, it is not easy for the Catholic heart to remain unmoved. What then must have been the grief and anguish of Bishop Milo and his brethren of the Irish Episcopate, their clergy and their flocks, who were even eye-witnesses of this "desolation of desolation" in the holy places?

Dr. Baron died at an advanced age, in 1550, sometime between June and Sept. 27th, the many religious evils of those days, no doubt, bringing down his grey hairs in sorrow to the grave. He is thus noticed by the *Catalogue :*

"A.D., 1550. Died Milo Baron, otherwise Fitzgerald, Bishop of Ossory. He was in early life made Prior of the Canons Regular at Inisteake, where he devoted himself daily and incessantly to many labours and works, which it would be too long even to enumerate. He built there, at no small expense, a new bell-tower and a new cloister. Having been afterwards chosen for the Episcopal dignity, his whole study [therein] was to make the good deeds that went before, hold only a second place to those that followed ; for, at his happy coming, he gave the church of St. Canice the beautiful marble table placed on the high altar ; he gave the same church a silver pastoral staff ; and he erected 'unum ligmentum solium sive cubularium' in the New Court, at Kilkenny. In the time of this Milo was effected, in Ireland and England, the suppression of all the religious, both men and women, out of whose abbeys and houses many splendid and extensive edifices have been constructed in city and towns. This pious and gentle pastor, beloved of God and man, full of good days, died, after a life of 23 years in the Episcopate, and was buried in the tomb of his forefathers, in the Abbey of Inistioke."

On the death of Bishop Baron, the See of Ossory remained vacant for some years. King Henry VIII. died in 1547, and was succeeded by his son, Edward VI. The counsellors of the new King were all favourers of the Reformation, and were determined to spare no effort to make its doctrines the religion of the State. The vacancy in Ossory afforded them such an opportunity as they wished for, and after full deliberation they appointed thereto John Bale, one of the most active and zealous of the Reformed Churchmen.

Bale was born in Suffolk, England, in 1495, and early in life became a religious of the Carmelite Order. On the spread of the Reformation he quitted his monastery, abandoned the Catholic Faith, took to himself a wife, and, being a man of some talent, was soon reckoned among the chief Reformers of England. On the 1st Feb., 1553, he was appointed to the See of Ossory by King Edward VI. He was consecrated in the same month, at Christ Church, Dublin, according to the Protestant rite, as set forth in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., by Brown, the apostate Archbishop of Dublin. This form of consecration has been definitively declared to

be invalid, by the late Decree of Pope Leo XIII.; and hence it follows that Bale was never a validly consecrated Bishop, and that he can have no place whatever among the Catholic Bishops of our ancient See.

Immediately after his consecration, Bale set out for Ossory, where, during the next six months, he enjoyed the temporalities of the See, and with them, as he writes, "great peace"; but he adds, that in preaching the reformed tenets, "helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number." Bishop Rothe, who calls him a "shameless ruffian," (*impudicus ganeo*), writes that he tore down and defaced all the statues and pictures of the Saints to be found in the Cathedral of St. Canice, except those depicted on the stained glass of the great eastern window ("et cum impudicus ganeo, Johannes Balaeus, confregisset et violasset quascunque reperire poterat sanctorum statuas et effigies, ab his, tamen, fenestris, tam ipse quam alii post ipsum invasores Episcopi manus violentas continuerunt").

But though Bale's reforming zeal could affect the material images of Christ and his Saints, it could not reach the hearts of the Catholics of Ossory, who looked upon him, not as their chief pastor and shepherd, but as a wolf in sheep's clothing. His stay among them was short. King Edward VI. died July 6th, 1553. He was succeeded by the Catholic Queen Mary, whose first and greatest concern was to re-establish, throughout her dominions, the old Faith, with all its rights and privileges. The accession of the new sovereign was hailed with the greatest joy in Kilkenny. Bale writes:

"On the 30th day o August [1553], was the Lady Mary with us proclaimed Queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the greatest ceremony that could be devised of processions, musters, and disguisings, all the noble captains and gentlemen thereabout being present. What ado I had that day with the prebendaries and priests about wearing the cope, crosier, and mitre in procession, it were much to write."

On Thursday, the last day of August, the clergy and people of the Diocese assembled at St. Canice's Cathedral, to make open profession of their Faith, the public exercise of which had been prohibited for the preceding six years. On this occasion, writes Bale:

"They rang all the bells in that Cathedral [of St. Canice], minister and parish churches; they flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple; they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy water stocks crosses and censers; they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously all the town over, with *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis,* and the rest of the Latin Litany. They chattered and chaunted it with great noise and devotion; they banqueted it all the day after; for that day they were delivered by the grace of God into a warm sun."

Bale's troubles had now only begun: worse were to follow. While staying at the Episcopal mansion at Uppercourt, a few days later, he sent out his servants to save hay in one of the adjoining fields, on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed

Virgin, then a holiday of strict obligation. This public violation of the festival day and deliberate insult to the Mother of God, so exasperated the people of the locality that, unable to control their indignation, they rushed upon the haymakers and slew them on the spot. Bale himself they would have treated in the same manner had he not sought safety behind the iron gates of Uppercourt castle.

That same evening a guard of 100 horsemen and 300 infantry was sent from Kilkenny, under the command of Robert Shee, the Sovereign, to his relief; and by their means he was conducted in safety to the town. During the night a party of the townspeople, headed by one Barnaby Bolger, surrounded his house, threatening him with death unless he rid their town of his undesirable presence; and it was only by the interposition of the Sovereign and the troops at his command, that the commotion was partially quelled. Next morning, at dawn, Bale fled from Kilkenny, never to return, and made his way in all haste to Dublin; but finding new dangers awaiting him in the capital, he betook himself thence to the Continent. Though he afterwards returned to England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he never sought to be re-instated in Ossory, of which, it is clear, he must have preserved not over-pleasant recollections. He died at Canterbury in Nov., 1563.

John O'Tonory (1554-65).

John O'Tonory, a Bachelor of Theology and Canon Regular of St. Augustine, was appointed Bishop of Ossory by Queen Mary, in the first year of her reign. The *conge d'elire*, or Royal licence, for his election, was issued Dec. 26th, 1553, and the mandate for his consecration on the 31st of the same month. He was consecrated at Inistioge within the next three months. His appointment to the See, by the Crown, without the sanction of the Pope, was irregular and uncanonical, but his consecration being valid and according to the Catholic rite, he was absolved from all censures by Cardinal Pole, and duly confirmed in the See. The *Catalogue* gives the following particulars of his Episcopate:

"A.D. 1553. Roland Baron, Archbishop of Cashel, and John Tonory, Bishop of Ossory, were consecrated at Inistyoke, in the same year and place. Bishop John was the child of respectable parents dwelling at Kilkenny, and was well versed in the sacred and profane sciences. In the second year of his Episcopate the aforesaid Prelate effected the restoration of all the former privileges of the Church of Ossory; [he] also [secured the preservation] of its charters [by transcribing] as well the ancient ones as those that had been partially obliterated, and confirmed and ratified anew all and every of them, by affixing his greater seal. In the time of the same Prelate, while the most noble and happy Queen Mary, Defender of the Faith, reigns in England, peace is given to the Church, and it enjoys all its ancient privileges, power, and immunities; and there was much rejoicing [arising therefrom] among the clergy and people; [and] the rich and the poor, the old and the young, glorified and praised God and his servant, Queen Mary, with hymns and canticles, with dancing and processions of triumph through the alleys and streets of the cities and towns, and offered their congratulations to the Church on its restoration to peace. About the time aforesaid, there were established by the Dean and Chapter, in the [Cathedral] Church of Ossory, to serve God and St. Canice there for ever four [choristers], for

whose support, in the College of the Vicars Choral, the church of Desard-in-Dogh was united to same. And this John lived in the Episcopate twelve years, and after him the See was vacant about two years."

The interest taken by Dr. O'Tonory in the ancient records of the Diocese, and his anxiety to hand them down uninjured to posterity, are enough to show that the same fascination which the study of their country's history possessed for so many of his successors in the See of Ossory, was not unfelt by him. The *Catalogue of the Bishops of Ossory*, so often quoted in the preceding pages, may (with the exception of the entry dealing with John Bale,) be very probably attributed to his pen.[1]

Non-Catholic writers sometimes assert that after the death of Queen Mary, Bishop O'Tonory acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of her successor, the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, because he was *summoned* to a Parliament held at Dublin, in 1560, in which the Act of the Queen's supremacy was passed. But there is no proof that Dr. O'Tonory *attended* that Parliament ; and even though he was present at it, there is nothing whatever to show that his vote was cast for the passing of the said Act. Another argument in favour of his apostacy might be grounded on the fact that on the 9th of June, 1564, " John, Bishop of Ossorie," was appointed on a Royal Commission " for the exercise of the Queen's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in the counties of Catherlagh, Waterford, Kilkenny, Cork, Kiery, Lymerick and Tipperary, with power to correct heresies and other offences subject to that jurisdiction, and to administer to all persons there, as may seem good to them, the Oath of Supremacy." But, here again, there is no proof that Dr. O'Tonory, though appointed, ever acted on this Commission ; nor does the fact of his being appointed thereon prove his subserviency to the Queen in religious matters, as he had joined with him on the Commission such staunch Catholics as Gerald, Earl of Desmond, James, Viscount Barrymore, David, Viscount Roche, Richard, Viscount Mountgarret, Edmund Butler, Baron of Dunboyne, the Mayors of Waterford, Cork, Limerick and Youghall, Sir Pierse Butler of Cahir, &c., and, above all, Hugh Lacy, Bishop of Limerick, " who never bent knee to Baal," and who was deprived of his See for non-conformity by Queen Elizabeth, in 1571.

Indeed our Bishop's orthodoxy, at this period, is placed beyond any doubt, by the Queen's Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, who, writing on the 16th March, 1563-4, declare that " here are two good [*i.e.* reformed] Bishops [viz. those] of Armagh and Meath ; their lives be unblamed, and their diligence in preaching worthy to be commended, especially Meath ; the Chancellor [*i.e.* Curwen of Dublin] is civil and conformable, and will do as he seemeth what authority shall command. The *rest of the Bishops*, as we hear, *be all Irish ; we need say no more*."[2]

[1] See p. 28.

[2] *Shirley*, p. 140.

For Catholics, the strongest proof of Dr. O'Tonory's orthodoxy is found in his being regarded by Rome as a true and faithful Bishop of Ossory, up to the time of his death. That Rome regarded him as such, appears from the Papal Brief which appoints his successor, John Strong, to the See of Ossory vacant "for several years by the death of the Most Rev. John Othoneri, its last Bishop"; and also from the Consistorial Acts by which the same Dr. Strong was appointed Bishop of Ossory, vacant "per obitum *bon. mem.* Joannis, ultimi Episcopi."

Bishop O'Tonory is charged with having "sadly wasted the patrimony of the See, by granting fee-farm leases of his manors and other possessions, at inconsiderable rents"; and, he is particularly charged with having in this manner disposed of the see-lands of Aghoure, or Freshford, and Freneystown, or Tascoffin, to Sir Richard Shee. The charge is, however, baseless, certainly as far as the particular cases mentioned are concerned; for Freshford was granted away from the See, not by John O'Tonory, but by the Protestant Bishop, Christopher Gaffney, who, on the 8th June, 1570, had the Queen's Licence "to alien with consent of his chapter, to Richard Sheth of Kilkenny, gent., the manor of Aghoure and Omescourte *alias* Uppercourt, Co. Kilkenny; to be held for ever in fee-farm, at a rent of £10 English to the Bishop."[1] The manor of Tascoffin or Freneystown was alienated by John Horsfall, another Protestant Bishop, January 31st, 1586-7.[2]

Cardinal Moran and others maintain that Dr. O'Tonory was never recognised as *legal* Bishop of Ossory, by the Government of Queen Elizabeth: but his appointment on a Royal Commission as "John, Bishop of Ossorie," in 1564, the year before his death, shows that he was so recognised. The question then naturally suggests itself: Why, if true to the Catholic Faith, was he not deprived of his See by the Queen, as she had already, in 1560, deprived the great Catholic champions, William Walsh, Bishop of Meath, and Thomas Leverous, Bishop of Kildare? The answer is, that, during the first years of her reign, the Queen's authority, although nominally extending throughout Ireland, was in reality confined to the Counties of Dublin, Kildare and Meath; and she was too astute not to foresee that any serious interference on her part with the Bishops beyond the Pale, would then have raised a storm she could not easily allay, and would retard, rather than promote, the spread of the Reformation, which she had so much at heart.

Bishop O'Tonory died in the year 1565, some time previous to October 25th;[3] and on the 4th of December, 1566, Queen Elizabeth appointed Christopher Gaffney to be Protestant Bishop of Ossory.

[1] *Fiants* of Elizab.
[2] *Inquis.* 95, Chap. I.
[3] *Fiants* of Elizabeth.

Thomas Strong (1582-1602).

After Bishop O Tonory's death, the Diocese was vacant seventeen years, as, owing to the spread of Elizabeth's power in this country, and the persecution that followed in its wake, the Holy See did not think it prudent, for some time, to appoint Bishops to Ossory and other vacant Dioceses. During all this period, however, our Diocese was directed by zealous priests, who steered the bark of Ossory's Faith successfully through the storms raised by those who would fain engulph her beneath the waves of heresy and infidelity. At length a chief pastor was given to the long widowed See, in the person of John Strong, in the year 1582.

Dr. Strong,[1] whose name is also written Stronge, Strang and Strange, was a native of the city of Waterford and was born in 1547. His family were of some antiquity and of high respectability in the "Urbs Intacta," to which they supplied several of its chief Magistrates from the 15th century onwards. It is mentioned in a Consistorial document relating to his appointment to the Episcopate of Ossory, that Dr. Strong's brother had considerable power and influence in this Diocese. The accuracy of the Roman record is well confirmed by the *Inquisitions* of the Co. Kilkenny, in which we find that Paul Strange of the City of Waterford, who died Nov. 22nd, 1617 (leaving a son and heir, Peter Strange, then 39 years old and married), was at the time of his death seised of the townlands of Portnahelly, Aglish, Ballicaghsowst, Knockligan, Ballynemony, Coulsilly, Balliloge, Graing, Cloneoshelan, Ballinrilly, Cullentra and Russelstown, all in the Co. Kilkenny. From the same source we learn that Edward Stronge, who died June 1st, 1621, leaving, with other children, a son and heir Richard Stronge, was seised, at the time of his death, of the manor of Dunkitt, including the townlands of Dunkitt, Flemingstowne, Ardbeg, Grogan and Ballydavid, Ballegulleby, Rogerstown, Ballyfyn, otherwise Ballini (now Balline), Breanill (now Brenar) and Moneen, Ballybrassell, Kilmoskilleg, Galstown, otherwise Carrycaman, with several other townlands, all likewise in Co. Kilkenny.

Having received his early education in his native city, Dr. Strong proceeded thence to the Continent, where he spent several years in the Colleges of France and Spain, and secured the coveted degree of Doctor of Divinity. In a Vatican list of the "Priests studying on the Continent," drawn up in 1579, his name occurs thus: "Thomas Strong, living in Paris, and aged 32 years"; and in another Vatican list, of about the same date, of "Priests who are faithfully labouring in Ireland or who could, without difficulty, be transferred to the mission there," he is mentioned

[1] Irish speakers pronounce this name *Sthraoung* (a monosyllable).

as " D. Thomas Strong, Waterfordiensis," and the note is added " hic tenet utramque linguam Anglicam et Hibernicam, sed melius Anglicam."

In the Consistory of March 28th, 1582, being present at Rome, he was nominated to Ossory, vacant " per obitum bon. mem. Joannis, ultimi Episcopi." [1]

The Vatican Library preserves the following official record drawn up preparatory for the Consistory, by the Cardinal Protector of Ireland :

" Propositio Ecclesiae Ossoriensis facta in Consistorio, 29 Martii, 1582.
" Illustrissime et Reverendissime Domine.
" In proximo futuro Consistorio, Ego, Nicholaus de Pelluno, Cardinalis Senonensis, Protector Hyberniae, proponam Ecclesiam Ossoriensem in ea parte Hyberniae quae dicitur Lagenia, in provincia Dublinensi.
" Ecclesia praedicta est sub invocatione Sancti Canici, Abbatis ; habet Canonicos et Capellanos ; pulchrae et honestae est structurae ; res habens pro cultu divino necessarias.
" Dioecesis magna est et extensa ad 40 miliaria Hybernica, et incolae fere omnes sunt haeretici.
" De fructibus nihil testes certi sciunt ob bella jam ferventia in dicta dioecesi, sed taxantur in libro Camerae Apostolicae ad 200 florenos.
" Vacat a pluribus annis per obitum Reverendissimi D. Johannis Othoneri ultimi illius Episcopi in dicta dioecesi defuncti ; licet per potentiam et tirannidem praetensae Reginae Angliae ad praesens reperiatur intrusus quidam Nicolaus Walsh schismaticus.
" R.D. Thomas Strong, promovendus, est Hybernus, presbyter Waterfordiensis dioecesis, aetatis circiter annorum 35, praesens in Curia, idoneus natalibus, vita et conversatione, Doctor Theologus ; gratissimus erit Principibus Catholicis et populo Ossoriensi propter ejus fratrem qui potens est, habetque multum jurisdictionis in dioecesi dicta Ossoriensi, et alios ejus amicos et fautores.
" Emisit professionem fidei in manibus meis. Petitur expeditio gratis attenta exiguitate fructuum et qualitate personae promovendae, more Hibernico."

A few days after his appointment to Ossory, Dr. Strong was consecrated in Rome, on the 5th of April. He was anxious to proceed at once to his Diocese, but the crushing disasters that had just then befallen the Irish Catholic Confederate cause, under the Earl of Desmond, made him pause for a while on the way, ere exposing himself and his flock to the penalties then meted out by Elizabeth's minions to all Catholic ecclesiastical dignitaries, especially Bishops, as well as to their supporters and maintainers. In the Summer of 1583 we meet with him in Lisbon, under the assumed name of Philip FitzThomas, but in the following Autumn he succeeded in landing, in disguise, on the Munster coast. During his brief stay in his Diocese, " he endured very many and great hardships for the Catholic Faith and the Church " (" qui dum in hac sua patria degisset Catholicae Fidei causa et Ecclesiae permulta et gravissima a persecutoribus sustulit.") [2]

After less than a year's ministration among his afflicted, but devoted, flock, he was forced to fly from his native land —never to see it again— previous to the 29th Oct., 1584. At this date, Dr. Cornelius O'Mulryan, Bishop of Killaloe, in a letter to the Holy See, writes : " Thomas vero Ossoriensis Episcopus mansit in Hibernia aliquot mensibus, in habitu saeculari, tandem contulit se ex Hibernia ad

[1] *Consistorial Acts*, Corsini Library, Rome.
[2] *Triumphalia Sanctæ Crucis*, p. 84.

Hispaniam." Dr. Strong spent the remaining years of his life in the Archdiocese of Compostella, where he discharged the duties of the Episcopal office as Auxiliary of the Archbishop, and was appointed Dean of the Chapter of that ancient See.

He died at the age of 55 years, on the 20th Jan., 1601-2, "and was buried in the Cloister of the Cathedral church dedicated to St. James, under a noble marble monument, which I have seen, with the escutcheon of the Strongs carved on it." ("Demum anno Domini 1601, Januarii die 20° obiit, atque in claustro Cathedralis ecclesiae Divo Jacobo consecratae, sub marmoreo lapide—uti vidi cum Strangorum stemmate inciso—terrae traditur.") [1]

Fifty-two years later the vaults of the same Cathedral were opened to receive the remains of his illustrious nephew, Most Rev. Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, who died at Compostella, May 5th, 1654, in the 66th year of his age, and 28th of his consecration.

[1] *Triumphalia Sanctae Crucis*, p. 84.

CHAPTER IX.

VACANCY OF THE SEE (1602-1618).

DURING his exile Dr. Strong ruled the Diocese through his Vicars General, as appears from a letter written in January, 1590, by Walter Brehin, chaplain of the Conde de Fuentas, to Darbye McCraghe, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and intercepted by the agents of Queen Elizabeth:—"As concerning our country Bishops—the Lord Bishop of Ossory is at Santiago de Compostella. . . . . The Bishops of Limerick and Ross have agreed to the request I made in your behalf. You may confess and confirm in their Dioceses and no more, because they have no more faculties. The Lord Bishop of Ossory *left one behind to do for him*." [1] After Dr. Strong's death the See was vacant for 16 years, during which its spiritual interests were also intrusted to zealous Vicars.

GEORGE POWER, the V.G., *left behind to do for* Dr. Strong, in 1584, has the merit of being the first martyr—at least the first on record—of the church of Ossory, since the introduction of the Reformation. In 1592, he and another priest were residing at Kilkenny, according to a list of Irish Bishops and priests presented to the government in that year, thus:—"Sir George Power, preist, dwelling at Kilkenny," and "Sir Patrick Oholen, preist, dwelling with Robt. Rothe at Kilkenny." [2] Two years later Dr. Power was a prisoner for the Faith in Dublin Castle,[3] where, during the five following years he endured a lingering martyrdom, till death opened to him the gates of eternal life in the year 1599. Molanus in his *Idea*, p. 71, thus writes of Dr. Power:

"This priest was a native of Kilkenny, and Vicar General of the Diocese of Ossory. When old

[1] *State Papers*, Elizabeth, cl. 15.
[2] *Rawlinson MSS.*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, C. 98, fol. 29.
[3] Bruodin's *Propugnaculum*.

and decrepit, he was taken to Dublin by order of the Queen [Elizabeth], to answer for professing the Catholic religion. In the public court he made open profession of the Catholic Faith. He was, in consequence, thrown into prison where he suffered much. While a prisoner he exchanged this life of woe for eternal bliss in the year 1599."

Bishop Rothe, his contemporary, writes of him as follows:

"George Poer, a priest of Kilkenny, and Vicar General of the Diocese of Ossory, being brought to Dublin, in his old age, to stand his trial for professing the Catholic Faith, made a good confession of same before the public court; and being cast into prison, where he endured many hardships, he departed this miserable life, while still in chains, about the year 1599." (Georgius Poerus, Kilkenniensis Sacerdos & Vicarius Generalis Dioecesis Ossoriensis, in aetate senili Dublinum pertractus pro fide Catholica responsurus, bonam fecit confessionem coram publico Tribunali; coniectus in ergastulum & miseriis oppletus, aerumnosam vitam cum morte, in vinculis, commutavit, anno circiter, 1599.[1]

William Brenan was the next V.G. In a document of March 16th, 1607-8, preserved among the Trinity College MSS., he is mentioned as "Sir Wm. Brenan, vicar g.rall titulary of Ossery." Resigning the Vicariate in 1609, he entered the Franciscan Order. He was known in religion as Father Bernard. A MS. of St. Isidore's, Rome, written in 1617, says of him, that "he was a priest and a theologian, and for some years (aliquot annis) held the post of Vicar General of the Diocese of Ossory, during the vacancy of the See, but at length renouncing that dignity and the other titles which he enjoyed, he voluntarily assumed the habit of St. Francis, in the year 1609; he died soon after whilst engaged in preaching at the Downs in Flanders."

During Dr. Brenan's charge of the Diocese, Queen Elizabeth was called to her account, on the 24th March, 1603. The news of her death was not received in Kilkenny till the 9th of the following month. When it became known that the royal persecutor was no more, and that her place was to be filled by James, the son of the matryred Queen of Scots, the Irish Catholics, believing that the day of their religious emancipation had at length come, were filled with joy. They everywhere took possession of the churches out of which themselves or their fathers had been driven, and which, during the last forty years, had been almost all appropriated to Protestant rite and ceremonial. That the Catholics of Ossory did not lag behind their co-religionists, on this occasion, there is abundant proof. No sooner had they recovered their churches than they took immediate steps to have them purified and re-consecrated. For this purpose they put themselves in communication with Dr. James White, the Vicar Apostolic of Waterford. The result may be learned from a letter written by Dr. White at Rome, July 25th, 1604, in which he says that, after purifying St. Patrick's Church and the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Waterford, on the 11th and 12th of April, 1603,

"Messengers and deputations speedily arrived from various cities and towns, begging me to go and reconcile their desecrated churches, for there were very few in the Kingdom at that time invested

[1] Rothe's *Analecta*, new edition, p. 387.

with faculties to purify a church. I consented with all my heart by purifying personally with my own hands as many churches as I could visit, and by granting faculties to several of my clerical brethren to perform the same duty, wherever it was necessary, in several parts of the Kingdom.

"I myself reconciled the following churches :—the beautiful church of St. Patrick, and Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in the City of Waterford ; the churches of Clonmel, in the Diocese of Lismore ; St. Mary's church, in the town of Kilkenny, and, by the ministry of another, St. Patrick's, in the same place ; the monastery of St. Dominick in the Diocese of Ossory ; St. Mary's church, Ross, in the Diocese of Ferns. All the churches of Wexford, in the Diocese of Ferns, were reconciled by the Rev. John Coppinger ; the church of Thomastown, in the Diocese of Ossory, and the churches of Carrick-on-Suir. by the Rev. Thomas Woodlock ; St. Mary's of Dunkitt, in the Diocese of Ossory, by the Revds. William Nangle and Peter Strange. The Rev. Thomas Rachtur reconciled the Metropolitan Church of St. Patrick, in Cashel, and the grand church of the Holy Trinity, at Fethard, in the same Diocese. The Rev. Robert Maigh reconciled the Cathedrals of Cork and Cloyne ; and the Rev. Richard Arthur the Cathedral and all the churches of the city of Limerick. Throughout the entire Kingdom many parochial churches and Franciscan convents were also reconciled at the same time, but for brevity sake I omit to mention them here.

"All these churches, both in the country and cities, and most remarkable towns, were reconciled with the approbation and at the request of all the inhabitants of the respective localities. The service of the church was solemnly and publicly performed in them every day, to the inexpressible consolation and joy of the people.

. . . . . .

"On the eve of the festival of Corpus Christi [1603], I went from Waterford to Kilkenny in order to celebrate that festival with all possible solemnity, because of the immense number of Catholics in that town, and the crowds that flocked thither from all parts of Ireland, to reverence the wood of the Holy Cross on that day. I went by invitation of the citizens, and gladly, for their consolation and the glory of God."

The Black Abbey which, for several years, had been used as a Court House, was also purified at this time by a "seditious friar carrying the name of Edmund Barrie, who forcibly entered the building,"

"A part whereof was converted to a sessions house for the whole county, being accordingly furnished with bars and benches for that use, which he (Barrie) pulled down and therein erected the Mass, and dispossessed him that dwelt in the rest ; which friar being attended by two priests of the like profession, was daily guarded by the commons and attended by the Sovereign of that town, and his brethren in his processions in and about the same, affronted the Earl of Ormond, disobeyed his advice and commandments ; and some also of the higher calling carried a canopy over his head."

The joy of the Catholics of Kilkenny at the restoration of their ancient churches was short-lived, as, after three weeks, the Lord Deputy, Mountjoy, issued strict orders that the churches should again be handed over to the Protestants. He further ordered the citizens to "pull down certain relics of popery which they had put up," in the Black Abbey, and to "reduce the place to the use of a sessions house." The citizens, however, would have nothing to do with secularizing the Black Abbey, and the Lord Deputy, in a letter of the 2nd July (1603), bitterly complains that notwithstanding his orders, "they have made there new additions of idolatrous images and many other idle toys ; and they maintain openly there a friar of great note among the Papists." [1] At length a mandate was issued to Mr. Walter Archer, to carry out the required changes in the Abbey. This Mr.

[1] *Pat.* I., Jas. I.

Archer refused point blank to do, and the consequence was that he was thrown into prison, where he lay for a considerable time. On his liberation, or escape from his gaolers, he found means of conveying himself to the Continent, whence he was soon after called to receive the reward of his constancy, Aug. 24th, in the year 1604. ("Gualterus Archer ciuis Kilkeniensis & armiger, ex primoribus illius vrbis, qui constantiam in fide suam probauit longa carceris fatigatione, quod nollet consentire profanando coenobio Dominicanorum, in eadem vrbe, postquam illud pietate ciuium, mox ab Elizabethae Reginae morte, sacro vsui restitutum fuisset ; in hoc secutus exemplum Marci Arethusii, mortem extorris obiit die 24 mensis Augusti, anno Domini, 1604.")[1]

The loyalty of the Catholics of Ossory to the Faith, at this period, is clearly shown from a letter of John Horsfall, Protestant Bishop of Ossory, dated from Bishopslough, June 8th, 1604, and addressed to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland. This letter, which is all the more valuable as there is enclosed therewith a list of all the priests, secular and regular, then labouring on the mission in the Diocese, is as follows :

"Bishop of Ossory [John Horsfall] to the Deputy and Council of Ireland.

"Pursuant to their letter of the 1st of May, requiring him to certify into the Exchequer by the first of Trinity Term, the names of all impropriate churches within his diocese, he has returned a schedule of them, amounting to the number of 80, to the chief Baron of the Exchequer. There is difficulty in carrying out their order for the repairing of the bodies of Churches by a tax to be raised on the parishes, for the people generally are so misled with superstitious idolatry that they altogether scorn their church censures ; and if he crave temporal assistance for the correction of the contumacious, there is neither sheriff nor other officer that will put those writs in execution, so that without extraordinary commission he will hardly prevail in executing those works. That they may the better imagine the truth of this report, he encloses a catalogue, which shows how many Romish caterpillars abiding in this diocese, prevent the hope of the Lord's harvest ; for even on Sunday last they set their Mass publicly on foot again in their late hallowed abbey in Kilkenny ; which they undertook to the Lord Lieutenant to alter to a session house, as it formerly was. Bishopsloghe, 8th June, 1604. 'Right honorable : there is one Richard Folay in the Irishtown at Kilkenny, who keeps continual Mass in his house, as I am informed ; and whether I will or no, there resorteth to him divers priests and other people of the uptown, very dangerous for affecting that town, which God be praised is yet clear, and nothwithstanding my often admonitions, he obstinately persisteth in the same.

Encloses.

'Priests in the Diocese of Ossory in Ireland. The names of such people, priests, seminaries, and Jesuits, as are in my diocese of Ossory.

Sir John Murphy.
Sir John FitzRobert.
Sir John Power.
Sir Henry Fleminge.
Sir James Joyce [Foyse ?]
Sir John Madygan.
Sir Mortogh Odowly.
Sir Philip Moore.
Sir John Brenan.
Sir Edmond Barrye.
Sir Peter Stronge.
Father Archer (so termed).
Sir Lawrance Reynaghan.
Sir Patrick Harre.
Sir Thomas Brown.
Sir Edward Seixe.
Sir William Lawles.
Sir Pierce Archer.
Sir Luke Archer.
Sir Walter Costegan.
Sir Teige Dungan [Duigan ?]
Sir Donyll O'Foylan.

[1] Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 392.

Sir William Morrin.
Sir William Wogall [Nangle ?]
Sir Patrick Bolger.
Sir Patrick Bowden.
Sir Donyll Gaffney.
Sir Conoghr O'Doran.
Sir William Brenan.
Sir Robert Cantwell.
Endorsed.—'Priests in the Diocese of Ossory in Ireland.'" [1]

With regard to the title *Sir* prefixed to the name of each of the above priests, it is to be borne in mind, that, at this period, it was used in reference to ecclesiastics in the same sense as *Reverend* is used now; originally when so applied it indicated the possession of a University degree.

The following document forwarded by Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council, May 4th, 1608, gives another interesting vista into ecclesiastical affairs in Ossory during Father Brenan's vicariate:

"Intelligence regarding Seminaries and Priests.

"Intelligence of the arrival of many seminaries and priests in Ireland, particularly of 12 Apostles from the Pope.

"Item.—I understand that within these three weeks there arrived at Youghall and in those parts 12 Apostles from the Pope, with special authority and commissions to disturb the peace of this Kingdom; among whom there is one Father Donell O'Kerrnill [*i.e.* Kerruill or Carroll], a Jesuit, the firebrand of Limerick in the last trouble at the late Queen's death, and appointed now for that city, as each of them is appointed for certain corporations to stir them to rebellion.

"Item.—Sir Murtagh Dowley, priest, arrived in their company; by their direction keeps residence at Callan, and goes up and down the town clad in scarlet, as it is said.

"Item.—Further, Dellahide is appointed for Kilkenny, and is now resident there with some other Jesuits and to the number of 16 Popish priests, the chief whereof is Sir William Brenan, Vicar General, and Sir Patrick Hoyne.

"Item.—These two priests last mentioned threatened the Vicar of Callan (as he complained), that if ever they should prevail and get the upper hand they would not spare, as they have done, and gave out withal that they hoped for a general conquest, and hoped that the corporations would now stick to them.

"Item.—At my being at Callan, Mr. Pears Butler fitzEdmond, a professed Catholic, yet of an honest disposition, told me in great secrecy that he could well allow the priests, but did utterly dislike and disallow this swarm of fathers lately come over, being persuaded they came for no good.

"Item.—By the auricular confession of the aforesaid Mr. Pears Butler, made to me at Callan, Sir John Everard's brother, a Jesuit, there resident for the most part, forbade his children in their graces to pray for the King.

"Item.—At my being at Clonmell the 24th of this month, upon the report of the damnable treason and massacre in the Derry, Doctor White, the firebrand of Waterford, Clonmell and those parts, assembled divers priests together in that town, and after consultation departed the town that very night about midnight, severing themselves into divers places, no doubt to stir rebellion.

"Item.—At my being at Cashel I understood that the Popish Archbishop Kearney (who upon every occasion dispatches letters for beyond the seas) resides there, together with his brother, Father Kearney, a Jesuit, and Father Wale, a Jesuit, all born in that town.

"Item.—I understand at my being at Cloghgrenan, from a professed Papist, a gentleman of the Geraldines, that Sir Richard Fowlow, priest, arrived within these two months with new authority from the Pope, and a new holy rood, and that he excommunicates all those that go to the ancient holy rood or the abbey.

"Item.—I understand further that in every corporation the juries that presented recusants by indictment are put to public penance by the Jesuits and priests, and are not yet admitted to be present at their service or sacraments, unless they shall have made full satisfaction for that offence. [*Out of this they refuse now to indict any recusant.*]

"Item.—I found that the bruit of the massacre in the Derry was blazed in the county about Cashell and Clonmell sooner than the Lord Deputy's letters came to the Earl of Ormond."

[1] *State Papers*, Jas. I., vol. i., 280, 281.

"Item.—That upon that report, as many honest subjects affected in religion as I saw in any part where I travelled, assured themselves that, if the State did not provide in time for their safety, they looked to drink of the self-same cup with the Derry; such is the malice of their neighbours.

"Item.—If there be not some straight course taken to cut off these traitorous Jesuits and priests, and to punish their receivers, no sound peace can be expected of any long continuance in this miserable Kingdom."[1]

Some of the Ossory priests mentioned in the records just given, are entered in a list of Irish Ecclesiastics exiled for the Catholic Faith between 1605 and 1621, and maintained by Cardinal de Sourdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux. The following priests of the Diocese occur in this list:

"P. Maurice Oduley, docteur en Theologie, Ossorien.
"P. Jean Archer, Jacobin reformé, Kilkenien.
"P. Jean Joyce, prestre casuiste, Ossorien.
"P. Jean Nicolai, prestre theologien, Ossorien.
"P. Robert Gerrot, recollect, Kilkennien.
"P. Edmund Valsh, cannebit, Kilken.
"F. Thomas Joys, Kilkennien."[2]

Laurence Reinaghan, whose name is also written Reynaghan and Rinachan. was Vicar General from 1609 till his death about 1613. He appears to have been P.P. St. Mary's, Kilkenny; for, on the 3rd November, 1610, and 8th December, 1611, he baptized children of Mr. Nicholas Langton, who belonged to this parish; and, at the former date, his principal maintainer was Mr. Thomas Archer, who was also, most probably, a parishioner of St. Mary's.

Among the MSS. at Trinity College there is a most interesting record of the priests of Kilkenny, city and county, and their principal maintainers, during Dr. Reinaghan's Vicariate. This document, classed E. 3, 15, is but a copy made, in an early 17th century hand, from the original which is lost. It is undated, but it is usually assigned to the year 1613, as there is a note in the margin in which this year is expressly mentioned. From internal evidence, however, it is certain that it must be assigned to an earlier date. It mentions, for instance, "Henry Shee, Esq., *nowe* Maior. of ye citty" [of Kilkenny]. Now Henry Shee was not Mayor of Kilkenny in the year 1613. His Mayoralty took in November 10th, 1610, and February 19th, 1611,[3] having probably commenced on September 29th of the former year, and ended on September 28th of the latter year. Hence the original document must have been drawn up in 1610, or 1611, and the marginal note of the year 1613, in the present copy, must have been added some years later. The complete text of this record, copied *verbatim et literatim* by the present writer, in November, 1902, is as follows:

"A note of the priests, Semynaryes, friers and Jesuits, together with there reliuers and mayntayners in the cittye of Kilkenny vizt.

[1] *State Papers*, James I., vol. ii., 686-689.
[2] *State Papers*, James I., Feb. 27th, 1620-21.
[3] *State Papers*, James I., vol. iii., 907, and vol. iv., 21.

"Imprimis one David Roche [*recte* Rothe] titular Bishop of Osserye keepeth for ye most pte. wth. his brother Edward Roch [*recte* Roth] m'chant (when he is in ye citty), and when he is abroad wth. ye Lo: Viscount Mountgarrett.

"Itm. Doctor White a sedicious Priest when he resorteth to ye citty keepeth wth. his brother in law Henry Shee, Esq., nowe Maior. of ye citty.

"Besides he maintayneth wth. him one Thomas Morrish a Preacher a natyve of ye said cittye whoe when he is in ye countrey keepeth wth. Mr. Purcell of Ballyfoyle, gent.

"Itm. Melcheir Ragged a franciscan frier keepeth usually wth. his father Richard Ragged of ye said cittye Aldreman and is reputed as Lo: Abbot of ye Monastery of Dowiske wthin. ye county of Kilkenny.

"Itm. father Brien otherwise O'Carne a Jesuit & Preacher hath his residence in Sr. Richard Shea's howse in ye said citty and here is at yis. instant kept and maintayned by ye Lady Shea wife to ye said Sir Richard Shea.

"Itm. Sr. Thomas Houghan Priest keepeth wth Mr. John Roch [*recte*, Roth], fitz Pierce Alderman.

"Itm. one Nogle a Prieste a natyve borne keepeth wth. Mr. Nicholas Langton, Alderman.

"Itm. Sr. Willm. Lawles, Priest, keepeth for ye moste pte. wth. Mr. Robert Roch [*recte*, Roth] Esqr.

"Itm. Sr. Lawrence Reinaghan supposed gen'all vicar from the Pope keepeth in ye said citty saying open Masse, and is releeued especially by Mr. Thomas Archer fitzWalter and hath an annual stipend from ye said citty.

"Itm. Sr. Patrick Hoane prieste a natyve borne keepeth in ye said citty and sayth Masse publicquly.

"Itm. Sr. Lucas Archer Priest, brother to Patricke Archer, Esqr., keepeth with his brother in lawe one Nichas. Archer.

"Itm. Sr. Patrick Bolger, Priest doth usually say Masse at one Lettice Sheas howse, widdowe.

"Itm. Sr. Edmond Seix, Priest, sayeth Masse ordinarily at his brother's howse one Robert Savage, and when he is abroad keepeth wth. Sr. Richard Butler of Pawlstowne Kt.

"Itm. one Willm. Maureib, a franciscan, doth commonly say Masse wthin. St. ffraunces Abbey in ye said citty.

"Itm. one father Wall keepeth wth. one Nicholas Wall a Brazier in ye said citty.

"Itm. one Sr. Thomas Brehon, Priest, keepeth wth. his father John Brehon in ye said citty.

"A note of the names of such Priests, semynaryes, friars, and Jesuitts togeather wth. theire releeuers and maintayners as are in ye county of Kilkenny.

Imprimis one David Kearney a titular Archbushopp of Cassell Keepeth for ye most pte. at ye Upper Court wth. Lucas Shea Esqr.

"Itm. Sr. John Brenan, Priest, keepeth for ye moste pte. wth Mr. Edward Butler of ye Ould Abbey gen.

"Itm. Sr. John Murphy, Prieste, keepeth altogeather at Thomastowne.

"Itm. Sr. James foyse and one Sr. Murtaugh priests keepe at Callan.

"Itm. Sr. Teige O'Hely, priest keepeth wth. Walter Walshe of ye Mountayne Esqr.

"Itm. Sr. James Daton Priest keepeth wth. Mr. Daton of Killmodaly, gent.

"Itm. Sr. Nichas. Marub Priest keepeth wth. Mr. James Butler, gent., brother to ye Lo: Mountgarrett allsoe he maintayneth one Sr. Mathew Roch priest who goeth once every year into Spaine.

"Itm. Teige O'ffagan priest keepeth wth Richard Comerford of Ballyburr, gentleman.

"Itm. John Coppinger als. Father Coppinger keepeth for ye moste pte. wth. the Lo: Mountgarrett.

"Itm. Sr. Harry ffleming priest keepeth at Dunfert.

"Itm. Sr. Robert Cantwell Priest keepeth moste wth. Mrs. Mary fitzGerrald als. Cantwell, widdowe.

"Itm. Sr. John Archdeacon Priest keepeth at Knocktoffer.

"Itm. Sr. Piers Stronge keepeth at Dunkitt.

"Itm. Sr. Willm. mcMahon. Priest, keepeth wth. John Walshe of Kilcregan, gent.

"Itm. Sr. Edward Archer Priest, keepeth with ye Barron of Burnchurch.

"Itm. Sr. Thomas Woodlock Priest keepeth wth. Nicholas fitzThomas of ye Gartens gent.

"Itm. Sr. Teige O'Duigen Priest keepeth wth. Mr. Robert Grace of Courtstowne.

"Itm. Sr. John Madden Priest, keepeth wth. Richard Grant of Corluduffe, gentleman.

"Itm. Sr. John fitzRobert Priest, keepeth at ye Grange.

"Itm. Sr. Donnell O'Gowley Priest keepeth at Bawenmore under Mr. McCodye.

"Itm. Sr. Phillippe More Priest keepeth at Dunnamagon.

"Itm. Mr. Brookesberry of Castleliffe keepeth an Englishe priest whose name is unknowne, to whom doe resorte ye Barron of Burnchurch and his tennants everye Svnday.

"Itm. Mr. Naspoole of Polerath likewise keepeth an English Priest whose name is unknowne,
"Itm. one father Archer keepeth wth. Oliver Shortell of Ballylorcan Esqr. who alsoe keepeth another chaplen.
"Itm. Sr. Patrick Bowden priest is commonly at Radestowne.
"Itm. Sr. Lucas Archer Priest is commonly maintayned by Mr. Denham gentleman dwelling neere Thomastowne foure myles from Kilkenny.
"Itm. Sr. Donnogh O'Hely Priest mayntayned by Walter Walsh who dwells twelve myles from Kilkenny.
"Itm. Donnell O'Gonney, Priest, who dwelleth at Ballyraggett a towne of my Lo: Mountgarrett.
"Itm. John Shea Priest resident for the moste pte. at Wm. Commerford of Kilkenny, gent. in ye pishe. of fartie the small in ye said county.
"Brian mcMurogh a franciscan preacher, Abbot of ffearny, he keepes about Clonmell.
"Thomas Murrey or Maurie Jesuite keepeth in or about Kilkenny alsoe.
"Thomas mcDonoghe vice Primate of Ardmagh a franciscan frier. He keeps commonly in ye cantred of Clonmell. A great Preacher.
"A note of the Romishe Priests in Wexford that are meintayned there:
Sr. Willm. Furlonge.
Sr. Jhon. Waddinge.
Sr. Willm. Deuorouxe
Sr. John Gerrald.
Sr. Richard Stafford.
"A note of the Romishe Priests in Rosse that are maintayned there:
Sr. David Dowell.
Sr. Mathew Roche.
Sr. James fitzNicholas.

The following note, referred to above, is found in the margin of the list which gives the names of the priests of the County of Kilkenny:

"There is 60 or 70 priests at yis. day wthin. ye cantred of Clonmell whereof 25 haue bene made wthin. yis. yeare of 1613. Affirmed by Mr. Pierce Butler nowe made Sheriff of ye Crosse whoe promiseth to certifie there names if yt. be requisite."

Luke Archer.—This distinguished ecclesiastic was born in the year 1570, in Kilkenny city, where his family were of great prominence. Having received his rudimentary and classical education at home, he proceeded to the Irish College, Lisbon, and there made his ecclesiastical studies.

"He received Holy Orders in the 24th year of his age, that is, in 1594, and a few years after, was made P.P. of St. Patrick's, in the said city [of Kilkenny]. The purity of his life and morals was well known to the Most Rev. Dr. Thomas Strong, a native of Waterford, the most worthy Bishop of Ossory, who appointed him Archdeacon of his famous Cathedral Church of Kilkenny, dedicated to St. Canice. The Most Rev. Darby Chrah, then Lord Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, by virtue of the Apostolical authority which he possessed, appointed him Guardian (*Custodem*) of the Diocese of Leighlin."[1]

His appointment as Guardian of Leighlin was made in 1603. He appears as Vicar General of the same Diocese, September 1st, 1612.[2] He is also stated to have been Commendatory Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery of St. Saviour's, of Duiske, now Graiguenamanagh.[3]

[1] *Triumph. S. Crucis*, p. 58.
[2] *Liber Regalis Visitationis*, Prerogative Office.
[3] *Triumph. S. Crucis*, pp. 85 and 285.

"He filled these laborious offices to the satisfaction of everybody, but feeling uneasy at his manner of life, in the midst of such troublesome duties, which was no wonder, he determined to abandon these dignities, and to devote himself to God in greater retirement. He accordingly fled to the Cistercian Order, in which, under God's guidance, having completed his year of novitiate, he made his profession, on the 10th of October, in the year 1611. On that day he was appointed Abbot of the Monastery of Holy Cross [Co. Tipperary], by Apostolical authority." [1]

But his retirement to the seclusion of the cloister did not save Father Archer from ecclesiastical honours which he coveted not, and from Diocesan responsibilities which he dreaded. For "immediately after the death of Laurence Rinachan, Vicar General of Ossory, by the authority of Dr. Richard Fitzgerald, Vicar Apostolic, and by the special appointment of the same [as well as] by the universal desire and consent of all the people of the Diocese, our Abbot Luke was chosen and appointed Vicar General of Ossory." [2] This was about the year 1613. On the 24th February, 1614, he was, moreover, appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Diocese of Leighlin, by Brief of His Holiness the Pope.

In a "Note of divers priestes and fryers" throughout Ireland, drawn up between September 14th, 1612, and April, 1613, and now copied into the MS. Vol. E. 3, 15, T.C.D., we find the following references to Ossory priests:

"There is one David Rooth a moste sedicious instrumt. who was sent from Rome since Tyrones aboade there, he takes uppon him ye name and authority of Prothonotarius Apostolicus, to heare and determyne all ecclesiasticall bussines for ye Kingdom of Ireland and ye hath bene in ye North since his arryvall but is nowe (for ye most pte.) in Mounster.

"Owen O'Gallahor priest.

"Conhor O'Doran priest usually wth. my Lo: of Upper Ossory."

In the same MS. Vol. is found the following list of Kilkenny priests, drawn up a few months later:

Nov. 1613.

"The names of sundrie priests and friers wthin. some dioces, and counties of Ireland.

"In the countye of Kilkeny:

"David Rooth prothonotarie from the pope for ye busness of this realm.
Paul Ragged of the Order of St. Barnard Abbot.
Luke Archer vicar of Osserie.
Owen O'Gallaughoire priest.
Henry ffleming, priest.
Teiage O'Duigin, Brian Kearneie, Thomas Brehon, } Jesuits.
Thomas Houaghan, priest.
William Lawles, priest.
Laurence Reinie, priest.
Moriertagh O'Dowling, priest.
Patrick O'Huony, priest.
Patrick Bolger, priest.
Edmond Seis, priest

[1] *Triumph. S. Crucis*, p. 285.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Nicholas Maro.
Nicholas See [*i.e.* Shee] } Franciscan friars.
Willm. Relie [*i.e.* Kealy]
John Brenan, priest.
James foyse, priest.
Teige Helly, priest.
Robt. Cantvell, priest.
John Archdeacon, priest.
Teige O'Dwygin, priest.
Donnogh O'Hely, priest.
Danniell O'Enney, priest.
John Sea [*i.e.* Shea] priest.

In June, 1614, Father Archer, in his two-fold capacity of Vicar Apostolic of Leighlin and Vicar General of Ossory, attended a Provincial Synod held in Kilkenny, presided over by Most Rev. Dr. Owen McMahon, otherwise Eugene Mathews, Archbishop of Dublin. On the 18th Sept., 1618, he succeeded Father Paul Ragget, as Vicar General of the Cistercian Order in Ireland. His chief pastorship of Ossory was brought to a close on the 1st of the following month, when a Papal Brief was issued appointing Dr. Rothe Bishop of this See. The Bishop-Elect, however, had no wish to dispense with the services of Father Archer, and, accordingly, gave him a fresh appointment, constituting him his own Vicar General.

"To the delight of all he was not allowed to renounce the Vicariate of the Diocese of Ossory, which he filled in a praiseworthy manner for eleven [*recte* eight] years, until the Most Rev. David Rothe, Lord Bishop of Ossory, was, owing to the toleration of the times, peaceably established in his native country and diocese. Father Luke often besought the Bishop to relieve him of the office of Vicar General, in order that he might devote himself to the duties of the vicariate of his Order, which had been laid on him. . . . He presided over his Order from the 18th of September of the year of salvation, 1618, to the 21st of April of the year 1637. For that year and day, specially on account of his infirmities and advanced age, of his own accord and free will, after having undergone much toil in the said office of vicar [of the Order], he resigned it, that in his retirement he might attend to his soul with more leisure and care, as we know more fully from authentic documents in our possession." [1]

His resignation of the Vicar Generalship of Ossory, took place about the beginning of 1621. He was succeeded in that office by Dr. Thomas Rothe, whose signature as "Thomas Roth, sacerdos. Vicar. Gen. Dioc. Ossor. et Pronot. Apostolicus," is found attached to a document bearing date June 1st, 1621.[2] He established two novitiates of the Cistercian Order, one at Kilcooley, about 1612, the other at Kilkenny, some years later. He presided over the latter himself for twenty years, and had a public oratory opened in connection therewith.

"He extended his Order greatly to his credit, since he presided over a public oratory and a general novitiate in a hired house in Kilkenny, dear to all. Having wasted away through old age and infirmity, and being fortified by all the rites of the Church, he gave back his soul to his Creator, on the 19th of December in the year of Christ, 1644, and was buried [in Kilcooley] in the tomb of the Abbots, his predecessors, amid a great concourse of the clergy and laity." [3]

[1] *Triumph S. Crucis*, p. 87.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 92.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

CHAPTER X.

DAVID ROTHE (1618-50.)

OF the many names that shed lustre on the Episcopate of Ossory, since the Reformation period, none shines with greater brilliancy than that of David Rothe. Born in the city of Kilkenny, in the year 1573, Dr. Rothe was descended from an ancestry of the highest respectability. His father, John Rothe FitzRobert, a citizen of wealth and distinction, was son of Robert Rothe fitzDavid, by his wife, Ellen Butler, of Paulstown, who was a first cousin of Pierce the Red, eighth Earl of Ormond, and a lineal descendant of King Edward I. His mother was Lettice, only daughter of John Rothe fitzPeter of New Ross. Both his parents rest in St. Mary's church, Kilkenny, where their monument, still remaining, but almost entirely concealed beneath the boarding of the floor of the north transept, has the inscription :

Hic. jacet. Joannes.
Rothe. robarti. filius. quondã burgensis. oppidi. Kilkeniensis. qui. obiit
xxix. die mensis. Septembris. A.D. 1590.
et. Letita. Rothe. eius. uxor. qᵉ. obitt. xxvi. die. Martii. Aº.Dⁱ. 1602."

TRANSLATION.—Here lie John Rothe fitz Robert, formerly burgess of the town of Kilkenny, who died Sept. 29th, 1590, and Lettice Rothe, his wife, who died March 26th, 1602.

Having received his early education in his native town, Dr. Rothe studied Classics and Philosophy in the Irish College of Douay. He subsequently read a

DAVID ROTHE, Bishop of Ossory.
From original painting at Jenkinstown Park.

To face the beginning of Chap. X., Vol. I. (Text) page 86.

brilliant course of Theology in the University of Salamanca, where he was ordained priest, after being promoted to the degree of doctor in civil and canon law. In or before 1602 he had removed to Rome, as appears from an old volume in the library of the Irish College there, which bears the following on the title page :

"David Rothe, his booke, Rome, 1602."

For the next seven or eight years he remained in the Eternal City, discharging the duties of professor of Theology, and, at the same time, of secretary to the exiled Archbishop of Armagh, Most Rev. Peter Lombard, whose fullest confidence he had, in the meantime, gained.

Feeling that Ireland should be the scene of his labours, he resolved, as soon as circumstances permitted, to return to his native land, to minister there to the spiritual needs of his co-religionists. Accordingly, having been raised by the Pope to the dignity of Prothonotary Apostolic, and received the permission and blessing of Archbishop Lombard, he at length set out on his homeward journey, in the year 1609. Dr. Lombard, knowing well his great zeal, prudence and ability, imposed upon him, ere his departure from Rome, the full charge of his Archdiocese of Armagh, in the capacity of Guardian and Vicar General, as appears from the following Latin instrument, copied into a MS. Vol. [E.3, 15], in Trinity College, of which we supply an English translation :

"Petrus Lombardus, Dei et Aplice. Sedis gra- Archiepus. Ardmacanus et totius Hibniae, primas: Dilecto nobis in Chro. D. Davidi Rotho, S. Theologiae professori, protonotario aplico. a smo. in Chro. patre et Dño. E. D. Paulo Diuina providencia P.P. Quinto designato, salutem :

"Cum a tempore assumptionis nrae. ad hanc primatus dignitatem (non nris. quidem meritis sed per vocatione Dei, et ejus voluntate proprioq. motu et mandato cui, inter ceteras supremae in ecclesiastica hierarchia postis., prerogativas, competit per universum orbem Epos. constituere, hoc est, Romani Pontificis, supremi in terris sub Chro., vicarii et Bti. Petri, Aplor. principis, in regenda Dei ecclia, legitimi successoris), interea ex eiusdem smi. pontificis voluntate et mandato in hac alma urbe detenti simus, occupati semper in gravissimis universalis eccliae. negotiis : ut ergo, quantum praesentium temporum atq. rerum status in Hibniae regno patiebatur, subveniremus ac inserviremus saluti illic animarum Chri. fidelium, aliis in Ecclico. gradu constitutis presbiteris, tam secularibus dictis quam diversorum ordinum religiosis qui digniore fide testimonio idonei nobis commendabantur, concessimus, ex poste. tam ordinaria

"Peter Lombard, by the grace of God and of the Apostolic See, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, to our beloved in Christ, David Rothe, Professor of Sacred Theology, nominated as Prothonotary Apostolic by our Most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, Paul V., now by Divine Providence, Pope, greeting :

"Whereas since the time of our promotion to this primatial dignity (not, indeed, through any merits of our own, but by the calling of God, and in accordance with the pleasure, choice and mandate of him to whom, among other prerogatives of his supreme power in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, belongs the appointment of Bishops throughout the whole world, viz. the Roman Pontiff, the supreme Vicar of Christ on earth, and lawful successor of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, in the government of the Church of God), we have, meanwhile, been detained in this noble city, by the will and mandate of the same Supreme Pontiff, engaged continually in business of the greatest importance to the Universal Church : to render, therefore, what aid and service the state of the present times and of matters in the Kingdom of Ireland permitted, to the souls of Christ's faithful there,

nra. tam delegata nobis a Sede Aplica., facultates ad eam rem necessarias, utiles atq. opportunas.

"Enim vero cum tu, eadem Sede Aplica. Summoq. eius Pontifice et nobis pariter ita approbatus, eo proficiscaris ad lucrum animarum, quoniam perspecta nobis et ex diuturna nobiscum conversatione et cohabitacone., insignis tua eruditio, pietas, probitas, fidelitas, zelus, prudetia, discretio, te, in rebus omnibus quae ad jurisdictionem nram., sive de iure sive ex consuetudine, tum quoad temporalia, tum quoad spiritualia, tam in Diecesi et Provincia Ardmachana quam in universo Hibnie. regno pertinent, facimus, constituimus, creamus, deputamus & solemniter ordinamus nostrum verum, certum, legitimum et indubitatum vicarium sive procuratorem, actorem, factorem, negotiorumq. omnium gestorem specialem et generalem, ita tamen ut generalitas specialitati non deroget nec specialitas generalitati. Tibiq. concedimus potestatem alios certorum locorum, sive ad haec loca possis ie. [*i.e.*, ipse] accessum habere sive non, vicarios magis speciales et alios quoscumque officiales et administratores deputandi et constituendi, pinde. ac possemus nos ipsi si presentes istic essemus.

"Et quia facultates spirituales quas hactenus aliis communicavimus, ex aliorum fere relatione et testimonio sunt concessae a nobis, tibi, insuper, potestatem concedimus atq. communicamus, si deprehenderis ex illis, quibus eae concessae sunt, minus idoneos ad talia omnino, vel ad tam amplas facultates exercendas, aut abuti concessis sibi facultatibus, eas, in hujusmodi casibus, tollendi, restinguendi, sive ab iisdem suspendendi, atq. illis, quos ideonos deprehenderis quibus eiusmodi facultates committantur, nec eas a nobis aut ab alia liegitima potestate aut auctoritate habent, easdem communicandi, prout in Dno. iudicaveris expediri saluti animarum.

"Ac generaliter concedimus tibi potestatem omnia alia et singula faciendi quaecunq. alii quicunq. vicarii et procuratores generales et administratores in iis, quae iurisdictionis sunt, de iure aut consuetudine, consueverunt et possunt, etsi talia forent quae mandatum exigerint magis speciale quam presentibus est expressum, agendum, gerendum, exercendum et procurandum.

"In quorum fidem, praesentibus propria manu subscripsimus et sigillum nrum. subimponi curavimus. Datum Romae in Palatio [ ] Anno MDCIX Idibus Junii, Indictione vii., Pontificatus Smi. in Chro. Patris ac Dni, N. D. Pauli, Divina providentia Papae Quinti anno quinto.

we have, as well by our own ordinary authority as in virtue of that delegated to us by the Apostolic See, granted such faculties as were necessary, beneficial and proper for this purpose, to other priests of distinction in the Church as well secular (so called) as members of divers religious orders, who were recommended to us as suitable by testimony well worthy of credit.

But now that you, who are so approved of by the same Apostolic See, by its Supreme Pontiff, and by ourselves, are setting out to go thither for the good of souls, we, having full evidence from your daily conversation and intercourse while we lived together, of your learning, piety, probity, fidelity, zeal, prudence, discretion, do appoint, constitute, create, depute, and solemnly ordain you to be, in all things pertaining to our jurisdiction, by right or custom, in temporals and in spirituals, as well in the Diocese and Province of Armagh as in the entire Kingdom of Ireland, our true, certain, legitimate and indisputable vicar or procurator, agent, commissioner, and manager, general and special, of all our affairs, in such a way, however, that what is general in the commission must not interfere with what is special, nor what is special with what is general. And we grant you the power of deputing and constituting other vicars, more special, over particular districts, whether you yourself have access to these districts or not, and any other officials and administrators whatsoever, just as we ourselves might do if we were there present.

And whereas the spiritual faculties which we have hitherto communicated to others, have been generally granted by us on the strength of the reports and testimonials of various persons, we further grant and communicate to you the power, if you shall find anyone, and whomsoever you shall find, among those to whom such faculties have been granted, entirely unsuited for such positions, or for the exercise of faculties in such ample degree, or abusing the faculties granted them, in such cases to take them away and annul them or to suspend from same, and to communicate same to those whom you may deem fit to have such faculties committed to their charge, and who have not received them from us or from other lawful power or authority, according as you shall judge expedient in the Lord, for the salvation of souls.

And in general we grant you the power of regulating other matters, all and singular, that any other vicars, procurators-general, and administrators, in matters of jurisdiction, from right or custom, have been accustomed and are permitted to deal with, even though they be such as to require a more special mandate than is expressed in these presents for their execution, settlement, exercise and procuration.

Petrus Lombardus, Archieps. Ardmacanus, Primas Regni Hibnie.

Locus

Sigilli.

Ex mandato Illmi. et Rmi Dni Primatis.

Joannes Gayus. Secret."

In testimony whereof we have with our own hand subscribed these present letters and caused our seal to be affixed thereto. Given at Rome, in the [ ] Palace, in the year 1609, on the 13th day of June, Indiction vii., the fifth year of the Pontificate of our Most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, Paul V., now by Divine Providence, Pope.

Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of the Kingdom of Ireland.

By order of the Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord Primate,

John Gay, Secretary.

On receipt of this commission, Dr. Rothe must have returned to Ireland without much delay, for in the Government list of Kilkenny priests, in the year 1610 or 1611, already given, he is mentioned as then resident, partly in Kilkenny city, with his brother Edward, and partly at Balleen, with (his cousin), Richard, 3rd Lord Viscount Mountgarret. The first efforts of his missionary zeal were directed, and with good effect, towards putting an end to the dissensions which, at this period, frequently arose between the secular and religious clergy on questions concerning faculties and jurisdiction :

" Returning to Ireland with the title of Prothonotary Apostolic, about the year 1610, he laboured successfully to bring about peace in the clerical body, then torn with dissensions. The regulars were at variance with the seculars in respect of certain privileges which they claimed to the prejudice of the latter. At Dr. Rothe's persuasion, however, Maurice Ultagh, then Provincial of the Franciscans, gave a written promise that the members of his Order would not attempt to exercise those privileges again, and he moreover, by his (Dr. Rothe's) advice, relegated to Spain (where he had received the habit), one of his religious who had taken it upon himself, without due authorization, to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation." [1]

A very warm controversy was also carried on, about this time, between the Most Rev. David Kearney, Archbishop of Cashel, and Father Paul Ragget, a Kilkenny man, and Vicar General of the Cistercian Order in Ireland, England and Scotland. The question was one of jurisdiction and evidently arose in connection with the Cistercian Abbey of Holy Cross. Both disputants appealed to Rome to assert their respective claims. The case was referred to Dr. Rothe by the Vice-Protector of the Church in Ireland, Cardinal Maffei Barberini (afterwards Pope Urban VIII.), by his letters of November 19th, 1611. The intervention of Dr. Rothe was eminently successful, so much so that he brought about a perfect reconciliation between the Archbishop and Father Paul, who ever after lived in the closest friendship.

This dispute had been settled but a few years, when Father Paul was imprisoned for the Faith, in Dublin Castle, and, after the mockery of a trial, sentenced to

[1] Archdeacon Lynch's *De Praesulibus Hiberniae.*

perpetual banishment from this country. The heroic Archbishop after labouring for his flock for fifteen years (1603-18), despite innumerable risks and dangers, *and with a price on his head*, had at length to seek safety in flight, and take refuge on the Continent. Here, eating the bitter bread of exile he lingered on for five or six years. Finding his end at length drawing nigh, he had himself conveyed to the Abbey of Bonlieu, near Bordeaux, of which Father Paul was then Superior, and there, consoled with all the rites of Holy Church, and tended with loving care by his old friend and fellow confessor, he breathed his last, August 14th, 1624.

A glance at the various documents of the years 1610-15, already given (pp. 81-5), will suffice to show with what suspicion Dr. Rothe was regarded, at this period, by the Government, and how closely his every movement was watched and duly reported by its spies. That he was not imprisoned or banished from the country was probably due to the Lord Mountgarret and other powerful friends.

As Vicar General of Armagh, he held a Synod of the Clergy of the northern province, at Drogheda, in February, 1614. The decrees of this Synod may be seen in Dr. Renehan's *History of the Irish Archbishops*, pp. 116-41. He held another Synod of the same province, in 1618, the decrees of which have been published in Cardinal Moran's *Lives of the Archbishops of Dublin*, pp. 427-31. From this it may be inferred that his delegated charge of the Primatial See was not regarded by him as a mere matter of honour and distinction, but as a trust of the highest responsibility, whose duties he should endeavour to discharge to the utmost of his power.

Being personally known, and highly esteemed, at Rome, he could not fail to be marked out by his many admirers, for Episcopal honours. Even before the year 1611 a movement was set on foot to petition the Holy See for his appointment to the Episcopate of Ossory; and it was only at his own earnest request, made in writing, that the matter was then allowed to rest. The government lists, as we have seen (pp. 82-5), style him "titular Bishop of Ossery," in 1610, 1613, and 1615, but he had, in reality, no claim to be called Bishop till some years after the last mentioned date. He is called the "elected of Ossery" in a government paper of about the year 1618, preserved in Trinity College (E. 3, 15). As this document has never been published, and is of much interest, we cannot do better than insert it in its entirety here:

"A note of Archbusshoppes and Bushoppes, etc., of Ireland consecrated and authorised by the Pope.

"A note of the Bushoppes appointed by the See of Rome for the Realme of Ireland.

"Peter Lambard borne in Waterford primate of Ardmagh now resident in Rome and releeued by the Pope his hollines.

"David Kearnay borne in Cashell Archbushoppe of Casshell now resident in the county of Tipperary and is releeued by vicar generall of the province of Mounster by the privie tyethes of his

Bushoppricke and a stocke of his owne which he brought from beyond the seas being formerly a rich chanon of Lille in Flannders.

" Owen mcMahowne borne in Ulster Archbushoppe of Dublin nowe resident in Lovaine and has a stipend montely from the Archduke of Austria.

" fflorence Connery borne in Connaught Archbushoppe of Tuaime has his reliefe montelie from the Kinge of Spaine, being resident in his courte.

" Connoghor O'Mulrian borne in the County of Crosse Bushoppe of Killalowe resident in Lisborne [*recte* Lisbon] liues by a pencon from the Kinge of Spaine and from the Archbushoppe of that citty.

" Elected Bushoppes but not as yet consecrated.

" David Roth elected of Ossory resident theraboute is releeued from friend to friend, and by his office of Prothonotarieshippe and privie tyethes.

" Hugh Congill ellected of Dure [*i.e.* Derry] lives in a frierie in Lovaine as reader of Devinitie.

" Richard Arthure ellected of Limiricke resident there and is releeued by special friends and kinsemen of his owne and by privie tyethes.

" Thomas Walsh ellected of Waterford and is there releeued by his friends and by a stipend he receaues for ministering sacraments and preaching to the pish. [*i.e.*, parish] of ye Cathedrall Church.

" James Walsh ellected of fearnes lives by privy tyethes and by ye helpes of his friends.

" James Plunckett ellected of Kilmore liues by privie tyethes and his function.

" Thomas Crah ellected of Ardfeart and lives by preaching only ye Gosple.

" Thomas Deis ellected of Meath and lives in Parrish [*i.e.* Paris] president of Colledge of Fortet and has a pension from a Lord Abbot.

" The ordinarie priests doe live commonly by ministering sacraments receauing from every howse in theyre p[ar]ishes 12d. or at the moste iis. besides iis. for every marriadge and 12d. when ye women are churched, and are farr richer that the prelates and preachers whose privie tyethes can scarce releeue them without privat almes.

" The Jesuits doe live by preaching the Gosple upp and downe the counties and by privie tyethes out of ye suppressed abbayes of the realme, and dispencing in matrimoniall causes and by usinge many extraordinary facultyes they have from ye Pope as hallowinge of churches, altars, callices, absoluinge from irregularities, &c.

" The vicar generall[s] they live by privie tyethes from theire Diocesses and have some yearely helpe from ye p[ar]ish priests, and fines for any abuse committed by any of their flocks.

" The poore friars doe live only by begginge of corne and muttons and such other almes.

" The Colledges beyondes are now and then releeued by almes collected uppon the Sundayes in ye citties and uppon any great meetings by ye directions of ye vicar generalls.

' As for the p[ar]ticuller remembrance of such as are beyond the seas in the colledges I doe not well call to mynd but for ye Los. [*i.e.* Lords] they haue none of theire children saving ye Lo: of Trimletstowne he had one in my tyme in ye Colledge of Doway. The Lo: of Gormanestowne had a brother yt is captaine in ye [ ] regiment. The Lo: of Howeth has another captaine in ye said regiment. There is a nephewe of my Lo: of Delvin, Mr. Willm. Nugent is sonne who is a friar.

" Sr. Christopher Plunkett has two sonnes John and Robert.

" Cormuck McDiarmott has a base sonne and a base nephew in ye Colledge of Burdeaux priests.

" Roch of Ballihull a cossin germaine unto the Lo: Roch has a brother of the seminarie allsoe of Burdeaux.

" There are hundredes in the Colledges whose names I sawe the last lent from Waterford, Limerick, Clonmell, Corck, Gallway, Kilkenny, and Drogheda, and from the counteyes abroad throughout the realme and I am sure yt there is noe worthy gent in all the realme, nor merchaunt but have there somme of theire neerest kinsemen but what in the p[ar]ticuller is sent unto them is the porcon there fathers doe leave them, and some collections that yearely is taken upp for them, and wth. this they live togeather wth. certaine yearely pensions that is allowed unto the colledges by ye Kinges and princes in whose dominions they are.

" But as for the Bushoppes, Jesuits, friars they reccave not a penny from out of thys land, but are releeued by the bountie of the princes throughout Christendome where they dwell and by the prelates of the cloysters wherein they receiued there orders."

Dr. Rothe was promoted to the Episcopate of Ossory by Brief of Oct. 1st., 1618. The Consistorial document drawn up preparatory to his appointment runs as follows :

" Propositio Ecclesiæ Ossoriensis facta in Consistorio ; quæ Ecclesia deinde fuit expedita 1° Octobris 1618 :

"Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine.

"In proximo Consistorio, Ego, Fabritius, Cardinalis Verallus, Regni Hiberniæ Protector, proponam Ecclesiam Osseriensem in Hibernia vacantem per obitum bon. mem. Thomæ Strong illius ultimi Catholici Episcopi, a pluribus annis in Hispania defuncti in munere Suffraganei tunc existentis Archiepiscopi Compostellani, quo aufugerat causa persecutionis hæreticorum, in persona R. D. Davidis Rhoti (*sic*), Presbyteri Osseriensis.

"Civitas Ossoriensis est in Provincia Lageniæ seu Dublinensi, quæ est satis pulchra, et habet plures Parochiales Ecclesias ac etiam monasteria tam virorum quam mulierum, quæ occupata sunt ab haereticis.

"Dioecesis est satis ampla, et continet multa oppida et castra cum Parochialibus Ecclesiis ac Monasteriis quæ ad praesens sunt desolata.

"Ecclesia est sub invocatione Sancti Canici Abbatis et Confessoris, satis insignis structuræ, et habet chorum, organum, sacristiam, Campanile, campanas, sed caret supellectile sacra quam haeretici occuparunt: habet etiam quatuor Dignitates, et aderat olim Collegium Presbyterorum in communi viventium, nunc autem omnia sunt desolata ob dictam persecutionem. Dicta Ecclesia est suffraganea Archiepiscopi Dublinensis.

"Illius fructus sunt taxati in Libris Cameræ ad ducentos florenos auri, sed ad praesens possunt ascendere ad bismille scuta, attamen occupantur a quodam Pseudo-Episcopo a Rege Angliæ ibi deportato, sicut et Palatium Episcopale. Domus autem Dignitatum dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedrali circumvicinæ, cum illorum redditibus, occupantur ab haereticis.

"Rev Dominus promovendus est aetatis quadraginta quinque annorum, Presbyter a multis annis, de legitimo matrimonio Catholicis ac primariis illius civitatis parentibus genitus, optimis moribus imbutus, pius et devotus, Magister in Theologia, Prothonotarius Apostolicus, verbi Dei praedictor, et est Vicarius R. P. D. Archiepiscopi Ardmachani, Primatis dicti regni, in quo munere, se a pluribus annis bene gessit, estque dignus ut in Episcopum praeficiatur. Quae omnia constant ex processu coram me formato et per Reverendissimos Dominos Capita Ordinum et me subscripto.

"Supplicatur pro expeditione gratis prout est solitum fieri pro Hibernis: cum Decreto emittendi professionem ac juramentum fidelitatis praestandi."

Dr. Rothe's consecration appears to have been delayed a considerable time after his Brief for Ossory had been expedited. It is true, indeed, that Cardinal Moran writes that he was in France when he receved his Episcopal Brief and that "he was without further delay consecrated in Paris"; and that, according to Father Meehan, "the Pope's announcement [of his appointment to Ossory] was made in a Consistory held in October, 1618, and in the course of a few months afterwards Rothe was consecrated at Paris."[1] Moreover, the old MS. record of the Synod of Armagh, already referred to as celebrated in 1618, has an entry to the effect that the said Synod was presided over by "David, Bishop of Ossory, Vice-Primate of all Ireland"; and this entry, if correct, exactly bears out the accuracy of the statements of the distinguished authorities just quoted; for Dr. Rothe could not have held a Synod of the Northern clergy as *Bishop of Ossory*, in 1618, unless his consecration took place very soon after his appointment to the Episcopate.

Against all this, however, there is the strongest and clearest evidence that Dr. Rothe was not consecrated till the year 1620. We have it, in fact, under his own hand. For, on the 6th of June, 1636, writing to Rome for permission to resign his Bishopric, or, if that were not pleasing to the Holy Father, for the appointment of

[1] *Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 183.

a Coadjutor to aid him in discharging his Episcopal duties, he puts forward two reasons in support of his petition, viz., his advanced age and failing health, and the fact that for *sixteen years* he had watched over the Diocese of Ossory with all possible solicitude and care ("qua potui sollicitudine et assiduitate jam annis *sexdecim* advigilavi huic Ossorien. diaecesi"). In such a document Dr. Rothe would not, certainly, *lessen* the number of his years in the Episcopate ; his character at the same time, excludes all suspicion of his wilfully *exaggerating* it. As, therefore, the exact year of his consecration is nowhere recorded, we may unhesitatingly set it down as 1620.

The difficulty arising from the MS. record of the Synod of Armagh can be easily explained away. Dr. Rothe presided over this Synod merely as Vicar General of Armagh ; and when, subsequently, the ancient copy of its decrees was being transcribed, the writer very naturally designated its president, not by the title which he possessed at the date of the Synod, but by the more exalted titles of Bishop and Vice-Primate, which he soon after attained.

Such was the severity of the penal laws during the latter part of King James the First's reign that, at the time of Dr. Rothe's appointment to Ossory, the Irish hierarchy was reduced to four members, viz. : the Archbishops of Armagh, Tuam, Cashel and Dublin, all of whom were exiles on the Continent. As, therefore, *there was no Bishop then, or for two or three years after, in Ireland*, the Elect of Ossory had to seek consecration elsewhere, and thus it happened that his consecration to the Episcopate took place in Paris.

Not finding it safe to return at once to Ossory, he tarried for some time in the French capital, probably till 1621. His fame as a writer of highest literary distinction had preceded him there, and brought him into contact with many illustrious Irish exiles whose labours in elucidating the sacred and profane history of their native land have earned for them the undying gratitude of their fellow countrymen.

The society of Dr. Rothe, his encouragement and assistance ungrudgingly given, must have wonderfully stimulated those zealous labourers in the patriotic course of studies to which they had devoted themselves. Already had he given to the press, his *Analecta*, the greatest of all his surviving literary works, and that with which his name and fame as a writer are inseparably connected. Its full title is :

"Analecta Sacra Nova et Mira
De Rebus Catholicorvm in Hibernia, pro Fide et Religione gestis,
Divisa in tres partes, quarum
I. Continet semestrem grauaminum relationem.
II. Paraenesin ad Martyres designatos,
III. Processum martyrialem quorumdam fidei pugilum.
Collectore & Relatore T. N. philadelpho."

The Pars Prima, or first part of the *Analecta*, was published by itself in 1616, and sketches the horrible sufferings to which the Catholics of Ireland were subjected by their inhuman persecutors, during the six months of Sir Arthur Chichester's Deputyship which ended towards the close of 1615. The complete work was published in two volumes at Cologne, by Stephen Rolin (Coloniae, apud Stephanum Rolin), in 1617 and 1619, the expense of publication being borne by Dr. Rothe's great friend and admirer, Richard, Lord Viscount Mountgarret.[1] In this second edition, the first volume comprises the Pars Prima and Pars Secunda, while the second volume is entirely taken up with the Pars Tertia.

The Pars Secunda consists for the most part of an exhortatory letter, dated Dec. 11th, 1611, and addressed to Cornelius O'Devany, Bishop of Down and Connor, and the other Irish clergymen and laymen, who were either already marked out for martyrdom, or might, perhaps, have to confess their faith in the face of persecution.

Pars Tertia, by far the most important part of the work, is devoted to the history and vindication of those distinguished members of the Irish hierarchy, clergy, and laity, who suffered for religion, on the scaffold, in the dungeon, or in exile, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Here are detailed the sufferings of Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, Darby O'Hurly, Archbishop of Cashel, Patrick O'Hely, Bishop of Mayo, and a host of others. From the nature of its contents, and the innumerable opportunities of acquiring accurate information possessed by the author, the *Analecta* is an invaluable contribution to the history of the Catholic Church in Ireland during the period of which it treats. Copies of the work having become extremely rare, a new edition, edited by Cardinal Moran, was brought out in the year 1884, by Messrs. Gill & Son, Dublin.

During his stay in Paris, where he was hospitably entertained by a wealthy citizen named John Lescalopier, Baron of St. Just, Chancellor of the Queen of France, &c., a gentleman remarkable for his piety as well as for his ardent love of Ireland, Dr. Rothe was induced to preach the panegyric of St. Bridget: and so eloquently did he acquit himself that his generous patron requested him to give a Latin version of the discourse enlarged and annotated. To this he willingly consented, and the result was his learned volume *Brigida Thaumaturga*, published under the initials D. R. E. O. V. H. (David Rothe, Episcopus Ossorien., Vice-Primas Hib.). As Monsieur Lescalopier himself had died before the appearance of the volume, the author dedicated it to his two sons, Raymond and Balthazar, as a grateful tribute to their father's memory.

His *Hiberniae sive Antiquioris Scotiae Vindiciae, &c., Authore G. T. Veridico*

[1] Meehan's *Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 185.

Hiberno, was printed at Antwerp, in 1621. Its authorship was very strictly concealed, but it was undoubtedly written by Dr. Rothe, as his friend Archdeacon Lynch expressly attests. This volume is divided into three parts. The first is a reply to Dempster, who endeavoured to rob ancient Ireland of its most illustrious saints and scholars, and to transfer them to Scotland; the second is entitled Nomenclatura Scotorum et Scotiae; and the third gives, with considerable additions, Father Henry Fitzsimon's Catalogue of the Irish Saints.

Another volume, composed by him while in Paris, and published under the pseudonym "Donatus Roirk," is the *Hibernia Resurgens*, or *Preservative against the Bile of the Old Serpent*, in which also he exposes the fallacies and plagiarisms of Dempster. A copy of this very rare book was presented to the Museum, St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, by the late Barry Delany, M.D.

So much for Dr. Rothe's principal *published* works. Of his *unpublished* works, the most important was his *Hierographia Hiberniae*, probably the greatest and most valuable treatise ever penned on the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. Archdeacon Lynch gives the following account of this remarkable compilation and its ultimate fate:

"Whatever time he (Dr. Rothe) had to spare, after the faithful discharge of his manifold duties, he devoted to writing, especially [to writing] the *Hierographia Hiberniæ* which he had been engaged on as far back as the year 1621, as he himself confesses in his *Hibernia Resurgens*. Usher inserted a fragment of this *Hierographia* in his *Primordia*. The author himself issued a prospectus of the work, at Waterford, in 1644, with a view of securing for its publication the aid and encouragement of those who had leagued themselves together for the preservation of their country; but the response being far short of his expectations, he had the same prospectus again issued at Waterford, in 1647, in a small work entitled *De Sacris Hiberniae Peregrinationibus*. There is in my possession, another fragment of the *Hierographia*, which treats in a general way of the Diocese of Ossory, and to which he meant to add a list of the Bishops of that See, as he hinted he had already done in the case of the Primatial See of Armagh, and as he would hereafter do in the case of the other Dioceses. What he proposed to himself was to include in this work the whole ecclesiastical history of Ireland. His treatment of this subject was original, viz., to describe the sites and existing remains of the abbeys, churches, ancient schools, pilgrimages, hermitages, and other holy places in every diocese, and to supply a truthful narrative of the worthy deeds of the remarkable persons who flourished in each, as time went on

"And that this work was of the highest excellence I have reason to conclude from the diligence with which he devoted himself to its composition, day after day; and the MS. had become such a pile that, ere he had it ready for the press, he must have laboured at it, as far as I can judge, for 50 years. The work must have been, indeed, above all exception, since, in giving it the finishing touches, he is believed to have called into requisition, as in the crowning act, every effort of his genius. The more reason have we, then, for deploring its loss, for it is said to have been consumed by fire when Kilkenny fell into the hands of the Cromwellians. As the lion is judged by its claw, so the excellence of this work may be learned from its few remaining fragments.

"The title of another of his works, which still remains in MS. and which I have not seen, is:—*Samaritanus proscribens remedia morbis Hibernorum.*

"Such of his writings as I have seen savour of the authority of a Chrysostom, the gravity of a Gregory, the force of an Augustine, and the majesty of a Leo; and his books are so seasoned with quotations from Sacred Scripture and the Fathers, that he is devoid of all reason, whom they fail to charm, a mere log, whom they cannot move; and as St. Augustine said of St. Ambrose: 'Not only does it give pleasure to listen while he speaks so well, but what he said so well makes an abiding impression.'"[1]

[1] *De Praesulibu Hiberniae.*

The full title of the *Hierographia* is given in the following extract from a letter written on the 15th July, 1630, by Father Messingham, Superior of the Irish College, Paris, to Father Luke Wadding :

"The notes which I have for the historie of Ireland are but very few, yet the carriage is so dear now, and the hazard of the way so great, as I must expect a better time to send them. My Lord [the Bishop] of Ossorie wrote to me that if you would signifie what particular notes or treatises you would have that he can afford, he will send them to you. The treatise which he means to send me shortly is thus intituled :—

"Hierographiæ Sacrae Insulae Hiberniae
Lineamenta adumbrata
(sine arrhabo),
et praegustus Tripartitae Descriptionis
Ecclesiæ, Regni, et Gentis Hibernorum,
ex variis scriptoribus tam veteribus quam neoteris delibatus,
Industria et studio Analectæ et Anagnestæ,
Catholici H. . . . . collectore et dygestore *Philadelpho* ;
Cui adjuncta est in antecessum largioris defensionis
decertatio apologetica adversus Conœum,
Camerarium, Dempsterum, de ejusdem Sacræ Insulæ
originibus."

"Hierographic outlines of the holy island of Ireland, sketched (without earnest), and a foretaste of the Tripartite description of the Church, Kingdom, and people of Ireland, from various writers, ancient and modern, prepared by the industry and study of a Catholic gleaner and reader, H . . . . ., who, as a lover of his brethren, has put together and digested the whole. To which is added, by way of introduction to a more elaborate controversy, an apologetic defence against Conei, Camerarius and Dempster, anent the antiquities of the same sacred island."

Some fragments of the *Hierographia* alone, among all Dr. Rothe's MSS., survived the sack of Kilkenny, under Cromwell. One, consisting of 22 closely written pages, in the author's own handwriting, is now in the British Museum (MSS., Sloane, 4796) ; the other is embodied by Archdeacon Lynch in his MS. History of the Bishops of Ossory.[1]

Dr. Rothe was the friend, encourager, or correspondent of many of his contemporary workers in the field of Irish history and antiquities. Of Michael O'Clery, the chief of the Four Masters, he writes thus, in the year 1628 : "I gave him the few lives [of the Irish Saints] I had collected, and I sent him to Ormond, part of my Diocese, to transcribe there for a while, from whence he promised to come to Thomond, where I undertook to get many things for him, but he came not since : soon I expect him to come again, and he shall be welcome truly to me." In his *Florilegium Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Father Messingham repeatedly acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Rothe, for assistance afforded him in this valuable work, and he tells us that Rothe "was thoroughly familiar with every department of knowledge, an eloquent orator, acute reasoner, profound theologian, sharp reprover of vice, defender of ecclesiastical liberty, vindicator of his country's rights, and faithful

[1] See *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*.

exponent of her terrible wrongs." Ussher, too, was indebted to Dr. Rothe for some verses on St. Livinus, which he inserted in his *Sylloge*, and which he thus acknowledges : " These elegiac stanzas, copied by Heribert Rosweyd, were communicated to me by Rothe, a most diligent investigator of his country's antiquities."

But though ardently devoted to the study of Irish history and hagiology, Dr. Rothe never forgot the obligations of his high office, and never failed to discharge them. On his return from Paris to this country, most probably in 1621, he may with truth be said to have taken upon himself " the solicitude of the churches " ; for, not only had he to take charge of Ossory, his own diocese, and Armagh, of which he was now become Vice-Primate, but *being the only Bishop in Ireland*, his pastoral vigilance extended to every part of the country. Archdeacon Lynch pays special tribute to his zeal in administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, the grace of which was so much needed, at this time, by the sorely-tried children of the Gael :

" As he lay concealed in the recesses of the woods, or journeyed (which was mostly by night) along the highways or took refuge in the dwellings of the faithful, the children were brought to him, not one by one, but in crowds (*turmatim*), from all the surrounding districts, in order that they might be strengthened by the Sacrament of Confirmation ; so that he bore, indeed, the burden of the day and the heat. Wherever he happened to be staying, he there preached the ' sound word that cannot be blamed.' Whilst inciting all to virtue by word, and still more efficaciously by example, he neither yielded to fatigue in the labour of the sacred ministry ; nor shunned peril, even of life, in discharging duty ; nor was deterred by fear of death from performing the functions of his office,—for at this time especially the Catholics were most vigorously pursued and subjected to fines, torture, and imprisonment, so much so, that the name of priest rendered one liable to punishment, that of Bishop meant certain death." [1]

Another contemporary writer thus eulogizes him :

" The clergy of Ireland reverence Dr. Rothe above all others, on account of his grave deportment, great piety, vast learning, and extreme suavity of manner ; his prudence and counsel proved salutary to the Irish church in the most trying circumstances of the Kingdom ; and his letters, which I have read, full of profound learning and eloquence, appeased silently and almost imperceptibly the serious dissensions which, for a time, appeared so menacing, between the secular and regular clergy."

On the 25th Sept., 1622, Dr. Rothe was still the only Bishop in Ireland.[2] Before the close of this year, however, the hearts of the Irish Catholics were gladdened by the arrival in the country of a second Bishop, viz. : Dr. Thomas Dease, consecrated at Paris, in the preceding May, for the long widowed See of Meath. The 7th of Sept., 1623, brought still greater joy to the Irish Church, and in particular to Dr. Rothe, for on that day, in his own Cathedral city of Kilkenny, and by his own hands, two other Bishops were consecrated for the vacant Sees, viz., Dr. Maurice Hurley, for the See of Emly, and Dr. Richard Arthur, for the See of Limerick. Dr. William Therry had been already consecrated Bishop of

[1] *De Præsulibus Hiberniae.*
[2] O'Renehan's *Collections*, p. 275, *n.*

Cork and Cloyne, at Brussels, on Dominica in Albis, in the same year. In the years immediately following other Dioceses, too, were provided with Chief Pastors.

Dr. Rothe presided at a Synodical meeting held at Kilkenny, in 1624. There were present also on this occasion, Dr. Therry, of Cork, Dr. Arthur, of Limerick, Dr. Hurley, of Emly, Daniel Kearney, Vicar-General of Cashel, Laurence Lea, Vicar-General of Waterford and Lismore, Richard O'Connell, Vicar Apostolic of Ross, and Malachy O'Queely, Vicar Apostolic of Killaloe. On the death of Dr. Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1625, Dr. Rothe was relieved of the weighty charge of the Primatial See, which he had borne for 16 years, at first as Vicar General, and subsequently as Vice-Primate.

On the 9th April, 1636, he received a stunning blow by the death of his cousin and dear friend, Dr. John Roche, Bishop of Ferns, who, while on a visit with him, at Kilkenny, died and was buried there, probably in St. Mary's Church. Viewing his own infirmities, and considering how suddenly and unexpectedly his friend had been cut off, and desiring especially to devote himself solely to his own sanctification, he addressed a petition to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, on the 6th July, 1636, as already stated, (p. 93), praying to be relieved from the burden of the Episcopal responsibility, or, at least, to be allowed a Coadjutor. The Pope, however, instead of granting his request, only imposed upon him, in addition to his already existing duties, the settlement of some important ecclesiastical controversies in the neighbouring Dioceses of Cashel and Killaloe.

Many of his letters to Rome at this period and, indeed, throughout the greater part of his Episcopate, are preserved among the Wadding MSS., and have, to a large extent, been published by Cardinal Moran in his *Spicilegium Ossoriense*.

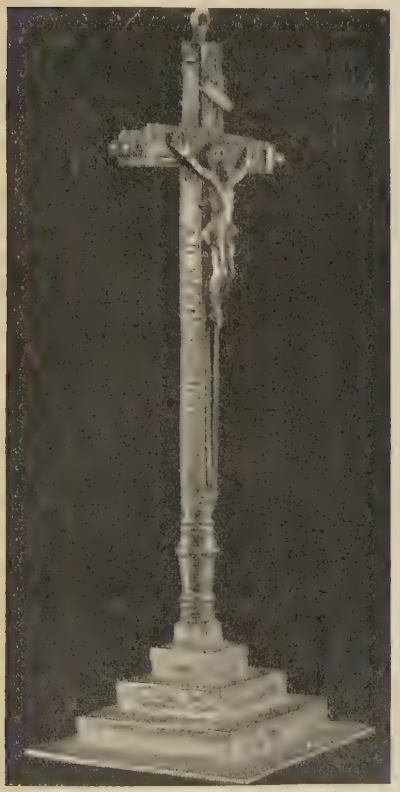
He was, above all things, a man of peace, and hence, soon after his appointment as Bishop, he established in this Diocese a Pious Association for the promotion of charity and peace, to which he gave the name of "Congregatio Pacifica." The Association spread rapidly through Ireland, and Dr. Rothe published a special prayer to be recited by its members. He also obtained two Briefs from Paul V. and Urban VIII., granting special favours to this Pious Association. A relic of the Association has been deposited in the Museum of St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny; it is a large silver Crucifix Reliquary, with the following inscription, in large Roman capitals, on the shaft:

"Ad Vsvm Pacificæ Congregationis,"

while underneath the base, in smaller letters, is:

"Dd. Ep. Oss. Cni. Pæ. D. C. A. 1641"

We have now arrived at the eventful period always identified by Irish historical writers with what is known as the Confederation of Kilkenny. The Ulster Catholics, long trampled upon by Scotch and English adventurers, and now threatened, like their co-religionists throughout the Kingdom, with extermination, by the Puritans, rose up in defence of their homes, liberties, lives and religion, on the ever-memorable 23rd of October, 1641. In a few weeks the flame of national and religious enthusiasm, thus enkindled, spread to all parts of Ireland, and the Catholics everywhere flew to arms. On a question so deeply involving the welfare of the country and the eternal salvation of the people, it was natural that the Catholic clergy should meet and take counsel together, to condemn the new movement if unlawful, to give it their fullest blessing and encouragement, and to keep it as far as possible, within proper bounds, if they found it to accord with right and justice. It devolved on Dr. Rothe, being the senior member and the most respected of the Irish Episcopal body, to take steps for this purpose. He, accordingly, issued an invitation to all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, the Vicars General of the different Dioceses, the Heads of the Religious Orders, &c., to meet in conference at his residence in Kilkenny, in the month of May, 1642.



SILVER RELIQUARY CROSS.

Presented by Bishop Rothe to the Congregation of Peace.

BASE OF ABOVE CROSS.

The conference was held under Dr. Rothe's presidency. It was attended by three Archbishops; four Bishops; two Bishops-Elect; the Procurators of the Archbishop of Dublin and of the Bishops of Limerick, Emly and Killaloe, who were absent; and by several other Dignitaries of the secular and regular clergy.

We give here a translation of the brief Latin sketch of this meeting, inserted by Archdeacon Lynch in his *De Praesulibus Hiberniae :*

"Not only was the worthy Bishop [Dr. Rothe] 'powerful in word and work,' and a writer of the highest distinction, he was also a prudent counsellor; and even as he had devoted the vigour of his youth to the service of his church and country, so did he devote the wisdom of his old age to the same holy cause. That first confederacy, consisting, not of a turbulent and lawless mob, but of armed men regularly banded together and organized for the defence of their religion and native land, had its origin from him. For when he saw the rude uprising, begun with such little prospect of success, spreading with the utmost rapidity over all Ireland, he lost no time in communicating with the Bishops, Vicars General, and Provincials of the religious Orders, and requesting them, not by way of command but of advice, to meet at his house in Kilkenny in order to discuss the situation that had arisen and their duty in connection therewith. On the appointed day a large number of the Bishops and others whom he had invited to Kilkenny, assembled at his house. For seven successive days they never set foot outside that house except when retiring to their beds. Twice every day the Bishop of Ossory entertained them sumptuously at his table and at his own expense. As soon as each meal was over, the assembled ecclesiastics walked for an hour in the Bishop's garden, after which the discussion on the present crisis was resumed.

"A very pleasing effect was produced on the meeting as a result of a correction administered by the Bishop of Ossory to Malachy, Archbishop of Tuam. The former, as president of the assembly, took it upon himself to call the latter to account for coming in late to one of the sessions, charging him with being more concerned about the enjoyment of a long sleep, than about the welfare of his country, then so imperilled; and he professed his deep surprise that he was not yet fully aroused by the groans of his expiring fatherland. Far from showing indignation at this reproof, the Archbishop humbly acknowledged his fault and promised not to err in the same way again. Once again, however, the session had commenced before his arrival. Thereupon the Bishop of Ossory protested that if the Archbishop of Tuam could not attend punctually at the time appointed, then the whole assemblage had no other alternative than to leave themselves and their collective convenience entirely out of question, and fix upon another hour to suit his individual convenience alone. The Archbishop's only reply was a strong renewal of his promise not to be late again, and an assurance to the meeting and its president that, rather than be one moment behind time in future, he would spend the whole preceding night without sleep. Thus as the earnestness and zeal of the one became apparent in administering the rebuke; so, by the humble acceptance of the correction, was evinced the docility of the other, who thought it not beneath him to receive reproof from an inferior, bearing in mind the advice given by Christ: 'He that is greater among you, let him become as he that is less,' and the saying of St. Bernard: 'To refuse to obey is to be unfit to preside.'

"A heated discussion arose during the course of the deliberations, some of the Bishops branding the passing war as an act of rebellion, because carried on without the sanction of the King; others holding, on the other hand, that it was perfectly lawful, because undertaken for the defence of altars and homes, against those who were doing their utmost to destroy the people and their religion. The discussion on this point, having continued on to the third day, was at length brought to a close by Dr. Rothe, all the members concurring in his opinion that, even though a war in its first phases might be unjust, causes could subsequently arise, or a notable change of circumstances could occur, to render its prosecution justifiable; and that, therefore, as the overthrow of Religion, King and Country, has now become the aim and object of a rebellious foe, it is perfectly allowable, by every law, human and divine, to take up arms for the prevention of such overwhelming calamities."

The resolutions adopted at this assembly have been published by Cardinal Moran in his *Spicil. Ossor.*, Vol. I., pp. 262-8. They declare the war upon which the Irish Catholics had entered to be just and lawful, and that it was incumbent on all to form themselves into a Confederacy and bind themselves by a solemn oath to be faithful thereto. The odious distinction between the ancient and modern Irish was to be studiously avoided. A general assembly composed of representatives from all parts of the Kingdom, should be convened, to legislate on all matters affecting the public good. Persons guilty of murder or mutilation, thieves and

robbers, and those who aid or abet them in any way, are declared to have incurred excommunication. The profits arising from the See lands and other church property are to be devoted to the prosecution of the war, except such part thereof as may be assigned in each case for the decent maintenance of the Bishop or Dignitary entitled thereto. The re-taking possession of the churches is left to the discretion of the Ordinaries of the various Dioceses.

Each regiment of the Confederate army is to be accompanied by two confessors and one preacher. To the end that the acts and decrees of the meeting may attain their purpose it is ordered "that every priest of the secular or regular clergy shall celebrate one Mass each week, and that all, including the laity, shall keep the fast on Wednesday, Friday and Saturday in one week, and further on each Wednesday, as long as it shall please the Ordinary in each Diocese to so direct, and that they offer up prayers to God for the prosperous issue of this our Catholic war; and thus they may gain an indulgence of fifty days, as each prelate shall publish in his respective Diocese, having kept the fast of the aforesaid three days in one week, and confessed and received the Blessed Sacrament, and bestowed some alms to this effect."

BISHOP ROTHE'S MONSTRANCE.

The signatories of these resolutions were:

Hugo, Archiepiscopus Armachanus.
Thomas, Archiepiscopus Casselensis.
Malachias, Archiepiscopus Tuamensis.
David, Episcopus Ossoren.
Frater Boetius, Episcopus Elphynensis.
Frater Patricius, Episcopus Waterforden, & Lysmoren.
Frater Rochus, Episcopus Kildaren.
Joannes, Electus Cluanferten.
Emerus, Electus Dunen. & Conoren.
Frater Josephus Everard, Procurator Archiepiscopi Dublinens.
Doctor Joannes Creagh, Procurator Episcopi Lymericen.
David Bourck & Willielmus O'Connell, Procurator, Episcopi Imolacen.
Donatus O'Tearnan, Procurator Episcopi Laonen.

Doctor Dionysius Harty, Decanus Laonensis.
Doctor Michael Hacket, Vicar. gener. Waterforden.
Gulielmus Devocer [*i.e.* Devereux], Vic. gener. Fernens.
Frater Lucas Archer, Abbas Sanctae Crucis.
Thomas Roch [*i.e.* Roth], Vicar. Generalis Ossoren.
Frater Anthonius de Rosario, Ord. Praed. Vicar. Provincial.
Robertus Nugent, Societat. Jesu in Hib.
Frater Thadeus Connoldus, Aug. pro-Provinc.
Joannes Wareinge, Decanus Lymericen.
Frater Patricius Darcye, Guardian, Dublin.
Frater Thomas Strange, Guardian, Waterford.
Frater Joseph Lancton, Prior Kilkenny.
Frater Tho. Tearnon, Guard. de Dundalk.
Frater Joannes Reyly, Guard. Kilkenniye.
Frater Boetius Eganus, Guard. Buttevant.
Jordanus Boork, Archidiaconus Lymericensis.

The impetus given to the national movement by the patriotic action of the Bishops and clergy thus assembled, was, as might be expected, very great. The oath of Association was everywhere taken throughout the Kingdom; and Representatives for a General Assembly, to be held at Kilkenny, were elected in all the counties and important towns. The General Assembly met in Kilkenny, in the town house of Mr. Robert Shee, in Coal Market, now Parliament Street, on the 24th October, 1642, and continued its sessions till the following January, when it adjourned to May, 1643. It elected a Supreme Council, consisting of twenty-four members, six from each province, to which were entrusted the appointments to the various official posts, the administration of the affairs of the State, and the general government of the Kingdom. Lord Mountgarret was chosen President of this Supreme Council; Mr. Patrick Darcy was appointed Lord Chancellor in the House of Peers; and Mr. Nicholas Plunket was made Speaker in the

BISHOP ROTHE'S CENOTAPH, ST. CANICE'S CATHEDRAL.

General Assembly. The offices of the various departments of the national government were situated in Ormond Castle.

One of the first acts of the Confederate Government was to acknowledge Dr. Rothe rightful Bishop of Ossory, and as such, entitled to the temporalities of the See, which had been so long detained by the Bishops of the Established Church. The churches of the Diocese were, about this time, all taken possession of by the Catholics, and after being duly purified and hallowed, were again thrown open to the faithful. The Bishop did not proceed at once to re-dedicate St. Canice's Cathedral, " though repeatedly urged to do so by men carried away by enthusiasm rather than governed by prudence, his custom being, where there was question of matters of importance, to move slowly and quietly ; and for the same reason he did not take up his abode in the Episcopal palace till later still." (Non continuo, tamen, ad Ecclesiam Cathedralem Catholicae Religionis exercitiis pandendam adduci potuit, quan quam iteratis magis properorum quam providorum hominum sollicitationibus ad id acueretur, pedetentim enim et pacate molitiones quasque aggredi consuevit ; nec ob eandem causam Episcopale palatium sibi nisi serius vindicavit.) [1]

It must have been a day of the holiest joy to the now aged Bishop, when, surrounded by his clergy and an immense concourse of his people, he again consecrated the noble Cathedral to the sacred uses from which it had been diverted well nigh a century before. In memory of that happy day, he caused an elaborate mural monument, of the Renaissance style, to be erected within the Cathedral precincts, in the Lady Chapel, hoping that, when life's troubles were over, his remains might rest in peace beneath it. This memorial, having been removed from its original position, has been again set up in one of the side chapels, to the south of the chancel, where it may now be seen. What remains of the inscription, some lines of which, dotted below, were obliterated by order of Bishop Parry, is :

" DEO OPT. MAX.
ET
MEMORIÆ DAVIDIS EPISCOPI OSSO-
RIEN. QVI HANC ECCLESIAM CATHEDRA—
LEM STO. CANICO SACRAM
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
ANNO DNI. 1642

[1] Lynch's *De Praesulibus Hiberniae.*

Ortus cuncta suos repetant matremq. requirunt
Et redit ad nihilum quod fuit ante nihil." [1]

Having seen the Catholic Confederacy firmly established, and feeling the weight of his advancing years, Dr. Rothe withdrew as much as possible from the debates in the General Assembly, to devote himself to the more immediate duties of his office.

"Full of zeal for his own sanctification and that of his clergy, his first act, every morning, was prayer, which was succeeded by study. Equally zealous in both the discharge of his duties to his flock and the management of his household affairs, he was careful that the people should be well instructed and looked after by the pastors, and that, in the entertainment of his guests, nothing like extravagance should be observed at his table. He had no turn for hoarding up money, so that he hardly ever had a hundred pounds of ready cash in his possession, all his revenues being expended on the purchase of books, the decoration of the altars in the different churches, and the relief of the poor; so that he could say with St. Augustine: 'Give me not poverty, O Lord, but give me what is needed for my support alone.' He spared no pains to make his clergy models of ecclesiastical training. To this end he held many Diocesan Synods, the Statutes made in which were so highly approved of by other Bishops, that they had them copied out and adopted in their own Dioceses. In that bright interval during which the Irish Church enjoyed the full blessings of liberty, all the Secular clergy of Kilkenny City lived with him, according to a regulation which he had made, in the Episcopal Palace, after the manner of a religious community. Out of this body he appointed the priests who were to have pastoral charge of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, limiting their tenure of office to three or six months only, each time, that they might always enter on their duties with fresh earnestness and zeal and, on the expiry of their pastoral term, have time for prayerful retirement."

Although bowed down with age he attended at his Cathedral, on the 14th Nov., 1645, to receive and welcome the illustrious Monsignor Rinuccini, Archbishop of Firmo, the Nuncio of Pope Innocent the Tenth to the Confederate Catholics of Ireland. The following account of the solemn entry of the Nuncio into Kilkenny city, where he arrived after a long journey through the Counties of Kerry, Limerick, Cork and Tipperary, is taken from his own narrative which he forwarded to Rome:

"The night before my arrival in Kilkenny, I stopped at a villa about three miles from the town to give time for the preparations for my reception. Here I was visited by four of the nobility, who, on the part of the Supreme Council, and accompanied by Mr. Bellings, again congratulated me on my arrival, and one of them, a literary man, made a short speech. The next day having set out in my litter, all along the way for the three miles of journey, I was met by the whole body of the nobility, and by the youth of Kilkenny and of the adjoining counties, who presented themselves, marshalled in separate troops, and the leader of each troop dismounting, approached on foot to present their compliments to me. The first to present themselves were a band of fifty students on horseback, all armed with pistols, who after caracolling for a time conveyed their welcome through one of their number deputed for the purpose; he was crowned with a laurel wreath and richly robed, and he addressed some good verses to me. Outside the city gate, in the church of St. Patrick, were assembled the clergy secular and regular, who, on my arrival, proceeded towards the city, in solemn procession. At the gate the Corporation of the City were drawn up, and with them the Vicar General in his robes, who

[1] According to O'Phelan's *Epitaphs on the Tombs in St. Canice's Cathedral*, edited by Dr. Peter Shee, the words erased on this tomb were:

"Pristino cultui restituit, heresim
Schismaque exinde emundans."

Archdeacon Lynch, who must have often seen the monument, when perfect, writes that "inscriptione literis aureis ornaretur, quae [prædicavit] illam ecclesiam *a sectariorum orgiis et sordibus repurgatam ritu Catholico dedicatam fuisse, primo Octobris*, 1644" [*recte*, 1642]. There can be little doubt that Lynch here quotes the exact words originally inscribed on the tomb and afterwards erased by Bishop Parry.

presented me with the crucifix to kiss; and when I mounted on horseback, wearing the cappa and episcopal hat, the poles of the canopy were borne by some of the chief citizens, who, notwithstanding the rain, walked uncovered. The whole way to the Cathedral, which is, perhaps, as long as the Via Lungara in Rome (about three-quarters of a mile) was lined with soldiers on foot, having their muskets. In the centre of the city, at a very high cross where the citizens are wont to assemble, we all stopped, and a youth, surrounded by a vast concourse, pronounced an oration, after which we again moved on till we reached the Cathedral. At the church door, the Bishop of Ossory, the ordinary of the Diocese, though advanced in years, was vested with cope, and awaited me: he presented the aspersorium and incense, and conducting me to the high altar, recited the prayers prescribed in the Ceremonial, after which I gave the solemn blessing and published the Indulgences; and then another discourse was pronounced in honour of my arrival." [1]

The policy of the Nuncio had, at first, no stauncher supporter than Bishop Rothe; and when, in August, 1646, the Nuncio and Bishops assembled in Waterford, condemned the Peace, entered into by the majority of the Supreme Council with Ormond, and declared it to be a breach of the public trust, a betrayal of the nation's confidence, and a violation of the confederate oath, Dr. Rothe gave his confirmation to their decision, and took immediate steps to counteract the evil influence of the obnoxious Peace party, as will appear from the following decree:

BURSE BELONGING TO BISHOP ROTHE'S VESTMENTS.

Preserved in the Museum of St Kieran's College.

"Whereas we have in public and private meetings, at several times, declared to the Supreme Council and others whom it might concern, that it was and is unlawful and against conscience, the implying perjury (as it hath been defined by the special Act of the Convocation of Waterford) to both commonwealths, spiritual and temporal, to do or concur in any act tending to the approbation or countenancing the publication of this unlawful and mischievous Peace, so dangerous (as it is now articled) to both commonwealths, spiritual and temporal; and whereas, notwithstanding our declaration, yea, the declaration of the whole clergy of the Kingdom to the contrary, the Supreme Council and the Commissioners have actually proceeded to the publication, yea, and forcing it upon the city by terror and threats, rather than by any free consent or desire of the people. We, having duly considered and taken it to heart, as it becometh us, how enormous this fact is, and appears in Catholics, even against God himself, and what a contempt of the Holy Church it appeareth, besides the evil it is like to draw upon this poor Kingdom, after mature deliberation and consent of our clergy, in detestation of the heinous and scandalous disobedience of the Supreme Council, and others who have adhered to them, in matters of conscience to the Holy Church, and in hatred of so sinful and abominable an act, do, by these presents, according to the prescriptions of the Sacred Canons, pronounce and command henceforth, a general cessation of Divine Offices throughout all the city and suburbs of Kilkenny, in all churches, monasteries, and houses in them whatsoever.

"Given at our Palace of Nova Curia,

"DAVID OSSORIENSIS.

"18th of August, 1646."

[1] *Transactions of Ossory Archæological Society*, Vol. ii.

By the fact of its acceptance of the Peace with Ormond, the Supreme Council was dissolved, and with it the General Assembly. The election of a new General Assembly thus becoming necessary, it was held during the early winter. The new representatives, 300 in number, met for the transaction of business, on the 10th Jan., 1647, and by an almost unanimous vote, rejected the Peace entered into with Ormond. Before adjourning they elected a Supreme Council, which was to be, practically speaking, the governing body of the nation; but the constitution of this body being afterwards considered unsatisfactory, they drew up a list of forty-four names, and from this list they chose twelve who, with Lord Mountgarret as President, would form the Executive or acting members of the Council. For a time things went on smoothly; but the apple of discord was again insidiously introduced into the council chamber. The cause of dissension now was a proposal to enter into a Truce or Treaty with Lord Inchiquin, who was commissioned by Lord Ormond, on the part of the King, to come to terms with the Confederate Catholics. After some discussion the majority of the Supreme Council, being creatures of Ormond, agreed to accept the Truce, and, going still further, they soon after publicly ratified the already condemned Peace which had been entered into with their master.

The Nuncio strenuously opposed the terms offered by Inchiquin, as, for the Supreme Council to accept them was, to his mind, a violation of the solemn oath of Association which they had taken. Finding now his efforts to secure their rejection unavailing, he, without delay, summoned a meeting of the Episcopal body at Kilkenny, on the 27th April, 1648, and with their unanimous approval condemned the truce as "destructive to the Catholic religion and its followers in this Kingdom and therefore as dangerous and unjust, and not in keeping with conscience." This condemnation exasperated the abettors of the Truce and their numerous following beyond bounds. Feeling ran so high against the Nuncio that, fearing for his personal safety, he found it necessary to take his departure from Kilkenny city, which he did, with the utmost secrecy, on the 8th of May. He made his way, without molestation, to Ballinakill, and thence to Owen Roe O'Neill's camp at Maryboro'. As a last resource he now drew the spiritual sword, and by a formal decree, dated at Kilmensie (now Kilminchy, near Maryboro'), May 27th, 1648, fulminated sentence of excommunication against all adherents and abettors of the Truce, and placed all such cities, towns or villages as accepted the said Truce under Interdict. The same day authenticated copies of these censures were transmitted to Kilkenny and supplied to the Supreme Council and the ecclesiastical authorities; on the following day they were affixed to the doors of the Cathedral, St. Mary's, St. Patrick's, and the other churches and chapels in the city.

The prudence of the Nuncio in having recourse to the censures of the Church may be called in question. Cardinal Moran writes :

"That the Nuncio acted for the best when he resolved on issuing the censures against the promoters of the Truce and Peace, there can be no doubt. But looking back upon these times at the distance of two centuries, and viewing them in the light of all the documents that have been published in the interval illustrative of both sides of the controversy, it must appear to be more than questionable whether he fully understood the true state of parties, and whether he realized the actual condition of the Confederates. From the letters and other papers bearing upon the case, it is manifest that the Nuncio relied on the following grounds for the success of the extreme measures to which he had had recourse : 1st, that the clergy of the Kingdom would be unanimous in accepting the censures and in adopting as their own the course which he pursued ; 2nd, that not only the Ulster army and the other Irish troops, but also the greater part of the Catholic soldiers in the camp of General Preston, and the garrisons of Leinster and Munster would be guided by the clergy, and detach themselves from the Supreme Council ; 3rd, that the whole strength of the nation being thus marshalled in defence of religion and country, the opposition of the Ormondists, for thus the adherents of the Peace were now designated, would be speedily overcome ; 4th, that the military and commissariat supplies were quite sufficient for the immediate wants of the Irish army ; and 5th, that abundant aid would be forthcoming from the Holy See and other friendly Powers on the Continent, to enable them to prosecute with vigour the war against the Puritan enemy. The result, however, was far from justifying these expectations. The clergy were anything but united in asserting the validity of the censures, and espousing the Nuncio's cause. Some of the most influential amongst them went even so far as to openly assert that the censures were null, and that the Nuncio, in drawing the spiritual sword, had overstepped the authority with which he was invested by the Sovereign Pontiff. Instead of the various armies coalescing against the common enemy, their jealousy and hostility became more embittered, and thenceforward detachments of troops were to be found every day assailing each other in deadly strife. The country was quite exhausted of supplies : one pound sterling was the ordinary price for a few ounces of gunpowder, and even at that price oftentimes none could be procured. The angry dissensions by which the Confederate ranks were now rent gave a fair pretext to the continental Powers to withhold the succours which they had promised. Moreover, the complete defeat of the Royalists in England, and the growing strength of the Parliament party, made several of those Powers less anxious to provoke its hostility, whilst others—and in particular the Holy See—were forced to apply all their resources to the defence of their own frontiers, on account of the menacing attitude of the Saracens." [1]

A few days after the publication of the censures, the Supreme Council forwarded an appeal from the sentence of the Nuncio to the Pope. Suffice it to say with regard to this appeal, that it was rejected as frivolous (*frivola*), by Innocent X., whose successor, Alexander VII., by Bull dated August, 1665, addressed to the Bishops of Raphoe, Leighlin, Clonfert and Cork, empowered them to absolve from the censures issued by the Nuncio.

Dr. Rothe at first observed the censures, but ere promulgating them in his Diocese, he desired to take counsel with his clergy, and for that purpose he summoned all the priests and theologians, secular and regular, of Kilkenny city, to meet him on a certain day in the beginning of June. In the meantime, doubts began to be cast very generally on the validity of the censures, men of weight and learning freely asserting that in fulminating them the Nuncio acted *ultra vires* and therefore invalidly, and that, even though the censures were valid, their effect was suspended by the appeal to the Holy Father. Dr. Rothe finding those views to prevail among the clergy whom he had called to assist him by their counsel, adopted

[1] *Transactions Ossory Archæol. Society*, Vol. ii.

them as his own and forthwith refused to acknowledge the censures any longer, at the same time, however, leaving such as desired to observe them free to do so. Ere the clergy had brought their deliberations to a close, the Supreme Council, no doubt aware of the trend of their opinions, submitted to them certain Queries respecting the censures, with a request that they would give a reply to each. These Queries, seven in number, were drawn up by the notorious semi-apostate Franciscan, Peter Walsh, the bitterest opponent of the Nuncio, and were substantially as follows :

1.—Whether the articles of the Truce with Inchiquin were to be regarded as hostile to the Catholic religion, and affording sufficient grounds for the extreme sentence of Excommunication and Interdict ?

2.—Whether the Appeal to the Holy See lodged by the Supreme Council in due form and within the prescribed time, should suffice to suspend ad interim the effects of those censures ?

3.—Whether in the proposals made by the Nuncio regarding the Truce, or in the answers to the same presented by the Supreme Council, there was anything which justified the issuing of the sentence of Excommunication ?

4.—Whether those who had taken the oath of Association would incur the guilt of perjury were they to set themselves in opposition to the express decrees of the Supreme Council ?

5.—Whether the Excommunication and Interdict were to be considered as contrary to the laws of the Kingdom, which were enacted in Catholic times, and which all the Prelates of this realm were bound by oath to uphold ; and whether it be lawful for the Bishops, nevertheless, to publish the said Excommunication and Interdict in defiance of the express prohibition of the Supreme Council ?

6.—Whether a dispensation in the oath of Association could be accorded to any party among the Confederates without the consent of the General Assembly, all authority in regard to the said oath being expressly reserved by the articles of Association to the General Assembly ?

7.—Whether it be lawful for any party among the Confederates, under pretence of the course of action now pursued by the Nuncio, to refuse obedience to the authority of the Supreme Council ?

The replies to the Queries were in conformity with the spirit of the assembled clergy, and against the validity of the censures. An elaborate treatise was published over the name of Dr. Rothe, justifying this decision and setting forth in detail the grounds on which it rested. Owing to the infirmities of the aged Bishop the publication of this treatise was entrusted to Fr. Peter Walsh, just mentioned, who was himself supposed to have been the author of the Queries. It happened that, in this way, some expressions disrespectful to the Holy See and offensive to the Nuncio were introduced into the work. The Bishop hastened to repudiate all such expressions and to protest against such sentiments being imputed to him, for he would yield to none in reverence and love for the Holy See. This treatise, in reply to the Queries, purports to have the approval of, among others, the following : David Rooth, Episcopus Ossoriensis ; Thomas Deaz, Medensis Episcopus ; Thomas Roth, Dean of [St.] Keny's ; Christopher Maurice, a Jesuit ; Laurence Archbold, V. Gen. of Gleandalagh ; John Shee, Prebendary of Main ; Luke Cowley, Archdeacon of Ossory ; William Dillon, a Jesuit ; John Usher, a Jesuit ; Paul Nasse, Prebendary [of Ossory] ; Peter Walsh, Lector of Divinitie ; Henry Plunket, Superior of the Jesuits ; Robert Bath, a Jesuit ; and William St. Leger, a Jesuit.

In consequence of the decision of Dr. Rothe and the clergy whom he had consulted, the Nuncio's Interdict ceased to be observed in all the parish churches of Kilkenny city, and in the churches of the Jesuits and Franciscans there ; it was strictly observed, however, in the churches of the Dominicans and Capuchins.

No Catholic would now think of justifying Dr Rothe in thus setting at naught the authority of the Nuncio. At the same time, anyone who has made a study of the venerable Bishop's life, will be forced to admit that in adopting this line of policy he acted *bona fide*, conscientiously but erroneously believing that, in issuing the Church's censures against a whole nation, the Nuncio had exceeded his powers. The period, too, it must not be forgotten, was one of confusion. The question of the Peace with Ormond, and that of the Truce with Inchiquin, had already hopelessly distracted the country, both clergy and laity ; the controversy regarding the Nuncio's censures reduced everything to chaos. Dr. Rothe in acting as he did made a great mistake, but he made it in the company of the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishops of Meath, Killala, Limerick, Ferns, Kilmacduagh, Ardagh, Dromore and Kilfenora, Father Luke Wadding and the Jesuits. Though sorely troubled at the attitude of one so venerable for his years and merits, yet his opponents, the supporters of the Nuncio's policy, would fain exempt him from all blame. Thus the author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* refers to him at this time as being in his " seconde infancie ; " and " soe traduced that not onely was not of abilitie to understande or studie the matter in question [*i.e.*, the reply to the Queries]; nay, could not doe soe much as to leave his character upon any paper, such a deade palsie was he possessed of." In a letter from Owen Roe's camp, dated May 4th, 1649, the writer represents him as then almost doting and in his second childhood. (Ossoriensis iam delirio est proximus, vtpote qui senio grauatus repuerascit.)

During the greater part of 1649 Dr. Rothe was confined to his chamber, worn out with old age and sickness, and unable to take any part in the questions by which the country was agitated. His tenants on the See lands, taking advantage of his helpless condition and the disturbance of the times, could not now be induced to pay their rents. To compel them to do so he had at length to have recourse to the secular power, as appears from the following petition in the Entry Books of the Earl of Ormond. [1]

" The Petition of David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, 21st Aug., 1649 shows that his tenants of the see-lands, taking advantage of the disturbances of the times, and well knowing that the petitioner is old and bedrid, and unable to proceed by distress, neglect to pay him their rents ; he therefore prays a renewal of the order of the late General Assembly and Supreme Council for Captain J. Bryan to cess them with a competent number of foot soldiers until they shall pay ; for his lands are so waste, they yield not as much as may maintain the Church in any beseeming manner, and petitioner himself for want of maintenance, must be forced to break up house, and live obscurely and meanly "

[1] *Report on the Carte Papers*, p. 83.

Towards the close of this year a great plague, which first made its appearance at Galway, swept over Ireland, half depopulating in its progress, cities and towns. To add to Dr. Rothe's many troubles, the plague spread to Kilkenny and began to work fearful havoc among the inhabitants. On learning this he arose from his bed, and, his feebleness notwithstanding, took measures for the spiritual and temporal consolation of his flock. "He caused himself to be carried in a litter from door to door, in order that he might have the satisfaction of ministering with his own hands relief to those who were struck down by the plague. The mysterious shadows of approaching dissolution were already visible on his pale and wasted features; and when the dying beheld him borne along in their midst, or looked up to him from their straw pallets while he was pronouncing the last benediction over them, many and many a one derived consolation from the thought that the pastor would not tarry long behind his flock."

The appearance of the plague at Galway almost coincided, to the day, with the landing of Cromwell and his army of invaders at Dublin, on the 15th August, 1649. The events of the campaign of the next three months, including the sieges of Wexford and Drogheda, are too well known to need recapitulation here. After wintering at Youghal, Cromwell again took the field, Jan. 29th, 1650. He appeared before Kilkenny, March 22nd, and on the 27th of the same month the city was surrendered to him. According to the terms of the surrender, all the inhabitants, *none excepted*, were allowed to take their departure from the city, with their goods, and go whither they would. Availing himself of this saving clause, Dr. Rothe left Kilkenny, with the remnant of the garrison, on the morning of March 28th. But we had better give the narrative in the words of Archdeacon Lynch.

"He (Dr. Rothe) remained in the city, with his flock, to the last. When, at length, the city almost stripped of inhabitants and soldiers by the plague, fell into the enemy's hands, March 27th 1650 (old style), it was stipulated that the citizens should have their lives and property, on payment of an indemnity, and that the soldiers should be allowed to march out with their arms and goods. Borne in his carriage, Dr. Rothe accompanied the retiring garrison which was allowed to march only about two miles from the city when its rereguard was attacked and plundered by a detachment of the enemy. In the same attack a charge was made on the Bishop's carriage, during which he himself was robbed of £100, all that he then possessed. Wherefore by Cromwell's permission, being allowed back into the city to his friends, he expired among them on the 20th of the following April, at the age of 82 years. He was buried in the tomb of his ancestors, which they had erected in St. Mary's Church, his obsequies being duly performed by his friends according to the Catholic rite, with torches, by permission of the enemy, burning around his bier throughout the whole night that preceded his interment. [He would have been buried] in the tomb which he had erected in the Cathedral church were it not that obstacles had arisen preventing his interment there. It was looked upon almost as a miracle that, whereas the enemy destroyed the magnificent monument of the Earls of Ormond and other splendid monuments with which the Cathedral church abounded, they offered no violence to the Bishop's monument, which is a most remarkable circumstance, inasmuch as this monument is ornamented with sculpturings of the Crucifixion, the Blessed Virgin, and other Saints, and has a gold-lettered inscription testifying that that church was dedicated, according to the Catholic rite, on the 1st of October, 1644 [*recte* 1642], after having been cleansed of heretical orgies and defilement. It is also deserving of remark that, although the graves of the other citizens were filled with the corpses of the

strangers, the Bishop's tomb (or rather that which he erected) in the Cathedral was never defiled by the interment fo any outsider."

Besides his writings in print and manuscript, already referred to, the following memorials of Bishop Rothe yet remain :

(*a*) His monument in St. Canice's Cathedral.

(*b*) His portrait preserved at Jenkinstown Park. The painting is a half length and represents a venerable old man, with flowing beard and moustache, in rochette and mozzetta, with simple cross and chain. On the head is an Episcopal zucchetto, or house cap, of the pattern usually worn by Spanish Bishops, in their own residences, to the present day. On the upper left-hand angle are the arms of Rothe, viz., *Or, a stag argent trippant by a tree proper*, surmounted by a Bishop's hat labelled and tasselled ; underneath the shield of arms is the following :

"A. D. 1644
DAVID. EPISCOP'. OSSORIENSIS.
Aº ÆTIS. 72. HOMO. PVETREDO. ET.
FILIS. HOMINIS. VERMIS. JOB. 25."

At the right-hand upper corner, surrounded by a glory, are the words :—" Beati pacifici qvoniam filii Dei vocabvntur ; " and on the edge of the table on which the Bishop leans :—" In imagine pertransit homo et frvstra contvrbatvr "—Psalm. 38.[1]

(*c*) A silver reliquary cross presented by him " Congregationi Pacificae." [2]

(*d*) A massive silver monstrance, having round the glazed central compartment the quotation : " Ecce tabernacvlvm Dei cvm hominibvs et habitabit cvm eis,' &c., and on the base the inscription :

" DAVID ROTH EPISCOP. OSSORIEN. ME FERI FECIT. ANO 1644.
ORA PRO CLERO ET POPVLO DIŒCESSIS OSSORIEN."

This monstrance was preserved at Jenkinstown by the Bryan family, who presented it, with other relics of Bishop Rothe and his time, to St. Mary's Cathedral, about 1855. It is now in the Museum, St. Kieran's College.[3]

(*e*) The Bishop's vestments, also presented to the Cathedral by the Bryan family, are likewise deposited in the College Museum. They are of richly wrought cloth of gold. On the front of the burse is a shield worked in thread, bearing the Rothe

[1] By the kind permission of the Honble. Mr. Bellew, Jenkinstown Park, this most interesting portrait has been photographed, and a copy inserted in this volume at p. 86 *supra*.

[2] See illustrations, p. 99, *supra*.

[3] See illustrations, p. 101, *supra*.

stag, and surmounted by a Bishop's hat labelled, each label ending in three tassels.

So far for memorials of the Bishop.

His grand-nephew, Edward Rothe fitz Pierce fitz Edward, is commemorated in the inscription on the back of a black silk chalice veil, in St. Kieran's College Museum: the inscription is worked in thread and is as follows:

"Ora pro anima
D. Edwardi Roth
Petri. Obiit 2 No. 1664."

"*i.e.*, Pray for the soul of Edward Roth fitz Pierce; he died, Nov. 2nd, 1664." Besides the inscription, the veil has also a shield bearing the Rothe coat of arms, impaling the *three chevronels* of the Archdekins. The set of vestments to which this veil belongs, was formerly the property of St. Mary's parish, having, no doubt, been presented thereto by Edward Rothe's widow, Catherine Archdekin, who survived her husband almost 50 years, and died April 13th, 1714.

ROTHE CHALICE VEIL.

Two silver-gilt chalices, one in St. Mary's Cathedral, the other in St. Canice's parish church, bear the name of Mrs. Rothe; the former is inscribed:

"Ex dono Catherinae Rothe alias Archdekin, Parochiae S. Mariae, Kilkenniensis. Obiit 13° Aprilis An. Dom. 1714, ora pro ea."

the other has:

"Orate pro aia. R. D. Joannis Brenan, Sacer$^{tis.}$ qui me fieri fecit A°. 1633.
"Ex dono Catherinae Roth al'. Archdekin, Parochiae S. Canici.
"Obiit 13 die April, 1714."

Bishop Phelan, in his will of July 1st, 1693[1] leaves to his successor several Episcopal articles which he "gott from Mrs. Catherine Archdekin, al'. Roth, wch. belonged to my predecessor." It is probable that it was in her and her husband's house that Dr. Rothe died, and that it was her hand that ministered to the dying Bishop during his last days on earth. Her three sons, John, Michael, and Mathew Rothe were outlawed and attainted, at Kilkenny, as Jacobites, April 21st, 1691. Her daughter, Rose Rothe, married James Bryan, Esqr., of Jenkinstown, and from their union descends the present Jenkinstown family.

[1] Vide *infra*.

CHAPTER XI.

VACANCY OF THE SEE (1650-1669).

AFTER Dr. Rothe's death the See remained vacant for nineteen years, during which period it was governed by the following zealous Ecclesiastics, acting as Vicars or Administrators :

Bryan Mac Turlough Fitzpatrick.—He was appointed Vicar General of Ossory, in August or September, 1651, by Dr. Edmund O'Dempsey, Bishop of Leighlin, then the senior Bishop and Vice-Primate of the Province. "As for Ossory, his Lordship [Dr. O'Dempsey] did apointe Vicar of that Diocesse one Bryan McTerlagh Fitz-Patricke, a zealous, religious and pious priest, but within a short time after God did call him unto a better choice into glorie, in remuneration of his vertues." [1] Dr. Fitzpatrick had laboured for many years in Ossory, apparently in Fitzpatrick's country, in the northern portion of the Diocese. As "Sir Bryan fitz Terlough," he is mentioned in the *Langton Genealogy*, on the 12th Nov., 1617, when he baptized, at Ballincolla, now Ballacolla, Ellen, daughter of Nicholas Langton of Grenan. Grenan is in the old Catholic parish of Durrow, which parish, therefore, at this date, must have formed, together with Ballacolla, the field of Father Bryan fitz Terlough's missionary labours.

In the year 1652, a petition was presented to Propaganda, praying that the dignity of Vicar Apostolic be conferred on him, declaring him to be "a man truly pious, prudent and learned, who then discharged the duties, and held the whole responsibility of the Diocese as Vicar General, and who, for forty years, had edified the clergy and faithful of Ossory, by word and example, in the sacred ministry, having laboured assiduously, and suffered a great deal, especially of late years, in the

[1] *Aphorismical Discovery*, Vol. II., p. 175.

cause of religion and his country." In accordance with the above petition the dignity of Vicar Apostolic was granted to him. Soon after he rested from his labours.

He may, not unreasonably, be identified with Father Bryan or Bernard Fitzpatrick, an Ossory priest, who suffered a glorious martyrdom at the hands of the Cromwellians, and of whom it is recorded, in the *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*, that he was of the family of the Barons of Upper Ossory ; that he was famed over the whole Kingdom for his holiness of life and learning, and respected for his high descent ; and that he was pursued into a cave by the heretics, who there cut off his head, placed it on a pole over the gate of a certain town, and left his body to be devoured by the wild beasts. (Perillustris et *Reverendissimus* D. Bernardus Fitz Patrick, Presbyter ex familia illustrissimorum D. D. Baronum Ossoriensium seu de Ossory, quem ad quandam speluncam a rabie haereticorum confugientem, haeretici insecuti sanctissimum virum, erat enim vita, doctrina, et prosapia conspicuus et in toto regno notus, capite plexerunt, in spelunca : caput in porta cujusdam oppidi infixa pertica in escam volatilibus coeli appenderunt, et carnes pro bestiis terrae reliquerunt.) There is a well-remembered tradition in Durrow parish, of the slaughter of ecclesiastics who had taken refuge in a cave, now destroyed, at the "Friar's Chapel" in Tinweer, about a quarter of a mile from the town of Durrow. Here it was, perhaps, that Dr. Fitzpatrick received the crown of martyrdom.

Shawn Fitzpatrick.—Dr. O'Dempsey,[1] being himself a Clanmalier man, had no wish to overlook the merits of his old neighbours in Upper Ossory, and accordingly, on the death of Dr. Bryan Mac Turlough, towards the end of 1652, "did nominate one Sheane FitzPatricke, priest, Vicar-generall of Ossory." [2]

Turlough Fitzpatrick.—On the death of Shawn Fitzpatrick, another priest of the Upper Ossory stock named Turlough Fitzpatrick, was placed over the Diocese as Vicar Apostolic. He attended a meeting of the heads of the Catholic clergy, assembled in Dublin in the year 1666, under the Presidency of the Primate, Edmund O'Reilly, to deliberate on presenting an address to Charles the Second, expressive of their loyalty.

In the Archives of the Propaganda, is a letter addressed to Cardinal Barberini by him, dated from Kilkenny, January 10th, 1669, and signed "Terentius Patritius (the Latinized form of his name), Vicarius Apostolicus Dioecesis Ossoriensis." He had received a commission from the Cardinal to unmask the falsely assumed Apostolical authority of James Taaffe, O.S.F., brother of Lord Carlingford, and partizan of the infamous Peter Walsh, in his efforts to drag the Irish Church into

[1] Dr. O'Dempsey retired into exile to Bilboa, in Spain, in the end of 1652. He died in Spain, Sept. 6th, 1658, aged 56 years.

[2] *Aphor. Discov.*, Vol. II., p. 175.

schism ; and had been, moreover, deputed to intimate to the other Diocesan authorities in the Ecclesiastical Province of Leinster, the authoritative condemnation of Taaffe and his doings. Dr. Fitzpatrick proceeded in person to communicate the Cardinal's instructions to the Vicar Capitular of Leighlin, but, in his reply to Cardinal Barberini, he excuses himself for not proceeding to Ferns, or Kildare, or Dublin, " on account of the severity of the winter and the floods, and still more on account of his own infirmities, and the threats of his opponents," and, therefore, he had requested the Vicar Capitular of Leighlin to be bearer to the others of the instructions of the Holy See.

A few months after the date of this letter, Dr. Turlough Fitzpatrick departed this life.

CHAPTER XII.

JAMES PHELAN (1669-95).

AFTER a long widowhood, our Diocese was again provided with a Bishop, in the person of Dr. James Phelan, in the month of January, 1669. Dr. Phelan was born in the city of Kilkenny in 1621 or 1622, and was the son of Daniel Phelan and Catherine Dulany, his wife. Archdeacon Lynch writes that his true family name was Fitzpatrick or MacGillapatrick, but that, as the sword of persecution dealt mercilessly during the 16th century with all who were known to belong to the noble house of Upper Ossory, his grandfather changed his name from Fitzpatrick to Phelan, which was the name of his fosterer ; and he further states that the Bishop, though bearing the name of Phelan, always retained, as his coat of arms, the escutcheon of the Fitzpatricks. (Nuperrime tamen cujusdam amici mei litterae certiorem fecerunt hujus Jacobi avum Fitzpatricii sive Macgellepatricii cognomen tulisse—quae familia principatum olim in Ossoria tenuit et nunc etiam in honore magno versatur—et bello in patria saeviente, ut periculum quod capiti suo impendebat, declinaret, ascititium Foellani collectanei sui cognomen assumpsisse, quod patri et Jacobo deinceps adhaesit, hoc patris et avi cognomen sed majorum insignia retinente.) [1]

Having completed his ecclesiastical studies, he was promoted to the Priesthood, by special dispensation of the Holy See, owing to his not having fully attained the Canonical age, in the month of March, 1643, old style (that is, 1644, new style). Promotion followed quickly. In 1645 Dr. Rothe appointed him Parish Priest, and in the following year promoted him to the dignity of Chancellor of the Diocese. Three years later, Pope Innocent X. appointed him Dean of Ossory, in succession

[1] *De Praesulibus Hiberniae.*

to Father Thomas Rothe, in 1649. After the capture of Kilkenny by Cromwell, in 1650, he sought refuge in Galway, and it is recorded by Archdeacon Lynch, that during his stay in this city he used to play the organ during the celebration of High Mass in the ancient Cathedral of St. Nicholas. (Paulo post, Cromwelliana saevitia regionem illam omnem pernattata, patriae finibus pulsus, Galviam tenuit, in cujus urbis Cromwelliana dominatione adhuc immunis Collegiata S. Nicholai ecclesia organa, dum sacrum solemne fierit, modulate pulsabat.) [1]

When Galway, the last stronghold of the Catholics in the West, fell into the enemy's hands, he, with several of the clergy, was sent into exile. He then proceeded to Paris, where he applied himself anew to the study of Philosophy and Theology, and further pursued the course of Canon Law, while at the same time he instructed the young Irish Levites in Sacred Chant, of which he was a master (quem apprime colebat).[2] From Paris he removed to Rheims, where he took out his degree as Doctor of Divinity. He was still in France in 1659 when a special brief was forwarded to him from Rome, commissioning him, as Missionary Apostolic, to return to Ireland to pursue his labours among the afflicted faithful of Ossory. He remained a short time in London as Chaplain to the Baron de Battaville, the French Ambassador at the English Court, but quitted that post to accompany the Hon. Richard Butler, brother of the Duke of Ormond, on his return to his mansion at Kilcash, Co. Tipperary. During eight years he discharged the office of Chaplain to the Kilcash family, while at the same time he was entrusted with the care of two parishes (Kilcash and another), in the Diocese of Lismore, and attended to all his duties with most devoted zeal. He was promoted to the dignity of Prothonotary Apostolic by Pope Alexander the Seventh and, in 1667, to the pastoral charge of Callan, by Clement the Ninth.

His appointment to the Bishopric of Ossory was made January 11th, 1669; he was consecrated in Dublin, August 11th following, by Dr. Patrick Plunket, Bishop of Meath, assisted by Father Luke Cowley, Archdeacon of Ossory, and Father James Wesley, Archdeacon of Dublin. A fortnight after his consecration, August 26th (new style), a Diocesan Synod was duly held in Kilkenny, and the clergy, being thus assembled, took occasion to address to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, a letter expressive of their thanks for granting a Bishop to their Diocese, and bestowing on them so worthy a Prelate. The following is the text of this letter, with the invaluable list of signatures attached to it:

" Eme. Dñe.

" Tota Ecclesia Ossoriensis a viginti fere annis orthodoxo Antistite orbata, et ferocissimis luporum oves Xti. rapere, dispergere, mactareque conantium morsibus ictibusque lacerata lugubriter toto illo

[1] *De Praesulibus Hiberniae.*

[2] *Ibid.*

tempore ingemuit, nunc demum tristitia ejus per Sanctitatem Suam versa est in gaudium exaltando Rev. D. Jacobum Felanum facultatis Rhemensis Doctorem Theologum meritissimum et eximium verbi Dei praeconem ad dignitatem Episcopalem, quem ante viginti duos annos SSmus. D. Bonae Mem. Innocentius Xus. Cancellarium instituit Ecclæ. Cathedralis Osorien., postea Capitulum Ossoriense annuente Rmo. Epo. Decanum ejusdem Ecclæ. elegit, deinde ipsum protonotarium Apostolicum Alexander VII. fael. record. creavit, denique Sanctitas Sua (qua pro generali totius Ecclæ. regimine Deus servet incolumen) ad Rectoriam de Callan, nunc vero cum communi populi clerique applausu ad Episcopatum Ossoriensem (ad quem humilitas ipsius numquam aspiravit), gratiose promovit, sicut ex S. Sanctitatis diplomatibus ac etiam ex Eminentissimae Dnis. Vae. litteris ad nos scriptis intelligimus. Nos itaque Capitulum et totus Clerus Saecularis Ossoriensis Sanctitatis S. filii immensas agimus gratias quod nobis virum e nostris in Civitate Kilkenniensi piis honestisque parentibus natum, litteratum, moderatum, ac pium, moribus gravem, vita exemplarem aliisque qualitatibus ac dotibus in Epo. juxta Canones requisitis imbutum in pastorem dederit, cui Eccla. nostra Ossorien. lætanter aperiet ejusque vocem audiet ac ipsum proprias oves vocantem nominatim ac educentem sequetur, quod Sti. Suae intimare Emam. Vam. Dnem. enixe rogamus. In quorum omnium fidem prostrati ante pedes Stis. Suae hisce subscripsimus in Synodo Dioecesana sub eodem Rmo. Epo. nostro congregati.

Kilkenniæ, 16° Augusti, 1669.
Joannes Morisius, Cantor Ossorien.
Nicholaus Rothus, Thesaur. Diaec. Ossorien.
Thad. Brohy, praeb. de Aghure et Vic. foran de Callan.
Nicolaus Tue, praeb. de Blackrath.
Philip. Purcell, rector B.M. de Rossconnell et praeb. de Mayen.
Paulus de Naasse, Canonicus Kilkennien.
Stephanus Geraldinus, praeb. de Clonamery.
Pet. Walsh, praeb de Killamury.
Philip Walsh, praeb. de Kilmanagh.
Petr. Purcell, pastor Ecclæ. S. Joannis de Kilkennia.
Gulielmus Swayne, Rect. Ecclæ. B.M. de Goran.
Lucas Cowlaeus, Archidiac. Ossorien. Protonot. Aplicus
Richard Casee, Vic. Foran. de Aghowre.
Thadaeus Dullany, Presb.
Thom. Moore, Vic. F. de Aghaboo
Dermitius Freyny, Vic. de Castlecomer.
Edw. Molloy, pastor Ecclæ. de Athamachart.
Lucas Archer, Vic. Bæ. Mariae de Kilkenny.
Joan. Roche, Sacerdos.
Jacobus Kavanagh, Parochus S. Canici. Kilken.
Adam Shee, Vic. de Urlingford.
Marcus Rothe, Paroch. Ecclae. SS. Omnium de Newtowne.
Jacobus Valesius, Parochus Ecclæ. S. Patricii de Kilkenny, necnon Rector B. Mariae de Inshiologhan
Nicolaus Dobin, V. F. decanatus de Claragh
Theobald Archer, Vic. B. Mariæ de Rossbercon.
Joan. Graunt, Vic. de Fiddoune.
Patrit. Archer, presbyter.
Maurit. Phelan, pastor Ecclæ. S. Columbae.
Joan. Dowling, rector de Kiemaloge &c.
Dermit Kinin, pastor Ecclæ. de Scuirke.
Dermit. Rian, Vic. de Callan.
Robert Shee, Vic. de Knocktopher.
Edmund Ballard, presbyter.
Malachias Duigin, pastor Ecclæ. S. Coedi."

In October, 1669, a couple of months after his consecration, Dr. Phelan attended a Provincial Synod held in Dublin; and, in June, 1670, he took part in the deliberations of a National Synod, convened at the same place, by the Most Rev. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh. There can, perhaps, be no greater proof of the zeal with which Dr. Phelan discharged the duties of his high office, than the number

of Diocesan Synods which, notwithstanding the difficulties of the times, he managed to hold. In the Archives of the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin is preserved a copy of the Statutes passed in the Ossory Synods of 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1676, 1677, 1678 and 1683, and published by Cardinal Moran in *Spicileg. Ossor.*, Vol. III., pp. 92-102.

A *Relatio* on the State of the Diocese, forwarded by our Bishop to Rome, on July 10th, 1678, furnishes some items of interest :

" The Diocese of Ossory, in Ireland," he writes, " suffragan of the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin, is forty miles long and from twelve to fourteen wide, and is bounded by the eight Dioceses of Waterford, Lismore, Cashel, Meath, [Killaloe], Kildare, Leighlin, and Ferns. It is made up of 120 parishes, but has only 28 Parish priests, all (with five exceptions) educated abroad, some having the care of four, others five, and others six parishes, the emoluments of which, such is the poverty of the Catholics and the multitude of heretics settled down everywhere, are scarcely sufficient for their maintenance. Some of them pay me yearly one English pound, others half a pound, others nothing, as proxy and charitable offering, no other means being left for the support of myself and my household (and the same, if I mistake not, can be said of the other Bishops of Ireland). I have bound each of them, under pain of suspension, to instruct the people committed to their care, either by preaching or catechizing, and this they do to the great benefit of souls. In this Diocese there were three Dominican Abbeys now, alas, in ruins, one in Kilkenny, in which city is the Cathedral Church dedicated to St. Canice ; a second at Aghabhoe ; the third at Rosbercon. In the first are five friars ; in the second convent two : in the third none. Of the whole number only three are preachers. There is also, in Kilkenny one convent of the Franciscans of Strict Observance, with eleven Friars, of whom three are preachers. In the town of Callan, in the same Diocese, there is an Abbey of the Hermits of St. Augustine, now nearly destroyed ; five Friars, however, none of them a preacher, have a convent in that town. Two Jesuits have a hospice at Kilkenny, and three Capuchins another ; some of them preach and exercise the sacred ministry as missionaries. In the town of Knocktopher there is a Carmelite Abbey, but we have no member of that order. We have four Abbeys of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, and two of the Cistercians, but there remains no member of either Order. Kilkenny [city] has four Parish Priests, and as many oratories, decently fitted up, as far as the circumstances of the time will permit ; the Regulars also have four oratories there. A hundred heretics have been converted to the Catholic faith throughout the whole Diocese, during the last four years ; two, or at most three, of the laity have gone out from us, for filthy lucre's sake. The secular and regular clergy, both city and rural, live in peace and fraternal charity." [1]

On the 26th March, 1683, very soon after the death of Dr. Mark Forrestall, Bishop of Kildare and Administrator of Leighlin, the clergy of the latter Diocese forwarded a petition to the Internuncio at Brussels, praying that the Bishop of Ossory might be appointed administrator of the See. The petition, however, was not granted, and a few months after Dr. Wesley was appointed Bishop of both Leighlin and Kildare.

In 1685 and again in 1688, Dr. Phelan attended Provincial Synods held in Dublin byArchbishop Russell. The accession of the Catholic King, James the Second, to the throne, in the former year, brought new hopes to his long persecuted co-religionists in Ireland. These hopes, too, were destined to a realization, but all, alas ! too brief. The Penal Laws became for a time a dead letter ; Catholics were allowed to practise their religion in peace, and had the highest offices in the State thrown

[1] *Spicil. Oss.* vol. ii., pp. 253-4.

open to them ; even pensions were sanctioned for the Catholic clergy, and we find, among others, the sum of £150, a large amount in those days, allotted yearly out of the Treasury, to Dr. Phelan.

Our zealous Bishop was not slow to take advantage of the favourable circumstances that had arisen. His first care was to establish a high-class school in Kilkenny city for the education of the youth of his diocese in the various branches of secular science. This school or college, of which he himself was patron, he placed under the presidency of Dr. William Daton, P.P., St. Mary's, and Dean of the Diocese. Its list of professors has been thus handed down by Ledwich in his *Antiquities of Ireland :*

Edvardus Tonnery, Philosophiae Professor
Jacobus Cleary, Rhetoricae Professor
Gulielmus Felan, Lit. Human. Professor
Fran. Barnwall, Tertii Ordinis Professor.
Johannes Meagher, Quartae Classis Professor.

For the guidance of the Professors, Dr. Phelan drew up the following code of rules, which is also taken from Ledwich.[1]

" Rules to be observed by the professors of my Lord Bishop of Ossory's College, in Kilkennie, given by his Lordship :

" The teachers of Colleges are to know, that piety is the chief thing they ought to teach ; and all other things that are taught are nothing but means to attain that end ; and therefore piety is to be taught by word and example on all occasions in general, and particularly in the following exercises :

" I. The teachers are to get up half an hour, at least, before the boarders ; and spend at least half an hour in mental prayer together in the room where the boarders come to vocal prayer ; and to remain there until the boarders come, that they may see so good an example to imitate. This being very easy and beneficial no one ought to forego it, or be cold or negligent to appear with the rest, if he were not very sick. And to be notably remiss in this exercise is a fault whereof the ordinary is to be informed. When the boarders come, those that have not the breviary to say, ought to say the prayers with the scholars, and give them good example by often going to confession and communion, The mental prayer may be omitted the play-days, and made an hour later on holydays and Sundays.

" II. The teachers are to shew all exactness and regularity in their exercises ; going exactly to their several schools at the same moment ; and also precisely together from school : to be gentle and courteous to the scholars, especially when they propose any difficulties : but they are to keep always their distance ; never showing any weakness, lightness, passion, scurrility, or any incivility that the scholars may take notice of. To affect gravity before them, more than if the teachers were apart ; or there they may give themselves full latitude ; but never to make them their comrades by familiarity that denotes equality and makes fellows, as laughing, chatting, playing together, and such other familiarities wherein the scholars may discover any weakness in the masters, or diminish their esteem for them : no man being fitter to teach and persuade than he who is well possessed of his auditors' esteem.

" III. Those that preside at the scholars' studies, are to be careful and exact therein, lest the scholars should lose their time. If any of the masters be obliged to absent himself when his turn is to be present, he must pray some other teacher to supply his place : for no teacher ought to pretend to be exempt, upon the account of having much to study, from what is common to all the teachers : whereas there is none but may take that pretext ; and if the scholars be neglected but one hour a day it will give them an occasion of idleness, and taking of liberty.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 430-32.

"IV. As for the teachers' conversation, it ought to be very fraternal and lovely; consulting and advising one another: and though we think fit, that for the equality of the pains and endeavours of the teachers, the profit also ought to be equally participated; yet we think it most expedient that the younger teachers should be very submissive to the elder ones, especially the Prefect, who represents our person there in the curate's absence; for it were very imprudent, that every teacher should be master of everything, and no order or subordination observed contrary to the repeated custom in all colleges in the world, where there are several degrees of dignity, or at least, one that rules all the rest. Neither ought the Prefect to be over imperious to the teachers, but advise fraternally with them, and strive to please them, as far as reason and the common good suffer it. To be impartial in any competition or difference that may arise among the teachers themselves, or amongst them and the scholars: and to accommodate without noise all those little debates, with prudence and justice; striving always publicly to turn the blame on the scholars; but blaming with authority, and advising privately any of the teachers that may do amiss.

"Neither ought any teacher to take it ill, or pretend, or give out that he will not suffer such reprimands upon account of all the teachers being equal for matter of gain: for that is another matter. Nay, it is not to be expected but there may be some teachers, who in process of time, though not now, that may deserve not only to be kept in submission, but also to be turned out for litigious humours, cabals, or extravagant scandalous ways; which may bring more prejudice to the place, than their presence can bring profit. And the Prefect's conscience, as also the other members, who tender God's service and the good of the College, are responsible before God for such disorders, if they strive not to hinder them by their own authority, or if need be, by giving us timely notice. So every one ought to be watchful on all occasions of the scholars, servants, and household affairs, &c., when they see anything amiss, or that may be reformed, to give notice thereof to him, whose charge it is to look after it."

So flourishing had the new College become, and so fruitful of good results to its pupils, that, when the Protestant College, then situated in John Street, Kilkenny, became vacant, on the outbreak of the Jacobite and Williamite War, by the flight of the principal, Dr. Hinton, and the scattering of his scholars, King James was induced to lay hold of the opportunity of handing over this latter institution, with its endowments, to the Catholics, and thus making adequate provision for their educational advancement in future. At the same time, by a decree of Feb. 25th, 1689-90, he erected it into a Royal College or University "consisting of a Rector, and eight Professors, and two Scholars, nomine plurium, by the name of the Rector, Professors and Scholars of the Royal College of St. Canice at Kilkenny, founded by King James II.

Rector—William Daton, S.T.D.

Professors—Edward Tonery, S.T.D.; Denis Leary, Clerk, M.A.; William Conolane, Clerk; James Clery, Clerk, M.A.; Bernard Dunne, Deacon, M.A.; Thomas Gloster, sub-Deacon, M.A.; Christopher Glascock, gent.; and Peter Chambery, gent., M.A.

Scholars—Daniel Hurley and John Pierce.

Dated at Dublin, 25 Feb., ano. 6. Ja. 2."

The battle of the Boyne, however, fought on the 1st July, 1690, (old style), and the triumphal entry of William of Orange into Kilkenny seven days later, put an end to the high hopes the Catholics of the City had entertained of the success of their new educational institute. With the entire defeat of the Jacobite forces at Aughrim,

followed by the capitulation of Limerick, religious freedom was again withdrawn and the penal code put in force with greater severity than ever.

The Catholic Butlers of Kilcash and Garryricken were devoted friends and maintainers of Bishop Phelan, during his entire Episcopate. To them he fled in times of danger, and from them he ever got protection. It was, no doubt, owing to their powerful influence in high places, that he was now, after the triumph of the Williamite cause, enabled to remain with his flock to comfort them in their heavy trials, and to preach to them constancy to their sorely persecuted Faith. The death of the illustrious Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. John Brenan, which occurred in 1693, gave him warning that his own departure out of this transitory life, of whose vicissitudes he had had his share, could not be far off. We accordingly find him in this same year arranging his temporal concerns by the following will, the original of which is preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin (Prerogative Wills):

"In the name of the Father, & of the Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

"I, James Phelan of Kilkenny, finding myself old and weake in body, tho' (God be praised) of perfect sense and memory, do make my last will and Testament in manner following. First I bequeath my soul to my Redeemer and my body to be interred where my Executors and friends will have it. I do nominate and appoint my well beloved Coll. Walter Butler of Garryricken and Doctor William Daton executors of this my last will. I leave legacies as followeth:—

"To Coll. Butler my executor I leave one hundred pounds of what he owes me and I pray God to bless him and all the family of Kilcass to whom I was much obliged. Five pounds I leave to Dr. Daton whom I recommend to the Chapter to elect for a Vicar General and a Bishop too if they could, I leave two cobs apeice to every secular priest whether they be pastors or not who are residing in the Diocese when I dye, desiring each one to say 6 Masses for my soule. I include fa Antony Forstall amongst the pastors. I leave the like to Fa Pierse Roth, Fa Antony Roth, Fa Jo. Meara, fa Rich. Shortall, Fa Pierse Butler, Fa John Daniel, Fa Thomas Comerford, Fa Cormuck, Fa James Comerford, Fa Ryce, and Fa Nicolas Capucin upon the same score, and so much to Fa Ja. Phelan, Prior of Aghaboe.

"I leave nine shillings to the Fryars of Carrigg, six to Fa James Kearney, six to Fa Pierce Shee, six to Fa James Helan, and six to Fa Malachias Meagher and nine to the Fryars of Callan and nine to Fa Andrew Lundee, and nine to Fa Donell Holohan.

"I leave a pistole apeice to Coll. Richd. Butler, Sr. Patrick Barnwall and his Lady, Coll. John Butler and his Lady, my three god-children Lord of Westmeath, Mr. Ja. Everard, and Madam Frances Kavanagh, and to Coll. Walt. Butler and his Lady and their nine children [God bless them] one pistole apeice for to buy Rings or Beads, and another pistole to Fa Edward Butler.

"I leave three pounds ster. besides what she owes me to Margaret Phelan al.' Ronane, and so much to Mary Dowling fitz John who served at Garryricken.

"It. 40s. apiece to Mary Douling married to one Corcoran and to Joan Ronan and her sister, daughters to said Margaret Phelan 20s. apeice.

"I forgive Mr. Matthew Douling and Mr. Thady Ronan what they ought me in their bonds given to Mr. John Cody.

"I leave 20s. to the poor of the Duke's Hospital and 20s. to Sr. Richard Shee's. Item 40s. to the bashfull poore housekeepers of Kilkenny and 20s. to the common beggars there, and 10s. to the poor of the parish wherin I die. Item six shillings to the Nunn Ellan Cantwell, to Anstace Shee widdow, Margt. Murphy al' Roth widdow, Ellis Cleere al' Cody widdow, Cath Kealy al' Roth widdow, and to Mrs. Margarite Archer and Mary Archer al.' Kavanagh widow and to Francis Meara.

"I leave 10s. a peice to Mrs. Cath. Barnwall al' Lea, Mrs. Margarite Shee al.' Meagher, Mrs. Ellinor Jacob al.' Daton, Mrs. Ellinor Comerford al.' Simple, and Mrs. Ellan Tobin who served Lady Barnwall, and ten shillings to all the prisoners at Kilkenny.

"I leave forty shillings to the servant serving me when I dye, and his cloke and booke which I had in pawne of £1 1s. 6d. to Denis Phelan.

"I forgive Fa Robert Phelan 40s. which he ought me and do leave him the silver chalice which

I lent him and a surplice, and another surplice, and capp and a silver pixis to Fa Michael Phelan and their two cobs apeice as I leave to other priests.

" I leave 40s. to the widdow Ellin Grace al.' Archer and twenty shillings to Madam Shortall al.' Grace of Ballylorcan.

" Mr. Patrick Purcell, the Doctor's son owes me thirty pounds sterling, whereof I leave 8 to his mother, three pounds to himself, three pounds to each of his sisters Nelly and Peggy and three pounds to his brother Walter Cantwell & 10s. apeice to Mr. Toby Purcell and each of his 4 sisters.

" Mr. Patrick Murphy of Kilkenny owes me eighteen pounds sterling whereof I leave 20s. to himself & 20s. to his sister A. Shee. Item 10s. to his brother Michael, 10s. to Mr. Redmond Savage and 10s. to his sister, 10s. to Mr. Michael Archer & 10s. to his sister, 10s. to Ms. Margarite Murphy al.' Joice & 10s. to Ms. Austace Seix al.' Kenedy, all grandchildren to Alderman Patrick Murphy & Anstace Phelan of happy memorie. Lett him pay the rest to my executors to be distributed for my soule.

" Mr. Toby Butler of Bonsistowne owes me seaven & fifty shillings, whereof I leave himself 17s. and will have him pay 10s. apeice to Ms. Mary Heywood al.' Grene, of Corestown, and 10s. to each of her daughters Ms. Huish, Ms. Betty & Ms. Mary.

" I leave 10s. to Ms. Joan Purcell al.' Dormer to buy her beads.

" I leave a guenny to my Lady Delvin wch her lap. [*i.e.* ladyship] borrowed of me.

" I leave 20s. to Ms. Ellen Butler, 10s. to Ms. Mary Seix, 10s. to Mr. Thomas Mulkiran, 10s. to Ms. Betty Grene al.' Walsh and 10s. to Ms. Mary Raggett al.' Meagher & 10s, to Captn. Thom. Butler, forgiving him the 20s. wch he & his wife owed me.

" I leave 5s. apeice to Thom. Meagher, Patrick Purcell, James Heilan, Ann Musson & Mary Dalton.

" Item, I leave one pistole or the value of it in silver to my good friend Mr. Geoffry St. Leger & another to his wife.

" Item one pistole a peece to Mr James Raftor & to his wife & to each of his 4 daughters. Item one pistole to Mr. John Cody al.' Arsdekin, and another to his son James my godchild, to whom also I leave a silver beaker of 8 ounces.

" I leave six shillings a peice to Ms. Ellinor Barnewall and to each of her 3 sisters & to Ms. Peggy Everard, and so much to Lord Delvin, & Wat Esmond, to buy them pinns or anything.

" I leave a dussen silver spoones, a silver saltcellar, a cup for wine, and a dram cup & one of my watches to Mrs. Tobin.

" Item my silver tankard & the gold crosse wch my Lady Mary gave me, I leave to her lap. [*i.e.* ladyship].

" I leave all my bookes as a librarie for the dioces, where the Ordinary for the time being, & Coll. Walt. Butler, and his heires shall thinke best.

" I borrowed a fine Albe and amict of Counseller Rich. Shee wch, belonged to Sir Richard Shee's hospital wch, I will have to be restored.

" I do declare upon the word of a priest that I do not remember that I owe any debts to any, And as to the £10 wch. Mr. James Shee left me in Galway the year 1650, for Mr. Patrick Murphy his use for dyes & clothes for him. I gave a clear accompt. to sd. Patrick's father Mr. John Murphy after my return to Kilkenny the yeare 1651. And as to the watch wch. he gave me the yeare 1648 uppon condition to pay him a certain price for it, if I should be Bishop & have the Episcopal estate, I paid him about £10 at severall times & got a discharge from him never to trouble me for that pretended debt, wch, I aver upon the word of a priest to be true.

" I leave my silver box wch carryes the holly oiles and my thuribulum to the pastor of St. Kennyes for the time being.

" I leave my yellow nagg & my saddle & bridle to Mr. Christopher Butler, and my little mare & its saddle and bridle to my man and one suite of my clothes, a shirt, shooes & hatt.

" I leave fa Richard Shortall the challice wch, he borrowed of me.

" I leave fa Roger Phelan the Breviary wch, he borrowed of me, but will have him restore Pars verna (wch, he borrowed) to my executors.

" Mr. Edmond Wall owes me £1 9s. whereof I leave himself 10s. and 10 more to his neice Margt. Hackett & the nine shillings to be equally distributed amongst the servants of Coll.Waltr. Butler's to whom I left no legacie.

" I forgive Ms. Brigitt Heywood al.' Knatchbull the £4 sterling wch, she borrowed of me in March 1692. & do leave her 20s. besides and do earnestly desire her to pay to my successor the £40 wch. she owes to defunct fa, Patrick Archer to have him yearely prayed for, or pay £4 for the interest yearly for the same use.

" If any forraigne priest secular or regular will assist at my diriges let him have halfe a crowne, if he be not of my Legataries to whom alone I allow 9s. on my buriall day, whether they personally assist

or not, and 4s. 6d, on the moneth mind & 4s. 6d. at the anniversary, if they live in the dioces when I dye.

"I leave my deske wch. is in Mr. John Cody's to Ms. Ellise Cowly al.' Dinn.

"I lent a silver challice to fa Michael Phelan the yeare 1690 wch. I leave to my successor, as also my five coapes, the silver cross or crucifix, the silver cribbet, all the pontifical vestments and crosier wth. the tunicles and dalmatick and matrex & all that I gott from Ms. Catherine Archdekin al.' Roth wch. belonged to my predecessor.

"This is my last will & testament. Dated & signed by me the first of July, 1693 & sealed.

"Being present,
Michael Phelane
Robt. Phelan
James Phelan
John Moore."

"James Phelan unworthy Bp.
of Ossory.

The will is endorsed: "Testamentum originale Jacobi Phelan nuper de civitate Kilkenniae dfti., 1705." It was proved on the 13th Oct. 1705, by John Archdekin junr., of Kilkenny city—the next-of-kin, viz., Johanna Ronan, Catherine Ronan and Maria Dowling, having renounced administration, and of the executors appointed by Dr. Phelan, one, viz., Walter Butler, being then dead, and the other, Dr. Daton, in exile.

In the long Government list of Irish Priests—in number 1022—registered as discharging missionary duty in this country, in 1704, and published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of the year 1876, no less than 124 are returned as having received the sacred Order of Priesthood from Dr. Phelan. The times and places of these ordinations are of interest and are worth inserting. In 1669 he ordained at Kilkenny; in 1670, at Kilcash and Kilkenny; in 1671, at Kilcash; in 1674, at Kilkenny and Thomastown; in 1675, at Garryricken and Kilkenny; in 1676, at Kilkenny; in 1677, at Kilkenny, Garryricken and Cooly (*i.e.* Coolagh), Co. Kilkenny; in 1678, at Kilkenny and Cloghilla, Co. Kilkenny; in 1679, at Kilkenny; in 1680, at Kilkenny and Garryricken; in 1681, at Kilkenny, Garryricken, and Corstown, Co. Kilkenny; in 1682, at Kilkenny; in 1683 at Kilkenny and Garryricken; in 1684, at Kilkenny and Garryricken; in 1685, at Kilkenny and Garryricken; in 1686, at Kilkenny and Garryricken; in 1687, at Kilkenny, Garryricken and Callan; in 1688, at Kilkenny and Garryricken; in 1689, at Kilkenny; in 1690, at Kilkenny, at Ennis, in the Co. Clare, at Gortnetubrid, in the Co. Limerick, at Whitescourt (now Westcourt), in Co. Kilkenny, and at Callan; in 1691, at Kilkenny, and at Ennis, in the Co. Clare; in 1692, at Kilkenny and Carrick-on-Suir; in 1693 (June), at Cregin, Co. Galway, and in Sept. of same year, at Kilkenny; in 1694, at Kilkenny, and on the 24th of December of same year, at Garryricken.

A few weeks after the date of the last mentioned ordination, Dr. Phelan went to receive his eternal crown. According to a Propaganda entry, his death occurred in January, 1695. Of his last resting place nothing is known, but he most probably lies in the churchyard of St. Canice's Cathedral.

Some of his books are preserved in the Library of St. Kieran's College. One of them, a Maldonatus, dating from 1602 (Sect. I., shelf I.), has two entries on the fly-leaf in the Bishop's own handwriting, viz. : (1) " Hic liber pertinet ad Jacobum Felan, 1660 ; " and (2) " Ex libris Jac. Phelan, Kilkeniensis," underneath the latter being the distich :

" Ossoriae Praesul Jacobus nomine Phelan
Hic cuius liber est incolat astra precor."

Another vol. entitled " Abbatis Panormitani," &c. (Sect N., shelf I), has " Ja: Phelan E. Ossorien., 1676," and again the distich as above. Another has merely the distich, slightly varied from the above, thus :

" Ossoriae Praesul Jacobus nomine Felan
Hic cuius liber est incolat astra poli."

Like so many other occupants of the See of Ossory, from the days of Dr. O'Tónory, Dr. Phelan appears to have been a devoted student of Irish history and archæology. Among the Statutes of a Diocesan Synod held by him, May 11th, 1676, is one obliging each pastor to keep a record of any events of importance that might happen in his parish. (Quilibet Parochus faciat in posterum Historiam de omnibus Memorabilibus quae in suo Districtu acciderunt.) His own MSS. have perished, but copies of two of them, made by his successor, Dr. Thomas Burke, have been published by Cardinal Moran in his *Spicilegium Ossorien.*, Vol. I., pp. 1-10. One of these is entitled " Vetus Ordo Visitationis Episcopalis in Dioecesi Ossoriensi," and gives a list of the Deaneries of Ossory,with the Rectories and Vicariates belonging to each. The other MS. is entitled " Nomina Patronorum Ecclesiarum in Dioecesi Ossoriensi, eorumque Dies Festivi," and gives again a list of the churches and, in almost every case, their Patrons ; it is a most valuable record, and under the title of " Dr. Phelan's *List of Patrons* " will be referred to frequently in these pages. It differs occasionally from the List of Patrons drawn up by Dr. Burke, but in every, or almost every, case in which sufficient data have come to hand to enable one to decide where they disagree, Dr. Phelan's *List* will be found to be the more accurate.

Dr. Phelan's chalice is still in use in St. Canice's parish church ; it is inscribed : " Ja. Phelan. Ep. Ossorien. me. fieri. fecit. Anno. Domini., 1669." Another chalice in Borris chapel, Co. Carlow, has : " D. Bernardus Cavanagh de Borris me fieri fecit. Orate pro D. Jacobo Phelan, Epis. Ossor., 1730."

CHAPTER XIII.

WILLIAM DATON (1696-1712).

DR. DATON, or D'Autun, was descended from an old South Kilkenny stock, of Anglo-Norman blood, whose principal seat was Kilmodalla or Kyledaton, now known as Bessboro'. William Daton of Kilmodalla, gent., died in 1591 or 1592, leaving a son and heir, Edmund, then 25 years old, and married to Margaret, daughter of Gerald Blanchville, of Blanchvillestown. The said Edmund died in 1629, and was buried with his father, in the "chapel of Kilmadalie." He left issue, besides four daughters, the following sons: Walter, his heir (who married Ellis, sister of Richard, 3rd Viscount Mountgarret), John, Edward, Oliver, William, and Theobald.

Our future Bishop appears to have been grandson of one of these six brothers, probably of the eldest, and was born in 1644, only a few years before the confiscation of the family estates by Cromwell. Having learned the rudiments at home, he proceeded at an early age to the Continent, where he pursued his studies, and read the preparatory course at Rennes, and attended lectures in the higher classes at the Sorbonne. He was promoted to the priesthood, and to the Chancellorship of his native Diocese, previous to Aug. 26th, 1676, at which date he joined with several other Irish priests in Paris, in signing a declaration of loyalty to the Holy See and of condemnation of the errors of the Jansenists. His signature to this important document is as follows: "Guillelmus Daton, presbyter Ossoriensis, Ecclesiae Cathedralis Kilkenniensis Cancellarius et S. Theologiae licentiatus, necnon constantissimae nationis Procurator." Among the remaining signatures we find that of Father Callogh Fitzpatrick, another Ossory priest, thus: "Kelatius FitzPatritius, presbyter Ossoriensis, Theologus."

In the month of January, 1682, Dr. Daton was appointed P.P., St. Mary's, Kilkenny; and about the same date was advanced to the dignities of Dean and Vicar General of Ossory. In 1685 and 1688 he represented the Diocesan Chapter at Provincial Synods held in Dublin. He presided over the College established in Kilkenny, on the accession of James II.; and when the Royal College or University was established in the same city, in Feb., 1690, he was appointed its first Rector. As "William Daton, city of Kilkenny, gent.," he figures in the list of those attainted by the Williamites, at the Tholsel, Kilkenny, on the 20th April, 1691. One other Ossory priest, "Edward Murphy, city of Kilkenny, gent." (P.P. St. Canice's), was attainted at the same time and place. Dr. Daton is mentioned in a great many Catholic wills, of Ossory Diocese, about this time, sometimes as executor, but more frequently as legatee.

On the death of Bishop Phelan, King James II. presented the name of Dr. Daton for the vacant See, and he was duly preconized in the Consistory of January 23rd, 1696. The following Consistorial entries have reference to his appointment:

"Die 23d Januarii 1696: in proximo Consistorio, ego, Paulutius Cardinalis de Alteriis, praeconium faciam Ecclesiae Ossoriensis vacantis per obitum Jacobi OPhelan, illius ultimi Episcopi, extra R. Curiam defuncti, et in praesenti referam illius statum, et qualitates Venerabilis Viri Gulielmi Dalton, presbyteri, a Jacobo, Angliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae rege, nominati. Dicta Ecclesia ab haereticis occupatur et ideo illius status potius est deplorandus quam recensendus. Promovendus ex legitimo matrimonio est, Catholicis et honestis parentibus natus, in 50 vel circiter suae aetatis anno constitutus, a pluribus annis presbyter, in S. Theologiae licentiatus, qui per plures annos curam animarum in dicta Dioecesi, et Vicarii Generalis munus exercuit.

"Die 20th Februarii, referente Paulutio Cardinale de Alteriis, ad nominationem Jacobi, &c. Sua Sanctitas providit Ecclesiae Ossoriensi de persona Gulielmi Daton, &c., cum retentione compatibilium, ac indulto suscipiendi munus consecrationis ab uno Episcopo assistentibus sibi duabus Dignitatibus, &c."

Dr. Daton was consecrated soon afterwards, as it appears from the Clerical Registration List of 1704, that he conferred Holy Orders on the Rev. Mark Redmond, P.P., Kilbride, Co. Wexford, on the 7th June, 1696. For two short years only, however, was he allowed to labour for his flock and console them by his presence. In 1697 a law was passed by the Protestant Irish Parliament, that all Popish Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars-General, Deans, Jesuits, monks, friars, and all regular Popish clergy, and all Papists exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, should depart from the Kingdom before 1st May, 1698, on pain of imprisonment till transportation, and that, returning from transportation, they would be guilty of high treason.

Compelled to yield obedience to this iniquitous decree, Dr. Daton, not so much for his own safety, as for that of his friends, who would have harboured him at any cost, bade farewell and, as it proved, forever, to his native land, in April, 1698.

Before his departure he drew up and signed the following interesting documents, the originals of which may be found in our Diocesan Archives, Kilkenny :

(1) A list of his books, to the number of 170, which he left in charge of Mr. John Cody, of Kilkenny.

(2) A list of his vestments and other religious ornaments, to wit :

" A green casula, maniple, velum, stole.
" A green antipendium with five crosses of cramsin sattin.
" A cramsin sattin casula, stole, maniple & velum edged with green & edged with silver lace & a silver crosse in the middle.
" A red silke casula flowered with white & green, the stole, maniple, velum of the same, laced all with gold & silver lace.
" A purple silke antipendium with large silver lace at the bottom.
" An ash-coloured silke antipendium flowered.
" A violet-flowered antipendium, laced with a large silver lace & silver fringe, casula, velum, maniple of the same.
" A white silke cape, cloath of silver to the cape.
" A great and sweete altar bell.
" A green silke with silver & red lines, as much as will make a casula, &c., with yellow silke lineing to be fitted thereunto.
" A red flowered silke casula with gold and silver lace, velum, stole, maniple, bursa of the same.
" A violet flowered silke antipendium, casula, bursa, stole, maniple of the same laced with gold speckled with silver lace.
" A rich white embroidered velum with *Jesus* in gold in the middle and encircled round with gold.
" A flowered browne sattin velum lined with red silke.
" Two violet sattin cushins.
" A black silke cape.
" Two black satin cushins.
" A white silver casula, stole, maniple, velum and bursa with gold lace.
" A black sattin casula, stole, maniple, velum & antipendium of the same with silver lace.
" Three albes. An altar carde. A holland altar cloath.
" All the above vestments & ornaments are in a trunk, which I ordered to be left at Mathew Keally's house as witnesse my hand this 11th of April, 1698."

(3) His will, which is as follows :

" Whereas, I am banished by order of the Government, in case I should dye in my banishment, I order all my bookes to be put into my predecessors library at Garririckin, if there be any prospect that the Church should flourish. I mean those above specified bookes, as alsoe the trunkefull I leave at Mr. Lee's. If there be no prospect (of religion being restored) I leave them to my nephew to be distributed amongst the clergy for my soule. And as to the above ornaments and church stuffe, I order they should be divided betwixt our Lady's parish and the Cathedrall. Item, I order that of my church plate, the challice that bears the name of James Phelan, Bishop of Ossorie, may be given to St. Kenny's church, if in Catholicke hands ; if not, to the Catholicke pastor of St. Kenny's. It weighs sixteen ounces. And my chalice, weighing 24 ounces and a-half, I order it for our Lady's. Item I leave to St. Kenny's the sylver crucifix, weighing 15 ounces, and the small sylver bottle weighing two ounces & a halfe to St. Kenny's. The rest of my challices & plate I order may be given to my nephew Richard Daton, along with the cheste wherein they are contained, and which layes at Mr. John Cody's house as may appeare by the annexed note of his. But in case I should returne backe to this kingdom again, I intend that the aforesaid things should remaine to my owne use & disposition. All which I declare to be my will, as witness my hand this 11th of April, 1698. William Daton, Bishop of Ossorie."

Appended to this is the following declaration :

" I doe acknowledge to have received from Mr. Richard Daton, Executor of Dr. William Daton,

Bishop of Ossory, the Challice, Crucifix, Silver bottle above mencened for the use of St. Canice's Parish, witnesse my hand this 2nd day of May, 1713. Malach. Dulany, Catholick Pastor of St. Canice."

For some time after his departure from Ireland, Dr. Daton continued to reside at Paris, where he was supported, with many other exiled Irish ecclesiastics, by funds allotted for the purpose, by the Holy Father. He subsequently removed to the French town of Le Mans, and there he passed the last twelve years of his life. The "History of the Church of Mans," by the Rev. D. Paul Piolin, O.S.B., published at Paris, in 1863, furnishes the following particulars regarding our Bishop's edifying career and death, among the kind, hospitable strangers who had found him a welcome and a home :—

"Divine Providence conducted to Mans a Confessor of the Faith, who, during 13 years, was a cherished model of edification to our province. William Dalton, Bishop of Ossory, in Ireland, had incurred the sentence of capital punishment for having preached and administered the Sacraments despite the tyrranical prohibitions of the English law. He was enabled, nevertheless, to pass into France, thanks to the mediation of one of his friends, who pledged his own life that the Bishop would quit the English territory. Dr. Dalton, however, would not have quitted his diocese were he not forced to do so in order to secure the safety of his friend, who had thus become security for him. Having landed in France he for a time wandered to and fro between the coast and the Court of St. Germain, several times exposed to danger from plots laid against him by the heretics. Louis de Tressan, Bishop of Mans, invited him to reside in Mans, and the Confessor of the faith joyfully accepted the invitation. However, the Bishop of Mans could not offer him a residence in his palace, which was required for his household. Several communities excused themselves in like manner: but the Benedictines of Couture, at the request of Dom Louis Trochon, Prior of the Abbey, joyfully placed at his disposal the residence of the Provost, which was in the outer cloister of the monastery. The illustrious exile took possession of that residence on the 11th of March, 1699, and continued to reside there till his death. He received every year 12,000 francs (£480) from the French clergy, and 1,000 francs (£40) from the Royal treasury. He kept no state, and he spared a considerable sum from his revenue, which he transmitted to the faithful of his Diocese, accompanying such remittances with words of pastoral encouragement and exhortation. The Bishop of Mans had requested the Prelate to make use of his Episcopal Faculties throughout the Diocese, and we find him accordingly giving Confirmation in the churches of Coureebouefs, and Beaufay, and Domfront-en-Champagne and elsewhere. Sometimes, too, he accompanied the Bishop in his Episcopal visitations. William Dalton was a man of learning, and took delight in the academic exercises. He assisted with pleasure at the public Theses which were held in the various Abbeys and Monasteries and at the Oratory. The Jansenists sought to represent him as one of their sect, because he showed some regard for Pere de Gennes, an oratorian of Mans: but this is a mere calumny, and the pious Bishop on many occasions testified his submission to the decrees of the Holy See. Having as it were adopted as his own the Church of the Visitation, the Bishop of Ossory was accustomed to officiate there on all the principal festivals, and he celebrated Mass there every Sunday for the Nuns. He always carried about with him the sentence of death which was passed upon him, and on every occasion he expressed his regret at not being permitted to shed his blood in defence of the faith. He was making preparations to return after a few months to Ireland when he was carried off by an apoplectic attack on the 26th January, 1712. He received all the last Sacraments with great piety, attesting even to his last moments his regret at not laying down his life for the Catholic Church. He died at 11 o'clock, a.m., only a few hours before the Bishop of Mans was also carried off by a sudden illness. The Benedictine monks of Couture spared no expense in carrying out the ceremonies and all the details of his funeral with solemn pomp. The Prior officiated on the occasion and pronounced the funeral oration, at which all the chief families of the city of Mans were present. The Nuns of the Visitation sent their chaplets to touch the body of the deceased Confessor for the faith. They also obtained from his nephew the camail which he wore, and they preserved it as a precious relic. They moreover paid the same religious tribute to his memory as to the Bishop of Mans." [1]

[1] See Cardinal Moran's *Bishops of Ossory.—Transactions of the Ossory Archæological Society*, Vol. II., pp. 465-67.

His will, in his own handwriting, found among his papers after death, proved in due course, and now preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin, is as follows :

" In ye name of the Father, of the Sonne, and the holly Ghost. Amen.

" I, William Daton, Bishop of Ossorie, being in perfect health, yet not knowing how long I may soe continue doe make this my last will and testament.

" Imp. I bequeath my soule to God ye Creator and redeemer thereof & my body to the graue to be buried at ye Couture where ye Prior and monks will think fitt & for the funerall expenses I order a hundred crowns to be given to them as well for ye sd. expenses also for Masses to be sayd for my soule.

" 2°. I bequeath to my nephew Richard Daton fitzRedmond ye foure hundred louys d'or yt. I haue in my chest as alsoe the hundred guineys yt. I haue deposited in my cossen Nicholas Geraldine's hands, for wch. I have his note ; he my sd. nephew Richard to paye thereout a marriage portion to his sister Ellen, ten pds. sterl. to my sister Joane Wailsh al.' Daton, five pds. to my uncle Michel Daton and five pds. to my neesce Catherine Sutton al.' Daton, & whereas I leave ye. cheefe parte of my meanes to my sd. nephew, my will is that he intertaine thereout his father & mother during the short time they have both to live & after theyr death he to enioye ye remainder.

" 3°. I leave and bequeath to my nephew James Daton subdiacon sixty three spanish gold pistoles & seauenteen carolus & Jacobus peeces wch. are a parte in my chest, and besides I bequeath to him ye 12,000 livers yt. will be due to me the first day of next month of ye Abbot of Maroilles [or Marvilles] for a yeares pension then expireing. He my sd. nephew James paying thereout to my grand nephew Walter Daton three hundred livers as soone as receaved.

" 4°. I leave to my sd. nephew James all my cloaths & bookes.

" 5°. I leave my watch, my two sylver cupps, six sylver forks, & six sylver spoones to my sd. nephew Richard, he to give thereouts to my servant Anthony sixty livers and ye remainder of his wadges ; the remaining fork & spoone I leave to my nephew James.

" 6°. I leave to Madame Bryan and to her husband my two diper table cloaths and 4 diper napkins as alsoe two paire of my finest sheets, the other three I leave to Anthony together wth all ye table cloaths napkins & sheets as also all my caddowes. I leave Fr. Carol my silver sundyall, my snugh boxe & my pocket book & desire my neveu James to give share of my cloathes to him. I leave ye medial yt. represents King James ye 2nd & Marie ye present Qeene to my nephew Richard and I leave to my nephew James my big sylver tobaco boxe. I have a book called Eusebius Romanus ad Theophilm. Gallum belonging to St. Vincent wch. I desire may be restored to Pere Doyen.

" Itm. I leave to my servant Anthony my hangings, chaires & tables wth. all ye kitchin stuffe. Itm. my will is that my nephew Richard notwithstanding anything above said will give Captn. Bryan and his wife two louys d'or, to fr. Caroll two louys d'or & to fr. Joseph two louys d'or, and in fine I name & appoint my nephew Richard Daton as my executor to administer faythfully or see administered all ye premisses wherewth. I charge his soule & that this is my last will & testamt. I doe hereby annull and recall all former will & testament & put hereunto my hand and seale this 4th of October, 1707.

Wm. Daton, Bishop of Osserie."

The following declarations accompany the will :

" Malachias Dulany of the Citty of Kilkenny, clearke, deposeth on the holly Evangt. that he was very well acquainted wth Doctor William Daton mencioned, in the annexed will these thirty yeares past & during that time was very well conversant with ye said William Daton's hand writing, having kept correspondence wth. the said William Daton by letters & otherwise, and he verily believes that ye said will hereunto annexed is every word the handwriting of the said William Daton.

" Malach. Dulany.

Jurat. coram me 11°. ffeb. 1712.

Marm. Coghill."

" Richard Daton of the city of Kilkenny, gent., deposeth that he found the will hereunto annexed made by William Daton this deponts. uncle in the said William Daton's trunke, among other papers of the said William and doth verily believe that ye said will is ye last will & testamt. of the said William Daton.

11°. ffeb. 1712. Jurat. coram me.
Marm. Coghill."

Dr. Daton was buried in the choir of the Abbey of Couture (*Latine*, Cultura), in front of the altar. His monument, removed from its original position and now in the crypt of the Abbey church, has the inscription :

" D. O. M.
Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo viro
Guillelmo Daltoni, Kildatono natalibus,
In Hibernia claro,
Qui, Rhedonibus Humaniorum
Et Parisiis Sorbonicorum studiorum
Curriculum emensus,
In patriam redux ad Ossoriensem
Quamvis prae modestia renitens
Episcopatum promotus est.
Quo in munere carcerem saepe
Et vincula ob sinceram religionem perpessus
Graviora fortiter perpessurus erat
Nisi suorum, praesertim hospitis, vitae veritus,
Hiberniam post caeteros Episcopos extremus
Deserere coactus fuisset ;
Unde in Galliam reversus et Cenomanum
A Ludovico Tressano in pontificalis oneris
Partem vocatus vicarii apud eum
Officio per XIII. annos digne obito,
Anno R. S. MDCCXII. aetat LXVIII.,
VII. Cal. Febr. eodem quo amicus
Praesul die mortuus ad paratam
Tot laboribus quietem evolavit.
Hospiti Sanctissimo Benedictini Sodales
Culturani moerentes posuere .'

The following memorandum by Dr. Burke, Bishop of Ossory, in reference to some Episcopal ornaments bequeathed by Dr. Daton, is preserved in our Diocesan Archives :

" Dr. William Daton, Bishop of Ossory, was banished with the other Prelates of this Kingdom of Ireland, A.D. 1698. He went to France and settled in the episcopal city of Mans, *latine* Cenomanum, where he ended his days A.D. 1711 [old style]. He left deposited in the monastery of the Benedictine monks of the Congregation of St. Maur, in that city, two Pectoral Crosses, one of gold, the other of silver, well washed with gold ; and three gold rings, one with a perfect Ruby, another with a Ruby much flawed and damaged, and the third with a Topaz, but of inferior kind : all to be sent

by the monks to his successor. There they lay unknown to his immediate successor Dr. Malachy Delany ; neither did this deposit transpire to three subsequent Bishops, Patrick Shee, Colman O'Shaghnessy, and James Dunne. But at length Bishop Burke, getting accidentally intelligence thereof, he wrote to Mans, and after much application, by means of Count du Guercier, the French Ambassador in London, they were sent to Dr. Challoner, Vicar Apostolic in that metropolis, by whom they were transmitted to Dr. Burke, who received them in Dublin, July 31st., 1767. Hence the mentioned two crosses and three rings belong to the Bishop of Ossory for the time being."

In the library of St. Kieran's College (Sect H, shelf I) is a treatise on Canon Law, printed in 1671, and having on a fly-leaf: "Ex libris Guil. Daton, Kilk. T. f. Par. Licentii," *i.e.*, Of the books of William Daton of Kilkenny, Licentiate of the Theological Faculty of Paris.

I conclude this sketch of Dr. Daton by inserting the Ossory portion of that most valuable of all old Irish ecclesiastical documents, the Registry of Irish Popish Priests, made, during our Bishop's exile, in 1704, by order of the Irish Parliament :

REGISTRY OF THE PRIESTS OF THE DIOCESE OF OSSORY, A.D. 1704.

COM. CIVIT. KILKENNY.

"A LIST of the names of the Popish Parish Priests as they are register'd at a General Sessions of the Peace held at the old *Tholsell* of the said city, in and for the City and County of the said City, the 13th *July*, 1704, and were since return'd up to the *Council Office*, in *Dublin*, pursuant to a clause in the late Act of Parliament, Intituled "*An Act for Registring the Popish Clergy.*"

No.	Popish Priests' Names.	Places of Abode.	Age.	Parishes of which they pretend to be Parish Priests.	Time of their receiving Popish Orders.	Places where they received Popish Orders.	From whom they received them.	Sureties' Names that entered Recognizances for such priests according to the said Act.
1	Edm. Murphy	City of Kilkenny	fifty-five years	St. Mary's, Kilkenny	in the year 1673	at Sevill in Spain	from Don Ambrosio Ignatio Spinola & Gusman, Archbishop of Sevill.	John Archdekin, merchant, £50; William Joyce, mer., £50.
2	Malachias Dulany	City of Kilkenny	forty-six years	St. Kennis	in the year 1695	at Cork	from the titular Bishop of Cork.	George Gafney merchant, £50; Nicholas Ronan, mer., £50.
3	Patrick Shee	City of Kilkenny	forty years	St. Patrick's, Kilkenny, Castle—Inch Outra and Kilfiragh	in the year 1690	at Lisbon in Portugal	from the Primate of Portugal and Cardinal of St. Sabina.	Patrick Shee, merchant, £50; Nicholas Ronan, mer. £50.
4	Thomas Cantwell	City of Kilkenny	fifty-two years	St. John's, Kilkenny	in the year 1675	at the city of Kilkenny	from James Phelane titular Bishop of Ossory.	John Quinn, saddler, £50; William Joyce, mer., £50.

By Order of His Grace the Lord Lieutenant and Council.
H. PULTENEY, Dep. Cler. Conc. Priv.

"Com. Kilkenny

"A LIST of the names of the Popish Parish Priests as they were returned to the *Council Office* in *Dublin*, as Register'd at a General Sessions of the Peace held at *Grace's Castle*, in and for the County of *Kilkenny* aforesaid, on *Wednesday* the Eleventh Day of *July*, 1704, and since Return'd up to the *Council Office* in *Dublin*, pursuant to a Clause in the late Act of Parliament, Intituled, "*An Act for Registring the Popish Clergy.*"

No.	Popish Priests' Names.	Places of Abode.	Age.	Parishes of which they pretend to be Parish Priests.	Time of their receiving Popish Orders.	Places where they received Popish Orders.	From whom they received them.	Sureties' Names that entered Recognizances for such priests according to the said Act.
1	Peter Corkaran	Callan	forty-four years	Callan, Quologh-more, Mallarstown and Newtown	in the year 1688	at Kilkenny	from Jacobus Phelan then Titular Bishop of Ossory	Jacobus Duigin, of Callan, mer., £50; Thomas Coney, of the same, mer., £50.
7	Jacobus Ryan	Dromdowny	fifty-five years	Rapatrick, Rakil-lihin, Killcolum, Kilmekevoge Bally-grim and Kilbride	in the year 1674	at Kilkenny	from Jacobus Phelan, then Titular Bishop of Ossory.	Patrick St. Leger of the city of Kilkenny, mer, £50; John Nolan of the same, mer., £50.
3	Anthony Forstall	Pollagh	forty-eight years	Graige, Dusk, Grang Sylva, Powerstown, & Ullard	in the year 1676	at Spain.	from Thomas Roca-bertie, Archbishop of Valentia	William Butler of Bramblestown, in the said county, gent, £50.; Patrick Purcell of Cloghlea, in the said county, gent, £50
4	John Fitzpatrick	Daning	fifty-years	Kilmacow, Dunkitt, Kilbeacon Killahy, Ullud, Glauskill and Rossynan	in the year 1678	at Kilkenny	from James Phelan, then Titular Bishop of Ossory	William Doyle of Garinclaragh, in the said county, gent, £50; Richard Partridge of the city of Kilkenny, merchant, £50.
5	Robert Phelan	Bally-mockshane	fifty-years	Enisteoge, Boure and Cloneamery	in the year 1681	at Garry-rickin	from the aforesaid Jacobus Phelan	John Cooper of Capagh, in the said county, £50; Jacobus Duigin of Callan in the said county, £50.
6	Thomas Headen	Tulcher	fifty-years	Rosbercon, Shan-boagh, Disert-more and Lis-terling	in the year 1679	at Kilkenny	from the aforesaid Jacobus Phelan	Patrick St. Leger of the city of Kilkenny, merchant £50; Pat-rick Purcell of Cloghea, in County. Kilkenny, gent, £50.

No.	Popish Priests' Names.	Places of Abode.	Age.	Parishes of which they pretend to be Parish Priests.	Time of their receiving Popish Orders.	Places where they received Popish Orders.	From whom they received them.	Sureties' Names that entered Recognizances for such priests according to the said Act.
7	Richard Shortall	Killmanagh	forty-five years	Killmanagh, Killaloe, Keil, Ballykieffe, and Temple-michael	in the year 1685	Rome	from Cardinal de Angelo	Edmond Coursey of Dereen, in the said county, gent, £50; Alexis Kelly of Ballyellis, in the said county gent, £50.
8	Patrick Brohy	Ardry	forty-two years	Rathkyran, Poleruan, Portneskolly, Clonmore Ballytarsny, Aglish, and Tubrid	in the year 1685	at Garryricken	from the aforesaid Jacob, Phelan	John Drue of Ballinlogh, in county Kilkenny, gent., £50; Edward Baker of Rathcullin in the said county, £50
9	Michael Phelane	Ballyellis	thirty-eight years	Eirke, Fartagh, Donoghmore- and Glashare	in the year 1688	at Kilkenny	from the aforesaid James Phelan	Patrick St. Leger, of the city of Kilkenny, merch., £50; Philip Bowdan, Glashare, farmer, £50
10	Dionis. Cullenan	Damerstown	forty eight years	Castlecomer, Dysart Muckilly, Mollcill, Killmadum and Kilmadomock.	in the year 1679	at Kilkenny	from the aforesaid, James Phelane	Vincent Nash of Polestown in the said county, gent, £50; Alexis Kelly of Castle-Ellis, £50.
11	Edmund Butler	Meallughmore	forty years	Kells, Killree, Killmogany, Killamery, Dounemagen and Bealaghtoben	in the year 1684	at Garryricken	from the aforesaid James Phelane	John Straghan of Rossynan, in the said county, gent £50; Peter Butler of the city of Kilkenny, gent, £50.
12	Peter Forstal	Thomastown	fifty-five years	Thomastown, Columkill, Tullohirmi and Jerpoyn	in the year 1671	at Kilcash in the county Tipperary	from the aforesaid James Phelane	Edmond Tercohit of Bishopslogh, in the said county gent, £50; John Archdekin, Junior of Kilkenny, merchant, £50.
13	Daniel Holeghan	Upper Court	thirty-nine years	Freshford, Ballynamara, Bencannough, Tullaroan, and Glashicroe	in the year 1686	at Kilkenny	from the aforesaid James Phelane	John Nolan, of the city of Kilkenny, mer., £50; Richard Partridge of the same, merch. £50.

No.	Popish Priests' Names.	Places of Abode.	Age.	Parishes of which they pretend to be Parish Priests.	Time of their receiving Popish Orders.	Places where they received Popish Orders.	From whom they received them.	Sureties' Names that entered Recognizances for such priests according to the said Act.
14	Martin Archer	Garran-connell	thirty-four years	Tubrid, Cloghmantogh, Killaghy and Urlingford	in the year 1691	at Kilkenny	from the aforesaid James Phelane	Patrick St. Leger, of the city of Kilkenny, merch., £50; Alexis Keally of Castle-Ellis in the said county, gent, £50.
15	Marcus Shee	Derry-nehensy	forty-five years	Knocktopher, Derrinehensy, Shuncarty, Sheepstown, Kill-kirrill, Aghvillar, Killkesey, Kilkredy, and Lismateige	in the year 1683	in Portugal	from Don Verissimo de Alencastro, Primate of Portugal	James Shee of Derrinehensy, gent, £50. Patrick Shee of the city of Kilkenny. merch., £50.
16	Dennis Conlean	Balling	thirty-three years	Fidown, Tybraghny, Uning and Whitechurch in the Barony of Iverk, and Muckilly in the Barony of Knocktopher	in the year 1695	at Cork	from John Sleni, Bishop thereof	Richard Keally of Higginstown in the said county, gent, £50, Alexis Keally of Castle-Ellis in the said county, gent., £50.
17	Richard Long	Gowran	forty-two years	Gowran, Dungarvan Claragh, Blanchviskill, Blackragh, Tiscoffuin, St. Martin's and Dunbel	in the year 1685	at Kilkenny	from the aforesaid James Phelane	Richard Keally of Higginstown in the said county, gent, £50. Jacobus Purcell of Ballysallagh, in the said county, gent, £50
18	William Wailsh	Paulstown	forty-eight years	St. Kill and Killmocahill	in the year 1680	at Garririckin	from the aforesaid James Phelane	Thomas Purcell of Kilderry in the said county, £50; Matth. Dowran of Gowran in the said county, farmer, £50.
19	William Dullany	Seskin	forty-five years	Agharney, Rabegh Skeffin, Clonetubrid and Coolcashin	in the year 1688	at Garririckin	from the aforesaid James Phelane	Nich. Wall of Castle Garden, in the said county, gent, £50; Patrick Shee of Shanganagh in the said county; gent, £50.

No.	Popish Priests' Names.	Places of Abode.	Age.	Parishes of which they pretend to be Parish Priests.	Time of their receiving Popish Orders.	Places where they received Popish Orders.	From whom they received them.	Sureties' Names that entered Recognizances for such priests according to the said Act
20	Symon Cantwell	Colltrellsrath	forty-two years	Burn-Church, Deansfort, Coffs-grove, and Enisnag	in the year 1687	at Kilkenny	from the aforesaid James Phelane	Edmund Coursy of Derrien in the said county, gent, £50; Jacob. Cowley, of Rahardmore in the said county, gent. £50
21	Walter Mottly	Cantwells-court	thirty years	Rathcoole and Killderry	in the year 1697	at Kilkenny	from William Daton then Titular Bishop of Ossory	James Archdekin of the city of Kilkenny, merch., £50. Vincent Nash of Paulstown in the said county, gent, £50.
22	Peter Power	Bally-callan	forty-eight years	Ballycallan	in the year 1683	at Athboy in the county of Meath	from Terrell, Titular Bishop of Meath	Jacobus Bryan of the city of Kilkenny, £50; Philip Stapleton of the same, Apothecary, £50.
23	John Cassin	Rathinleugh	seventy years	Athanagh	in the year 1668	at Kilkenny	from the aforesaid James Phelane	George Stafford of the city of Kilkenny, mer., £50; Patrick Shee of Shanganagh in the said county, gent, £50,
24	Peter Seix	Court-neboly	fifty-years	Tullemayn	in the year 1681	at Kilkenny	from the aforesaid James Phelane	Jacob. Bryan of the city of Kilkenny, gent. £50; Patrick Shee of Shanganagh in the said county, gent, £50.
25	Edmund Fitzgerald	Bally-ragget	forty-five years	Ballyragget, Rossconnel, Moyne and Coolcraheen	in the year 1686	at Paris	from the Bishop of Bothlin	William Pay of Kilmocarr in the said county, gent, £50; Michael Langton Fitz Dominick of the city of Kilkenny, £50
26	Richard Grace	Killmocarr	thirty years	Killmocar	in the year 1697	at Kilkenny	from the aforesaid William Daton	William Pay of Killmocarr in the said county, gent, £50; Michael Langton Fitz Dominick of the city of Kilkenny, merch.. £50.

By Order of His Grace the Lord Lieutenant and Council.
H. PULTENEY, Dep. Cler. Conc, Priv.

"KING'S COUNTY.—A LIST of . . . Popish Parish Priests . . . Register'd at . . . *Phillipstown*, the 10th day of *July*, 1704."

No.	Popish Priests' Names.	Places of Abode.	Age.	Parishes of which they pretend to be Parish Priests.	Time of their receiving Popish. Orders.	Places where they received Popish Orders.	From whom they received them	Sureties' Names that entered Recognizance for such priests according to the said Act
10	John Kenedy	Kinnitty	fifty years	Shierkeran, Roscumroe and Kinnity	Sept., in the year 1678	at Elphin	Dom. Burke, Bishop of Elphin	David Pritchett of Killyon, gent; Hugh Conraghee, of Ballenahowne, gent.

By Order of His Grace, &c. (as above.)

"QUEEN'S COUNTY.—A LIST of . . . Popish Parish Priests . . . Register'd . . . at *Maryborough*, the thirteenth day of *July*, 1704."

No.	Popish Priests' Names.	Places of Abode.	Age.	Parishes of which they pretend to be Parish Priests.	Time of their receiving Popish Orders	Places where they received Popish Orders.	From whom they received them.	Sureties' Names that entered Recognizances for such priests according to the said Act
5	John Cassin	Castletown in the B'ony of Upper Ossory	forty-eight years	Offarrellan, Aghaboe, Killdelligg and Kyle	about five-and-twenty years past or in the year 1678	at Kilkenny	James Phelan, Lord Bishop of Ossory	Daniel Fitzpatrick of Killinure, Farmer; Denis Delaney of Crannagh, Farmer.
8	Dennis Cassin	Errell in the Barony of Up. Ossory	fifty-six years	Radowny, Donoghmore, Culekery, and Skeirk	1683	at Kilkenny	James Phelan, Lord Bishop of Ossory	Conly Cashin of Templequane, farmer; Patrick Phelan, of Ballinrawly, farmer.
12	Patrick Phelan	Aghaboe in the Barony of Upper Ossory	thirty-one years	Aghaboe, Killermogh, and Bordwell	1701	at Ballyboge	Murtogh Donnellan, Bishop of the Diocese of Clonfert	Kinny Kinin of Aghaboe, farmer; Dennis Bourk of Scaleigh, farmer.
15	Hugh Trener	Cullihill, in the Barony of Upper Ossory	fifty years	Aghama, Cart, Killeny and Dorrow	1683	at Portumny	Thady Coghy, Lord Bishop of Clonfert	Edmond Britt of Graigevoice, farmer; George Lapsly, of Straghenarrow, gent.

By Order of His Grace, &c. (as above)

CHAPTER XIV.

MALACHY DULANY (1714-31).

DR. DULANY, or Delany, appears to have been a native of Kilkenny city or its neighbourhood, and was born in 1658. In his youth he embraced, and was professed a member of, the Capuchin Order, which then, as now, was represented in Kilkenny by Fathers distinguished for piety and zeal; but, discovering subsequently that his profession was invalid, owing to the deficiency of one day in the complete year prescribed by the Church for the novitiate of religious, he left the Order, and enrolled himself in the ranks of the secular clergy.

According to the Registry of 1704, he was ordained at Cork, by the Bishop of Cork, in 1695. This date is, however, most probably incorrect. His name, in his own unmistakable handwriting, appears among the witnesses to the will of Hugh Conway of Castleiffe, gent., (son-in-law of John Sweetman, of the same place), as early as May 10th, 1690, at which time it may be safely assumed that he had already commenced his missionary career. On the translation of Dr. Edmund Murphy, V.G., P.P., St. Canice's, to St. Mary's, about 1698, Dr. Dulany was promoted to the former parish, and he retained the pastoral charge thereof even after his appointment to the See.

On the 6th August, 1713, Dr Dulany was selected by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, as successor of Dr. Daton, and the appointment was confirmed by the Pope, the 22nd of the same month. His Brief was expedited on the 20th Sept. following; and he was consecrated in Dublin, Feb. 17th, 1714, by Dr. Edmund Byrne, Archbishop of Dublin, the assistants being, by special dispensation, Rev.

Thomas Austin, Archdeacon of Dublin, and Rev. Fergus Ferrall, Archdeacon of Ardagh.

His appointment was violently and, we may believe, unjustifiably opposed by Dr. Richard Pierce, the exiled Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, as will appear from the following extracts from documents formerly in the possession of Cardinal Gualterio, but now the property of the British Museum.—(MSS. Vol. 20, 310, pp. 9 &c.):

(1) "Extrait d'vne Lettre escrite par M. L'Eueque de Waterford le 21e de feurier dernier [*i.e.* 1714] de Sens a Mr. Connell, chapelain du Roy [Charles, the Pretender.]

"Monsieur.

"Je vous prie de faire scauoir à Mr. Ingleton (Confesseur du Roy), qu'vn nommé Dulany de Kilkinny en Irlande qui est vn Capucin apostat sans science & sans vertus ni autres qualités que beaucoup d'ambition est nommé a Rome & fait Eueque d'Osserie, que Bulls sont arriués a Bruxelles & qu'on en a enuoié de copies à M.L'Eueque Macmahon presentment à Montcassel proche St. Omer pour les luy faire tenir. Ce Dulany pour se justifier d'auoir quitté son ordre dit que sa profession estoit nulle y aiant en vn jour de manque a l'année de son noviciat. Vous scauez que ce n'est pas assez de pretendre qu'il y auoit vn deffaut de formalite dans sa profession, qu'il faut le prouver & le faire voir, et ne jamais quitter son ordre qu'on n'ait monstré la nullité ou l'inualidite de ses voeux tant deuant son Superieur que deuant son Provincial ou son ordinaire de qui seul on peut en attendre son degagement; c'est ce qu'il n'a jamais fait: Il a quitté l'ordre sans se procurer sa liberté dans l'espace de cinq ans, au dela desquels il ne doit plus estre admis, mais estre traite comme vn moine apostat; c'est ce que vous trouuerez & quelque chose de plus à ce sujet dans la Concile de Trente, Sess 25. chap. 19. 2°. Il paroit par ses propres lettres qu'il a fait reussir sa promotion par pure Simonie. 3°. Il se qualifie Docteur és droicts ciuils & canons, et cependant il n'est ni Docteur, ni docte, et si peu Theologien M. L'Eueque Daton ne l'a pas trouué propre a estre curé d'vne paroisse à Kilkenny. Tout le monde scait qu'il n'a d'autres qualités qu' vne ambition demesurée. Si les choses present ce train là il n'y aura bientot plus de Mission pour nous. C'est pourquoy Je supplie Mr. Ingleton d'informer le Roy a fin que s'il est possible sa majesté empeche la promotion de cet homme & celle de plusieurs autres qui ne sont pas mieux qualifies que luy, autrement par ces abus scandaleux la Religion sera entierement abolie dans ce pais la. Monsieur Dunn, Docteur en Sorbonne qui est vn Ecclesiastique de merite & d'erudition estoit vn sujet propre auoir cet Eveche d'Osserie. Je suis, &c.

"Signé, Richard, Eueque de Waterford."

(2) "Copie d'vne Lettre de M. l'Eueque de Waterford à Mons. Connell, Chapelain du Roy, escrité en Anglois.

"De Sens le 25 Mars, 1714.

"Monsieur.

"J'ay enuoie votre lettre a M. l'Archeueque de Cashel et luy ay escrit vne moy meme & vne a M. l'Archeueque de Dublin; mais j'apprehende fort qu'elles n'arriuent trop tard parceque M. l'Eueque MacMahon, presentement à Cassel prés St. Omer, me marque qu'il y a longtemps qu'il a enuoié ses Bulles a Dulany, ce qui me fait craindre qu'il me soit desja sacre."

Again in a letter to one of the Cardinals, on May 18th, 1714, he writes:

"Tout ce qu'on a dit contre le nouvel Eueque d'Ossorie, nommé Dulany est confirmé par d'autres memoires plus fortes que les premiers. *Je ne le connois que par reputation* qui est tres mal et oublie."

The evil reports that had been dinned into Dr. Pierce's ears about our Bishop were, no doubt, all as devoid of foundation as that which led him to believe that Bishop Daton did not think Dr. Dulany suited to the charge of a parish in Kilkenny city. As we have already seen, Dr. Dulany was appointed P.P. of St. Canice's by Dr. Daton about 1698, and continued in full possession of that parish during the remainder of Dr. Daton's Episcopate.

In the beginning of Dr. Dulany's career as Bishop, the Penal laws were enforced with great rigour in his Diocese. Among the documents in the Record Office, Dublin, there is a letter dated Oct. 25th, 1714, informing the Government that, "at Kilkenny, one Martin Archer, a popish priest, had been convicted of officiating without taking the abjuration oath, and had been sent to Waterford for transportation." Father Archer is returned in the Registration List of 1704, as P.P., Urlingford. The municipal documents in the Tholsel, Kilkenny, include the following *morceau*, also dating from this period :

"Presentments of the Grand Jury at a General Assizes and General Gaol Delivery held in and for the County of the said city, the 2nd day of August, A.D., 1715.

"We present £3 to John Garnett for supplying bread to prison.—Ord.

"We present £12 to Geo. Birch, &c., for road making.

"We present, &c., £11 to Alderman Evans for repairing Green's bridge.—Ord.

"We present Father Cashell for celebrating Mass in the parish St. Canice, in the Libertys of the citty of Kilkenny, on Sunday the last day of July, 1715, being noe registered priest of that parish or any other within the county of the said citty : we received this information from John Minoge, Broguemaker.—Ord.

"Signed: Thomas Blunt, Geo. Cooke, James Halpenny, Abr. Desarroy, John Bradish, John Barnes, Will. Phillips, John Disbrowe, Tho. Philips, Geo, Birch, Thomas Blunt, Arth. Helsham, Thomas Butler, Edmd. Philips, John Desarroye, Tho. Barnes, and James Haskins."

But very few facts connected with Dr. Dulany's Episcopate have been preserved. The same may be said of all the Irish Bishops during the first half of the 18th century. In discharging the duties of their exalted station, they continually exposed themselves to the danger of fines and imprisonment, nay, even of their very lives ; and hence they had every reason for appearing as little as possible in public, and for leaving no records of their official acts, lest the discovery of such might bring them into serious trouble.

In the MSS. department, British Museum, there is a document of March 30th, 1726, in which high tribute is paid to the zeal and efficiency of the Capuchin Fathers labouring in their Dioceses, by the following members of the Irish Hierarchy: Edward (Morphy), Dublin ; Bernard (Dunn), Kildare & Adm. Leighlin ; Malachias (Dulany), Osseriensis ; and Lukas (Fagan), Midensis. A few years before, Dr. Dulany, with the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, and the Bishops of Clonfert and Elphin, petitioned the Holy See to sanction the publication of a translation of the New Testament by the Rev. Dr. Cornelius Nary, a Dublin priest.

Dr. Dulany figures in a great many wills of our Diocese as witness, overseer, legatee, &c., from 1690 onwards. His signature, in English, almost always appears as "Malach. Dulany" or "Malachi Dulany." In the library of the Capuchin Convent, Kilkenny, there is a volume of his inscribed : "Ex libris Malach. Dulany." Having governed his flock, as a good and faithful pastor, for more than

seventeen years, and feeling himself about to depart from this transitory life, he made the following testamentary disposition of his temporal affairs :

"In the name of the Most Glorious Trinity. Amen.

"I Malachias Dulany, doe make this my will.

"Imprimis : I bequeath my soul to God, hoping for a happy Resurrection through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus.

"Secondly : I bequeath my body to the earth to be interred amongst the Prelats of Ossory at the Cathedral church of St. Canice in Decent order as my executors hereafter named shall see fitt.

"Itm. I devise all my worldly substance in Money, Jewells, Gold and Silver, and all my Worldly Interests whatsoever to be divided in proportion to my severall Relations according to their Respective Degrees of Relationship, Affinity and Consanguinity as the Law in such cases directs saving and reserving what is herein further expressed and my just debts and funerall Expences to be paid & discharged.

"Itm. I devise and desire that all the church goods in my hands shall be taken care of and Delivered by my executors to my successor and successors in Right and Degree.

"Itm. I devise the summe of one hundred xx pounds sterl. to my executors for to be disposed of and not to be accountable for.

"Itm. I desire a note of the Widow Murphy's should be given up, I being satisfied for the same.

"Itm. (*sic.*)

"I nominate, constitute, and appoint the Reverend Mr. Patrick Fitzgerald, the Reverend Mr. Thomas Knaresbrough, Mr. Jasper Shee, and Mr. Mathias Ardekin [*i.e.*, Arsdekin], of the citty of Kilkenny, merchants, executors of this my will, and I doe hereby revoke all former wills by me made and doe hereby Declare this my will the day and year first above written.

"MALACHI DULLANY.

"Signed, Sealed, & published in psence. of us,
PAT. FITZPATRICK.
RICH : NOLAN.
GEORGE REDDY."

Dr. Dulany affixed his signature to this will in so shaky a hand, and with such apparent difficulty, that he must have been in a dying state at the time. He was dead at least before the close of the following month, for his will was "exhibited" in the local Probate Court, on the 26th May, 1731. The executors appointed by him having refused to act, a citation was issued by the Court to "Patritio Lenan de civitate Kilkenniae sutori vestiario [*i.e.* staymaker] et Michaeli Tryny de Kellymount in Com. Kilkenniae praedictae chirothecario [*i.e.*, glover] consobrinis necnon proximis consanguineis Malachiae Dulany nuper de Cite. Kilkenniae Sacerdotis papalis dfti.," who accordingly took out probate, on the 20th June, 1734.

The place of Dr. Dulany's sepulture is unknown, but there can be no doubt that he was interred, as he directed, at St. Canice's Cathedral.

CHAPTER XV.

PATRICK SHEE (1732-36).

ON the death of Dr. Daton, many of the priests and laity of the Diocese desired to have Dr. Shee for Bishop, as will appear from the following, copied accurately from one of the Gualterian documents in the British Museum.[1]

"We the undersigned representing the Clergy & Laity of the Diocess of Ossory in the County of Kilkenny, and Kingdom of Ireland, duely considering the great loss we sustained in the death of our worthy Prelat William late Lord Bishp. of the said Diocess, and naturally deliberating what person may be most fitt and worthy to succeed in his place, doe unanimously think, and are humbly of opinion that the Revd. far. Patrick Shee, Master of Arts, and Doctr. in Divinity, Chanon of our Cathedral, and our Vicar General these six years past, is the fittest person to succeed in the place of our deceasd. Prelat, not only in regard of the above qualifications, but also that of his being a person that vigorously served in this mission these fifteen years past, amidst the several great storms and persecutions that were contrived to suppress, and ruine the Church, where he can continue in time of need, as being qualified by his Registry: Wherefore we, in behalf of ourselves, and at the earnest Instance of the Catholick Gentlemen of Interest and fortune of the said Diocess and County, who for pregnant reasons don't subscribe, doe in most humble manner crave, and Postulat, that the said Revd. far. Patrick Shee may be duely appointed, and as soon as possible be promoted to the said care and Dignity for the greater service of God and benefit of his flock; this with all due respect and submission we subscribe unto, and doe hereby certifye that our Dean is beyond the seas and the Dignitarys of our church deceased. Kilkenny in Ireland, the 14th day of March, 1711-12.

"This is suppcsed to be a coppye of a Postulation presented to the King and signed by the following priests:

"Edmond Butler [P.P., Windgap and Dunnamaggan.]
James Ryan [P.P., Slieverue and Glenmore.]
Peter Purcell.
Richard Long [P.P., Gowran and Clara]
James Comerford [P.P., St. Patrick's.]
Richard Grace [P.P., Kilmocar in 1704.]
Martin Archer [P.P., Urlingford.]
Walter Motley [P.P., St. John's.]
Peter Seix [P.P., Tullamain in 1704.]

[1] MSS. Department, Vol., 20, 311, f.' 16c.

Peter Corkeran [P.P., Callan.]
John Fitzpatrick [P.P., Kilmacow and Mullinavat.]
Marcus Shee [P.P., Ballyhale and Aghavillar.]
Patrick Brohy [P.P., Moooncoin.]
Dionisius Conlean [P.P., Templeorum.]
Daniel Houlehan [P.P., Freshford and Tullaroan.]
Hugh trener [P.P., Durrow.]"

Dr. Patrick Shee was born in 1660, and belonged to a family long of great consequence in Kilkenny city and county. He was brother of Father Mark Shee, P.P., Ballyhale, and nephew of Mr. William Shee of Derrynahinch (died, 1693), whose great-great-grandson, Eugene Redmond Shee (son of Henry, of Sheepstown, son of William of Derrynahinch, son of James of Derrynahinch, son of William of Derrynahinch), became Baron de Shee of France, and died in 1849, aged 74 years.

There is reason for supposing that he was son of "Simon Shee of Garrandarragh, in ye County of Kilkenny, gent." The said Mr. Shee, by his will declared nuncupatively on the 8th Jan., 1699-1700, bequeathed his soul to his Creator and Redeemer, and his body "to be buried in ye Chapple of Mulingus, situated on ye lands of Coolenehahy"; he appointed his son Luke his executor, and left him "five cows, fortie sheep and two bullocks of two yeare and advantage;" he made a like bequest to each of his [testator's] sons *Marcus* and *Patrick*, and left besides to the former "seaven pounds ten shillings sterl. to be laid out by him in such uses as he and his [testator's] son Patrick Shee shall think fitt;" he left his son Laurence Shee twenty sheep; to his grandchild, Catherine Shee, daughter of said Laurence, "three score sheep, three heffers of one yeare & advantage & one mare going in two years;" he bequeathed to his parish priest, Father Thomas Headen, one pound six shillings sterling; and he bequeathed "unto his well beloved wife all his interest in ye moytie of ye farme of Glanpipe & Garrandarragh, which he holds from his nephew Patricke Shee, & also he bequeathed & gave her what goods & chattels will be remaining after paying his debts & ye above portions & legacies. Being present when the sd. Symon Shee declared his last will & testamt. nuncupatively as afforesd. Patrick Shee."

Having made his ecclesiastical studies on the Continent, where he graduated Master of Arts and Doctor of Divinity, Dr. Shee was ordained at Lisbon, by the Cardinal Primate of Portugal, in 1690. Soon after his return to Ossory, in 1697, he was appointed P.P. St. Patrick's, Kilkenny. This appointment was made before Dec. 3rd, 1698, at which date we find Margaret Kealy, otherwise Ragget, of Wells, Co. Carlow, leaving a bequest "for the good of my soule as the Rev. Dr. Patrick Shee, priest of St Patrick's, Kilkenny, shall think fitt."

In the beginning of 1706 he was translated from St. Patrick's to St. Mary's, and was at the same time made V. G. of the Diocese. He was also a member of

the Diocesan Chapter. On the death of Dr. Daton, as we have seen above, his appointment to the Diocese was earnestly desired by many of the clergy and laity ; but the reigning Pontiff at the time did not fall in with their views, and the devoted priest was left to continue his labours among the parishioners of St. Mary's.

Though far advanced in years, on the death of Dr. Dulany, he was appointed his successor in the See of Ossory, by Brief of July 28th, 1731, and was allowed, at the same time, to retain the pastoral charge of St. Mary's. Like his two immediate predecessors, he figures in many contemporary wills in the various capacities of legatee, witness, &c. The latest document to which his signature is found affixed is a petition forwarded to Rome by the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, the Bishops of Ferns, Kildare, Ossory, Meath, Kilmore, Ardagh and Elphin, and the Chapter of the Archdiocese of Dublin, against the pretensions of one Henry O'Kelly, a Canon Regular of St. Augustine, who laid claim to the title of Abbot of St. Thomas's, Dublin, and with it, to the pastoral charge of all that portion of Dublin city that had been impropriate in the Abbot and Brethren of St. Thomas's at the Reformation, two centuries before.[1]

The date of this document, the only official one now forthcoming of the Episcopate of Dr. Shee, is June 9th, 1736. A few days, or, at most a few weeks, later, he departed this life at the age of 76, in the 46th year of his priesthood and 5th of his rule over Ossory. The place of his burial is unknown, but it cannot be doubted that it is with his predecessors in St. Canice's Churchyard, or with his forefathers at St. Mary's.

The following Reports to the House of Lords, on the State of Popery in Ossory, were made in Nov. 1731, soon after Dr. Shee's appointment to the Diocese :

I.

REPORT OF WILLIAM FINN, SHERIFF OF THE QUEEN'S COUNTY.

"To His Grace the Lord Primate, Chairman of the Lords Committee, appointed to enquire into the present state of Popery in this Kingdom, and the rest of the Lords of that Committee.

"My Lords,—

"In obedience to your Lordships' Order of the 6th of this November, I have made diligent enquiry in the several parts of the Queen's County, and do not find there are any reported Frierys or Nunnerys, or any reputed friers or nuns in the said County, which I am humbly to inform your Lordships this 20th day of November, 1731.

"William Finn,
"Vicecomes Reginae Comitat.

Endorsed :—"Queen's County, Sheriff."

II.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY MAYOR OF KILKENNY.

"13 November, 1731
Co. of the City
of Kilkenny. } Four reputed Mass-houses built before the reign of King G. I., viz.:—

[1] *Spicil. Ossor.*, Vol. iii., 148-50.

"In St. Mary's parish one, wherein three reputed Popish Priests officiate, as I am informed.

"In St. John's parish one, wherein officiate three reputed Popish Priests, as I am informed.

"In St. Patrick's parish one, wherein officiate three reputed Popish Priests, as I am informed.

"In St. Canice's parish, in the Irishtown, Kilkenny, one, in which two reputed Popish Priests officiate, as I am informed.

"Two private Popish Chapels in St. Mary's Parish, but I cannot learn what priest or priests, and reputed priest or priests officiate therein, or in either of them.

"One reputed Friary made since the reign of King George I., in St. Canice's Parish, in the Irishtown, Kilkenny, in which, as I am informed, there are five Friars.

"Seven reputed spelling, reading and writing schools in the said city and county thereof.

"But I cannot find there is any nunnery, or nuns in the city and county thereof, or any other Mass-houses, Chapels, Popish Priests, Frieryes, Friars or Schools, or reputed such in the said city or county thereof than aforementioned.

"Dated this 13th of November, 1731.

"THOMAS BUTLER, Depy. Mayor."

III.

REPORT OF WM. FLOWER, HIGH SHERIFF OF THE CO. KILKENNY.

Mr. Flower's "reply to a query of the Lords Committees appointed to enquire into the present State of Popery in this Kingdom," is dated Nov., 1731, and is as follows:—

"Pursuant to the above ordr. I have made strict inquiry into the body of my county and don't find that there are any Friarys or Nunnery therein.

"WM. FLOWER."

IV.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY PORTRIEVE OF IRISHTOWN, KILKENNY.

"To his grace, the Most Reverend Father in God, Hugh, by Divine Providence, Archbp. of Armagh, Primate & Metropolitan of all Ireland, in the Chair, [and] to the rest of the Lords Committees appointed to enquire into the present state of Popery in this Kingdom:

"The return from the Portrieve of the Corporation of Irishtown, Kilkenny, of such reputed Mass Houses, Fryar &c., with the number of priests & Friars therein officiating, together with the Popish schools within said Corporation pursuant to an order from said Lords to him directed.

"Corporation le Irishtown. } One reputed Mass-house built many years before the Reign of King George the first. Two officiating priests thereat.

One reputed Fryary erected since the first year of the reign of King George the first, being formerly a large stone malt-house.

Five reputed Fryars therein.

No Private popish chapels, reputed Nunnerys or nuns.

Four popish spelling, reading, & writing schools.

"HENRY BRENAN, D: Port."

The following Returns on the State of Popery in the four city parishes, in 1731, are copied from the Visitation Book of Dr. Tennison, Protestant Bishop of Ossory:

ST. CANICES:—

"According to the Returns made to me in 1731 during the Parliament Sitting. In St. Canice are one old Mass-House, 2 Popish Priests, Gregory Wall & — Butler. One reputed Fryery wch. was formerly a mault-house in wch. 'tis said there are 5 Fryers. There are 4 Popish schools, 3 for spelling, reading and writing, kept by Stone, Maurice & Neal; one for spelling & reading by the Widow Lery. There are 385 [non-Catholic] & 2,272 [Catholic], in all, 2,657 souls, so that allowing 5 souls to a family there must be in St. Canice 531 families.

St. Patrick's :—

"According to the Return made to me, to lay before the Lords of Parliament, in this parish are one old Mass House, Popish Priests, Patrick Fitzgerald assisted by two more occasionally, Michael Wale & Thomas Aylward. One Popish school kept in the Mass-House by Thomas Roark. 128 Protestants, 677 Papists.

St. John's :—

"One old Mass House. 3 Popish Priests, viz., Walter Motley, Richard Morress, Timothy Grady. 2 popish schools. 460 Protestants, 1,366 Papists.

St. Mary's :—

"In this parish is one old Mass-House, 4 Popish Priests, viz., Dr. Patrick Shee, William Cornick [*sic* for Cormick], Thomas Tobin, Thomas Aylward. Two commonly reputed private chapels, 1 in Captn. Shee's Poor House, 1 in Walking Street. 5 Popish schools, 1 taught by a Master, 4 by mistresses. 397 Protestants, 1566 Papists."

Other items of interest extracted from Dr. Tennison's *Visitation Book*, dated 1731, and containing entries made in that year and the year 1732 :—

Parishes of Rathkyran, Poleroan, Portnescolly, Illud, Aglish and Ballytarsny :—' 2 Mass-Houses within these denominations."

Parish of Fiddown—One Mass-house.
,, Dernihinchy do.
,, Ahaviller do.
,, Donamagan do.
,, Tullaherin do.
,, Kilfane do.
,, Comer do.
,, Rathdowney do.
,, Rathsaran do.
,, Fartagh—"Church unroof'd & in ruins." Welborne, incumbent. No service has been ever held in Fartagh church, since the days of the "Bloody Queen Mary," except at the induction of the incumbents.

Parish of "Glashare : 4 miles distant from Rathdowney church. Mr. William Vicars, a person present with the High Sheriff of Queen's County while I was visiting one of the churches in the Deanery of Aghavo, affirm'd that 4 years ago part of the church of Glashare was thatch'd & turn'd into a Mass-house. In. [*i.e.*, inquire] whether at present it be us'd as such."

Parish of Rathdowney—Mr. Maurice [afterwards Protestant Bishop of Ossory], minister of Rathdowney and rector of Attanagh, lives in Durrow parish at Mr. Wheeler's [in Grenan].

Parish of Aghabo.—"In this parish is a very large Mass-house, said to be as long as the [Protestant] parish church, which parish church is longer than most Parish churches in the Diocese."

Parish of Skirke.—"One Mass-house which is said to be longer, but something narrower than the [Protestant] Parish church."

Parish of Offerlane.—"One Mass-house."

Parish of Durrow.—"The [Protestant] church new built and decently pew'd and flagged."

Parish of Attanagh.—The [Protestant] church is near finished. "Tho' there is no Mass-house yet Mass is said in the fields."

Parish of Donoghmore (Ballyragget)—"The roof of the church and chancel standing, but the slating so decay'd that both want to be new slated." "One Mass-house in this parish at Ballyragget."

Parish of Mackully—"One Mass house."

Parish of Burnchurch appears as "Kiltranine alias Burnt church."

Parish of Danesfort.—One Mass House.

Parish of Ballycallan—One Mass House.

Parish of Tullaroan—One Mass House.

Parish of Callan—One Mass house.

Parish of Mothel (1732)—The [Protestant] church "was lately begun to be rebuilt."

Parish of Kilcolbin now Kilcolumb (1732)—"A Mass house in the parish."

Parish of Odagh—"Popish Priests, Daniel Holohan who lives at Freshford, Philip Macrah, a Fryar, officiates occasionally."

Parish of Claragh (Aug. 22nd, 1732)—"The Return made to me sets forth that there are 3 Protestants & 180 Papists. . . . . John Hoyne, the Popish Priest, who lives at Gowran, is said to officiate by the side of a hedge. There is no Popish School publickly kept, but the children of Lewis Byrn of Upper Claragh are taught privately by Thomas Dyer."

Parish of Kilmanagh (Sept. 2nd, 1732).—"I am told that there is a Popish priest resident in the parish who seems to be a man of business. I saw near his cabin some wheat that was putting into a stack & several stacks of hay, from whence 'tis plain that he uses a farm. I. [*i.e.*, Inquire] Whether he is not an agent to some Fraternity of Priests ? I. Whether his name be not Ignatius Delany ? "

Parish of Mayne—Even in Bishop Tennison's time the Church was in danger of being undermined by the Dinan river.

CHAPTER XVI.

COLMAN O'SHAGHNUSSY [(1736-48).

HE was appointed to Ossory, by Brief of Oct. 5th, 1736, and was consecrated in Dublin, in the private chapel of the Dominican Nuns, by Dr. Linegar, Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by Dr. Stephen MacEgan and Dr. Michael MacDonogh, the Dominican Bishops respectively of Meath and Kilmore

Lineally descended from Dathi, Ard-Righ of Erin, the O'Shaghnussys were for many centuries possessed of the territory of Cinel-Aodha, in the Diocese of Kilmacduagh, in the south of the County Galway. Their principal fortress or castle was situated at Gort-insi-Guaire, now Gort, where a pretty town has sprung up in modern times. Their patron Saint was St. Colman of Kilmacduach, whose crozier and girdle were preserved and handed down by them from generation to generation.

Dermot O'Shaghnussy, chief of his name, and lord of Cinel-Aodha, in the time of Henry VIII., received from that monarch a knighthood and a grant of all the lands in O'Shaghnussy's country. He was succeeded by his son, Sir Roger (d. 1569), whose son, Sir Dermot, was father of Sir Roger (1583-1650), father of Sir Dermot O'Shaghnussy, of Gort, deceased in 1673. The last named, Sir Dermot, by his wife, the Lady Margaret Barry, daughter of David Barry, Lord of Ibawne and Viscount Barrymore, had two sons,

Sir Roger, the elder, of Gort; and

Cormac, or Charles, the younger, of Ardmilevan Castle, in O'Shaghnussy's country.

Sir Roger was a Captain in Lord Clare's Yellow Dragoons, and, although in ill health, proceeded with his company from Limerick, to take part in the battle of the Boyne. He arrived within a few miles of the scene of action only, however, to fall in with the retreating Irish army ; and, his malady growing worse, he returned by slow stages to Gort, where he died ten days later, July 11th, 1690. Although dead, he was attainted, the 11th of May, 1691. In May, 1697 a formal act of attainder and forfeiture was issued against him and his son, William ; and on the 10th of the next month the family estates were conferred, *for the lifetime of the said William*, on Thomas Prendergast, "in consideration of his good and acceptable services." William O'Shaghnussy, only son of Sir Roger, succeeding to his father's ruined fortunes, like many others of his plundered countrymen, elected to leave his native land for ever. After a most distinguished military career with the "Wild Geese," in the service of France, where he attained the rank of Major-General, he died, without issue, at Gravelines, in the country of his adoption, January, 2nd, 1744, at the age of seventy years. In him ended the senior branch of his family.

Cormac or Charles O'Shaghnussy, of Ardmilevan Castle, brother of Sir Roger, and son of Sir Dermot and Lady Margaret Barry, married Eleanor Lynch, of Rafiladown, Co. Galway, and dying in 1721, left by her the following issue :

(1) Joseph, who died without male issue, in 1732.
(2) Colman, of whom we are now to treat as Bishop of Ossory.
(3) Robuck, or Robert, of whom later on.
(4), (5), (6) Catherine, Ellis, and Eleanor.

Dr. Colman O'Shaghnussy was born in the year 1675. After the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim, and the subsequent confiscation of the estates of his family, he was compelled to fly from Ireland and seek his fortune on the Continent. At first he embraced the military life, but after a little he laid aside the uniform of the soldier for the cassock and cowl of the religious, and became a Dominican Friar at Louvain. Here he was ordained, and proceeded Master of Theology, and was appointed Professor in the year 1706. Returning to Ireland he was numbered among the Religious Brethren of Athenry ; and being remarkable for his persuasive eloquence and a certain charming frankness of manner, he laboured for several years, with great success, throughout Connaught. On the 30th April, 1726, he was elected Provincial of his Order, in succession to Dr. Stephen MacEgan, Bishop of Meath ; and, on the death of Dr. Shee, was, through the influence of the Pretender, appointed to the See of Ossory, by Brief of Oct. 5th, 1736.

Together with his appointment to the Diocese, Dr. O'Shaghnussy received a Brief assigning him St. Mary's as his mensal parish. The latter appointment was,

however, met at the very outset by a formidable difficulty, which finally rendered it ineffectual. The state of the case was this : Dr. Patrick Shee had been P.P. of St. Mary's for 25 years, at the time of his appointment as Bishop of Ossory, in 1731, and even after his Episcopal consecration he still retained the pastoral charge of the parish. Shortly before his death, being aged and infirm, and finding the discharge of the affairs of the Diocese in general amply sufficient for his failing powers, he resigned St. Mary's parish, and, without receiving from Rome the special faculties required in such circumstances, conferred it upon his nephew, Father Edward Shee.

Thus at the time St. Mary's was granted at Rome to Dr. O'Shaghnussy, it was held in peaceable possession by another.

When the Bishop's Brief of appointment to the parish was published in Kilkenny great rioting ensued ; the whole city was in commotion ; and Dr. O'Shaghnussy, in consequence, deemed it prudent to desist from any attempt to enforce his claim. He subsequently received a Brief from the Holy See for the parish of St. John's, which happened to become vacant about this time ; he did not, however, renounce his title to the parish of St. Mary's, and it was only towards the close of his Episcopate that, to set at rest all question about the matter, he obtained another Brief from the Holy See conferring this parish on the Rev. Edward Shee, reserving to himself an annual pension of £10. The following legal instrument, duly signed by the respective parties, is preserved in the Diocesan Archives :

" Articles of agreement concluded and agreed upon by and between the right Rev. Father in God, Coleman, Lord Bishop of Ossory, of the one part, and the Rev. Edward Shee, of the city of Kilkenny, clerk, of the other part, witnesseth :—

" That the said Edward Shee for and in consideration of the said Coleman O'Shaghnussy's having procured for him the said Edward Shee a Bull from his Holiness the Pope for the parish of St. Mary's, in the city of Kilkenny, pursuant to a former agreement entered into for that purpose, doth covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said Coleman O'Shaghnussy, that he, the said Edward Shee, shall pay or cause to be paid unto the said Coleman O'Shaghnussy for his natural life, ten pounds sterling yearly and every year, to commence from the first day of November next, ensuing the date hereof by two even moieties, or equal payments in each and every year, that is to say, on every first day of May and first day of November, during the said term, the first payment to be made on the first day of May next, and the said Edward Shee doth further covenant, promise, and agree to, and with the said Coleman O'Shaghnussy, that he the said Edward Shee shall, as far as in his power by any Act, Bill, or otherwise enable the said Coleman O'Shaghnussy to receive from Dr. Daniel Cullen, of Paris, nine years and a-half pension due to him as Parish Priest of St. Mary's aforesaid by legacy, devised by Jasper Rothe, amounting to twenty-nine pounds, nine shillings sterling, at sixty-two livres per year, and the said Coleman O'Shaghnussy, upon the said Edward Shee's performing and fulfilling all and every the agreement above-mentioned, doth hereby discharge him, the said Edward Shee, from any former agreement, claim, or demand whatsoever, to the day of the date hereof, and in case of non performance this agreement to be absolutely void and of no effect. In witness of all which we have hereunto set our hands and affixed our seals this 10th day of September, 1747.

" Signed sealed, and delivered
in presence of us,
John Butler,
William Knaresbrough."

Coleman O'Shaghnussy &c.
Edward Shee.

On the 5th of April, 1744, Dr. O'Shaghnussy was presented by the intolerant Grand Jury of the Co. Kilkenny to be tried at the ensuing Quarter Sessions on the charge of being a Domestic Chaplain to the Pretender; but with what result is not stated.

By the deaths, without male issue, of his first cousin Major General William O'Shaghnussy, on the 2nd January, 1744, and of his own elder brother in 1732, Dr. O'Shaghnussy became the representative of his family; and, strange as it may appear, considering that the Penal laws were then in full swing, he began, in 1745, to assert his claim, in the courts of law, to the ancestral property. But at every step the Penal laws were found to present insuperable barriers; and Sir Thomas Prendergast, son of the original grantee, stopped at nothing to defeat the claim of the Catholic Bishop. Dr. O'Shaghnussy lived at this time in Maudlin Street, in the little thatched house subsequently occupied by Bishop Burke; and he deposited in the tower adjoining it, all the papers and documents which had been prepared to assert his claim. Robbers, however, hired for the purpose, watched their opportunity and, in the Bishop's absence, obtained an entrance through one of the windows of the tower, and carried off a considerable part of the family records. The suit was prosecuted after the Bishop's death, by his younger brother, Robuck or Robert, whose son, Joseph, the last claimant, as well as the last male of the family, died in poverty in 1783.

In the Archives of the Archdiocese of Dublin is an authentic copy of the resolutions passed by the priests of the Diocese, at a meeting convened in Ballyragget, by Dr. O'Shaghnussy, in May, 1748. This document is as follows:

"The Clergy of the Diocese of Ossory convened by the Most Rev. Doctor Colman O'Shaghnussy, Bishop of the said Diocese, drew up the following instrument:

"In the name of God. Amen.

"Whereas several destructive practices and pernicious abuses by the malice of Satan have gradually crept into the Diocese of Ossory, particularly clandestine marriages, commonly contracted without the consent of parents, or the licence of the Bishop, Vicar-General, or the respective Parish Priests, through the wanton passion of men and women to couple together without the due disposition required for that most holy Institution of Matrimony, which St. Paul, writing to the Ephesians, calls a great Sacrament in Christ and in his Church; and through the sordid itch of gain in some irregular and profligate Clergymen, who, for a piece of money, scruple not to sell their own and their contracting parties' souls to the author of such pestiferous abuses, the devil, to profane Matrimony, a Sacrament of the Living, by administering it to such as are dead to Christ, by the sins of lust, and disobedience to parents and pastors, besides other crimes they may be guilty of, to the great scandal of the faithful and ruin of families.

"To prevent for the future, as much as lies in us, this evil, and other abuses hereafter to be named, which are capable of provoking the wrath of Almighty God, and bringing upon us his just vengeance, We, the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Ossory, assembled at Ballyragget, on the 10th May, 1748, have unanimously made and established the following laws and constitutions.

"1. We declare and decree that if any beneficed Clergyman knowingly marries any couple that are not his parishioners without being licensed by the Bishop, Vicar-General, or their respective Parish Priest, he, the said assisting Priest, is for the first time suspended by the very fact from all priestly functions, for the term of six months, and is to forfeit half the emoluments of his parish to such clergyman, as will in his room serve in said parish. But in case the delinquent Priest should oblige the

contracting couple to any oath, or promise, of concealing his name from such as have power to inquire into this fact, we constitute and decree the said delinquent Priest to be excommunicated by the fact for the space of six months, and the entire half of the emoluments of his parish shall be given to such Priest as will serve in his room for said term.

"2. If any beneficed Priest will knowingly be guilty the second time of clandestinely assisting at the marriage of such as are not his parishioners, we decree and declare him excommunicated by the fact, and deprived of all ecclesiastical Benefices he is possessed of in the Diocese of Ossory.

"3. If any non-beneficed Priest before his studies abroad shall attempt to marry any couple without the express leave of the Bishop, Vicar-General, or Parish Priest of the woman, we declare him suspended by the fact during his stay in this kingdom, and incapable of obtaining any parish or Ecclesiastical Benefice in this Diocese for seven years after his return from his studies.

"4. If any Regular of what Order soever, or any extern Secular Priest, marries clandestinely any couple in this Diocese of Ossory, we do hereby declare and decree him to be excommunicated by the fact, and as such to be denounced over the Diocese.

"5. If either of the contracting couple happens to be from a different parish from that in which they are to be married, we declare the assisting priest suspended for a month unless he gets before the marriage a Certificate in writing from such Parish Priest as the party belongs to: or if the man belongs to another parish in such case the marriage fee is to be distributed among the poor of the parish in which the marriage is contracted.

"6. If hereafter any couple of the inhabitants of the Diocese of Ossory will marry clandestinely, we order and decree that said couple shall be excluded from Mass and Sacraments 'till such time as they prove their marriage by telling the name of such clergyman as married them, and making ample satisfaction for the crime in the face of such congregation as they belong to.

"Lastly. Whereas a great many are so careless of their salvation as not only to neglect the approaching the Most Holy Sacraments of Confession and Communion often in the year but even omit confessing and receiving yearly between Palm Sunday and the next Sunday after Easter, as prescribed by the Council of Lateran: nay, what is more deplorable, they pass several years without cleansing their conscience with the laver of penance, or feeding their souls with the flesh of the Immaculate Lamb. To remedy so great an evil, we do hereby decree and declare that as many as will not yearly from the beginning of Lent to Trinity Sunday, confess and receive from their respective Parish Priests, or from some other of his or the Ordinary's appointment, shall not be absolved by any but by the Ordinary of the Diocese or by such as he deputes for that purpose. They shall be also excluded from the Sacrifice of the Mass, and if they should chance to die in that state, they shall not be prayed for and shall be deprived of Christian burial.

"The Rev. Mr. Edmund Kavanagh, Vicar-General, is hereby requested to get copies drawn of the above constitutions and to distribute them among the Parish Priests for their regulation and the due observance of their respective duties; and to read them once in two months at their respective Stations the first year, for which purpose these constitutions were wrote in English, and every Priest is to pay for the drawing out of each copy upon serving him herewith.

"Datum in Pago Ballyragget, supradicta Die, 10 Maii, 1748.
"Fr. Colmanus, Episcopus Ossorien."

A few months later Dr. O'Shaghnussy died in Gowran, at the residence of the P.P., Rev. John Hoyne, Sept. 2nd, 1748, being then in his 73rd year; and was buried in the churchyard of St. Stephen's, now known as Maudlin Street Churchyard, Kilkenny. The following entry of his death and place of sepulture has been made by Dr. Burke, his second successor as Bishop of Ossory, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 506:

"Caeterum Praesul noster Colmanus e vivis excessit apud Gowran, Diaecesis suae oppidum, in aedibus Presbyteri Parochialis D. Joannis Hoyne, die 2 Septembris, 1748 [et] in minori Kilkenniensis Parochiae S. Joannis Evangelistae (de qua per Sedem Apostolicam provisus fuerat) caemeterio S. Stephani humatus" [est].

An altar-tomb, erected and inscribed by Dr. Burke, still marks his grave in Maudlin Street Churchyard, and is in very fair condition. The inscription, however,

is almost worn away, and would now be lost beyond hope of recovery, had not Dr. Burke inserted it in his *Hib. Dom.* (loco cit.) ; it is as follows, the now obliterated portions being given in italics :

"D *O* M
Siste viator, *vide, lege, luge,*
Iacet *sub hoc marmore*
Illustri*ssimus et Reverendissimus Dominus,*
F*r* Co*l*manus *O'Shaghnussy,*
*N*obili*ssimae suae familiae primi*pilus
Probitate *et pietate* cl*arus*
Epi*scopus Ossoriensis*
E*x* Ord*ine Praedicatorum assumptus*
Huius p*arochiae Commen*datarius
E*xpectans carnis resurrectio*nem.
obiit q*uarto Nonas Septem*bris,
*Anno Salutis MDCCX*LVIII,
*Peregrinationis suae LXX*III,
Consecrationis XII.
R. I. P."

CHAPTER XVII.

JAMES BERNARD DUNNE (1749-58).

HE was appointed to Ossory by Brief of the 17th Dec., 1748. A memorandum in the Archives of the Propaganda describes him as a Secular Priest, who had for many years discharged the duties of Parish Priest in the Diocese of Sens in France. The time and place of his birth are alike unknown; but it is not unlikely that he was a native of the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. There is no record of the date of his consecration, though no doubt it took place early in the year 1749.

Towards the close of 1748, and before his appointment had become known in Ossory, the clergy of the Diocese petitioned the Holy See that the Rev. Edmund Kavanagh, Archdeacon of Ossory and P.P., of Ballyragget, or the Rev. Patrick Murphy, Prebendary of the Chapter and P.P. of Ballyhale, might be appointed to the vacant Bishopric. In their petition they set forth that their Diocese was in former times a model to the whole Kingdom of Ireland for its spirit of religion, its piety, its learning, its observance of discipline, and the faithful discharge of the clerical duties by those engaged in the sacred ministry. Now, however, all that was changed. The late Bishop was a native of Connaught and a Dominican, and during a great part of his Episcopate lived among his friends in the West, or in the religious houses of his Order in that province. As a result of the Pastor's absence dissensions had sprung up, and abuses had begun to prevail. They add that even in a material way the late Episcopate had been disastrous to the Diocese, "the mitre and the Crozier, the Episcopal Ring and Pectoral Cross and some of the other Episcopal insignia" had been lost and no trace of them could be found. The following are the signatures to this petition:

"Marcus Mansfield, Praecentor ac Rector de Burnchurch.

Edwardus Shee, Cancelarius ac Rector S. Mariæ, Kilkenniæ.
Patricius Geraldinus, Thesaurarius ac Rector S Patricii, Kilkenniæ
Ignatius Dulany, Praebendarius de Kilmanagh, ac Rector de Ballicallan.
Martinus Dulany, Praebend.' de Freshford, ac Rector de Durrow.
Jacobus Carroll, Praebend.' de Blackrath, ac Rector de Rathkieran.
Thomas Forrestall, Praebend.' de Callan, ac Rector de Thomastown.
Jacobus Motleus, Praebend.' de Clownamry, ac Rector de Kilmacow,
Daniel Kenedy, Praebend.' de Moyn, Licentiatus Sorbonicus, &c.
Dermitius Criory, Rector de Ahaboe.
Gulielmus Delany, Rector de Anatrim.
Michael Costigan, Rector de Rathdowney.
Joannes Kelly, Rector de Galmoy.
Richardus Shee, Rector de Aharny.
Edmundus Butler, Rector de Urlingford.
Thomas White, Rector de Freshford.
Patricius Murphy, Rector S. Canici, Kilkenniae.
Joannes Hayn, Rector de Goran,
Thomas Quirke, Rector de Kilamry.
Ricardus Archdekin, Rector de Glanmore.
Jacobus Comerford, Rector de Enistage.
Jacobus Purcell, Rector de Rathkiran.
Matthias Lanigan, Rector de Owning." [1]

Dr. O'Renehan, in his MSS., now in Maynooth College, writes :

" James Bernard Dunne succeeded Dr. O'Shaughnessy, after a short vacancy of the See. I have now before me an autograph letter dimissorial granted by ' James Bernard Bp. of Ossory ' to Patrick Molloy, empowering him (born Oct. 23rd, 1726) to receive Deaconship, and, after the Interstice, Priesthood from any Cath. Bp. This document is dated ' Parisiis, sub signo & sigillo nostro portatili, ac secrii. nostri subscriptione, 27 Februarii, Anni 1750.' The Sec. was ' G. Daton,' who was at least in 1759, Dean of Ossory. He [Dr. Dunne] wrote with a beautiful large engrossing hand and prefixed the X cross. It appears he lived in Paris in 1750."

Our Bishop was in London, on March 3rd, 1751, " being then on his way from France to Ireland ; " and on that day he consecrated for the See of Derry, in the chapel of the Sardinian Embassy, the Right Rev. Patrick O'Brullaghan, O.S.D., the Assistant Bishops being the Right Rev. Dr. Petre, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, and Right Rev. Dr. Challoner, Coadjutor of the same District. He appears not to have taken personal possession of Ossory till some time in the same year. One of the first acts of his Episcopate, after his full installation in the Diocese, was the dismemberment of the parish of Castlecomer, which had been given in charge to the Rev. James Brophy on the death of the Rev. James Comerford, P.P., on the 21st of February, 1749-50. Up to that time the parish of Castlecomer embraced the present parochial districts of Castlecomer, Clough, and Muckalee, with portions of those of Conahy and St. John's. Dr. Dunne now constituted Muckalee a separate parish, appointing thereto the Rev. James Kavanagh, whilst the Rev. James Brophy continued to retain the districts of Castlecomer and Clough.

The parish of St. Mary's becoming vacant by the death of the Rev. Edward

[1] *Transactions of Ossory Archæol. Society*, Vol. ii , pp. 502-3.

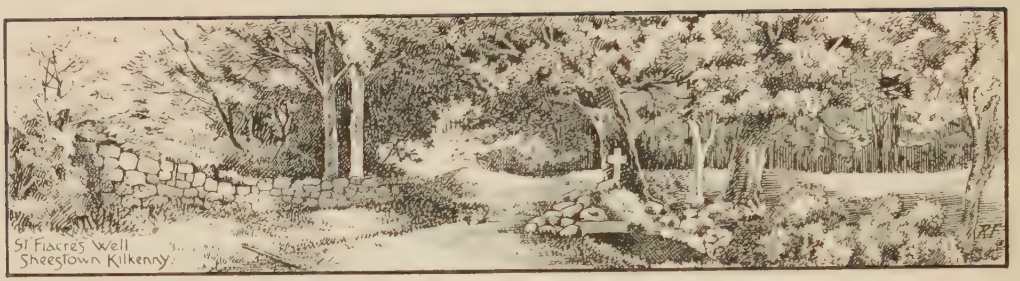
Shee, which occurred on the 16th March, 1751-2, Dr. Dunne applied for, and was granted a Papal Brief of appointment to, that benefice. Scarcely, however, had he received the collation, when strangely, taking no account of the unpleasant controversy of a few years before, he resigned the parish, and without any fresh application to Rome, translated thereto the Rev. Patrick Molloy, P.P., St. John's, on the 30th May, 1753. The salient points of this collation, which was productive later on of a long and bitter dispute, will appear from the following :

"Jacobus Bernardus Dunn, Divina Miseratione & Sedis Apostolicae Authoritate Episcopus Ossoriensis, dilecto nostro Magistro Patritio Molloy, nostrae Dioecesis Presbytero, necnon Sacrae Facultatis Parisiensis Baccalaureo Theologo, Salutem & Benedictionem in Domino. Curam seu. Parochialem Ecclesiam Sanctissimae Virginis Mariae, nostrae Dioecesis, in civitate Kilkenniensi. . . . . liberam nunc et vacantem per voluntariam nostram resignationem tibi praesenti & acceptanti . . . . . contulimus. . . . . Datum Kilkenniae, sub signo sigilloque nostro, ac Secretarii nostri subscriptione, Anno Domini 1753, die vero mensis Maii 30.

"Jacobus Bernardus Dunn, Ep. Oss."

Then follows the signature of the secretary, Rev. Philip Purcell, P.P. St. John's.

Dr. Dunne, who appears to have suffered from ill health during a considerable portion of his Episcopate, withdrew from the Diocese in the month of August, 1757, and, returning to France, died there, April 30th, 1758. After his demise, the Most Rev. Dr. James Keeffe, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, was appointed Administrator of Ossory, and governed it as such till Dr. Burke was appointed Bishop. During his charge of the Diocese, Dr. Keeffe appointed the Rev. Cornelius Delany, P.P. of Kilmanagh, on the 4th of October, 1758.



CHAPTER XVIII.

THOMAS BURKE (1759-76).

DR. BURKE, better known as De Burgo, was born in Dublin city, in the year 1709 or beginning of 1710. Like his predecessor, Dr. O'Shaghnussy, his family belonged to the diocese of Kilmacduagh. They were a branch of the great DeBurgos of the West, and were of ancient standing and considerable importance. For many generations they were lords of the Castle of Cloghcroke, also written Cloghroka and Cloghroge, some eight or ten miles east of Clarinbridge, and not very far west of Athenry, where they rest in death in the old Dominican Abbey.

In the early part of the 16th century, John Burke of Cloghcroke was sheriff in the County of Clanricarde. William, son of Sir Roger O'Shaghnussy the First, was married to the sister of William Oge Burke of Cloghcroke, which shows a connection between the families of Drs. O'Shaghnussy and Burke, as far back as the second half of the 16th century. Myles Burke of Cloghcroke was one of the Commissioners appointed by James II., in 1690, for fixing the taxation of Galway county.

Father Thomas Burke, Dr. Burke's granduncle, was born at Cloghcroke about 1650. He entered the Dominican Order at Louvain, and studied with distinction in the Dominican Convent at Paris, and in that of St. Sixtus at Rome. After his ordination he was appointed Professor of Theology and Philosophy and, in 1683, Prior of St. Sixtus. Returning to Ireland in 1686, he was appointed Prior of the Dominican Convent of Athenry, and ministered zealously to the spiritual wants of that district for the next twelve years. In 1698 he was banished from his native land, but again found a home in St. Sixtus, of which he was soon after elected Prior for a second time. He was made Master of Theology in 1707, and was subsequently

THOMAS BURKE (de BURGO), Bishop of Ossory.
From original painting, St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny.

To face page 158, Vol. I. (Text).

appointed Apostolic Penitentiary in connection with the Basilica of St. Mary Major. He died in Rome, after an honoured and distinguished career, in 1724.

At the age of fourteen years our future Bishop, following in his grand-uncle's footsteps, bade adieu to home and friends, and set out for Rome, where he was invested with the white habit of St. Dominick, under the eye of his venerable relative, on the 14th June, 1724. During his first year in the Eternal City he studied under Father Thomas Vincent Kelly, a Kilkenny man. The following year, 1725, he began his two years' term of Philosophy under Father John Brett, afterwards Bishop of Killala, whence he was translated to Elphin. He made his solemn profession, March 2nd, 1726, having just completed his 16th year. His Theological studies, extending over five years, were completed in 1732, ere he had attained his twenty-third year.

"He was made *lector artium* before ordination, and taught Philosophy and Theology for the next two years, passing through the usual grades of the order, holding the office of regent of studies for six years; and finally, in 1742, receiving the degree of Master of Theology. It increases our admiration of him to know that in spite of the constant labour and attention of mind which a professorship of Theology involves, he found time to perfect himself in the Spanish tongue, and translated a moral Theology into Latin from the Spanish of Father Larraga, a Spanish Dominican; but he so changed it in the translation, and added so many dissertations, that, according to the title-page, it might be considered an entirely new work." [1]

In 1743 he returned to his native city, after an absence of nineteen years, and settled himself down to the ordinary work of the mission, with his brethren of the Dominican Order, in Bridge Street. Before his departure from Rome he had succeeded, at the instance of the Irish Episcopate, in obtaining a Decree for the celebration of the feasts of nine Irish Saints, together with that of Pope St. Celestine the First, in Ireland and in Irish religious communities elsewhere, as doubles-major, having the Lessons of the Second Nocturns *proper*. This Decree is as follows:

"Ad humillimas preces Sanctissimo Domino nostro porrectas & a Sanctitate sua ad Sacram Rituum Congregationem remissas, pro extensione ad universum Clerum Saecularem, & Regularem utriusque sexus, tam in Regno Hiberniae, quam in Conventibus, & Collegiis Nationalibus Ultramarinis, Missarum, & Officiorum, sub Ritu Duplici Majori, infrascriptorum Sanctorum, nempe S. Rumoldi, Ep. Dublinensis, & Martyris, prima Julii; S. Malachiae, Archiep. Armacani, & Confessoris, 3 Novembris; S. Laurentii, Archiep. Dublinensis, & Confessoris, 14 Novembris; S. Frigidiani, Episcopi Lucensis, & Confessoris, 18 Martii; Sanctae Brigidae Abbatissae Kildariensis, Virginis, prima Februarii,—prout reperiuntur in Missali & Breviario Canonicorum Regularium Lateranensium; item S. Caelestini Primi, Papae & Confessoris, 6 April; S. Columbi, Abbatis, 9 Junii; S. Galli, Abbatis, 16 Octobris; S. Columbani Abbatis, 24 Novembris; S. Dympnae, Virginis, & Martyris, 15 Maii, — si, & prout reperiuntur in aliis Missalibus & Breviariis approbatis, sin minus eorum Missae & Officia desumantur de Communi: Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem Eminentissimi & Reverendissimi Domini Cardinalis Gotti, Oratoribus Gratiam *juxta petita* concedendam esse censuit. Die 8 Julii 1741.

Locus
X
Sigilli

"Fr. Joannes Antonius Cardinalis Guadagni, Pro-praefectus.

"Thomas, Patriarcha Hierosolymitanus, Secretarius."

[1] *Thomas Burke*, by Father A. Coleman, O.P., *I.E. Record*, 1892.

In 1745 he received a second commission from the Irish Bishops to obtain a similar Decree for the feasts of fourteen other Irish Saints. The Decree, which was granted, but not *juxta petita*, on the 1st of July, 1747, is as follows :

"Ad humillimas Preces Nomine Cleri Regni Hiberniae per suum in Romana Curia Agentem SS. Domino nostro Benedicto Papa XIV. porrectas, & a Sanctitate Sua ad sacram Rituum Congregationem remissas, pro concessione, & extensione officiorum propriorum, & Missarum infrascriptorum Sanctorum Nationalium, sub ritu duplici majori, ad universum illius Regnum, nempe :

" Die 16 Januarii, S. Fursaei, Ab. Latiniacensis ; 17 Feb., S. Fintani, Presb. & Conf. ; 8 Martii, S. Cataldi, Ep. Tarentini & Conf. ; 20 Martii, S. Cuthberti, Ep. Landisfarnensis & Conf. ; 27 Martii, S. Ruperti, Ep. Salisburgensis & Conf. ; 7 Apr., S. Celsi, Ep. Armacani & Conf. ; 10 Maii, S. Congalli, Ab. Benchorensis ; 8 Julii, S. Kiliani, Ep. Herbipolensis & Mart. ; 30 Augusti, S. Fiacrii, Conf. ; 25 Sep., S. Firmini, Ep. Ambianensis & Mart. ; 11 Oct., S. Canici, Ab. Aghavoensis ; 22 Oct., S. Donati, Ep. Fesulani & Conf. ; 29 Octob., S. Colmani Duaci, Episc. Duacensis in Hibernia & Conf. ; 12 Novemb., S. Livini, Episc. Dublinensis & Mart.

" Sacra eadem Congregatio, audito prius in voce Reverendissimo P. Domino Fidei Promotore, & ad Relationem Eminentissimi & Reverendissimi Dom. Card. Portocarrero, concessionem, & respective extensionem officiorum propriorum & Missarum supradictorum S.S. ad totum praefatum Regnum, si fuerint a S. Sede approbata, sin aliter de Communi, recitandorum sub Ritu quem obtinent, alias sub Ritu semiduplici, diebus non impeditis, ab omnibus Christi Fidelibus utriusque Sexus, qui ad horas Canonicas tenentur, necnon ab omnibus Hibernensibus in transmarinis Partibus collegialiter degentibus, benigne indulsit, atque concessit. Hac die 1 Julii, 1747.

Locus
X
Sigilli.

" Dominicus Card. Tamburinus, Praefectus.

" Thomas, Patriarcha Hierosolymitanus, Secretarius."

Having obtained the Decrees for the celebration of their feasts, Dr. Burke now set about collecting the Officia Propria of the twenty-four saints above enumerated. The result was an Irish Supplement to the Breviary, given to the Press at Dublin, in the year 1751, with the title :

" Officia Propria Sanctorum Hiberniae ab omnibus utriusque sexus qui ad Horas Canonicas tenentur, tam in memorato regno, quam in conventibus et Collegiis extranationalibus sub Ritu Duplici Majori recitanda, in Vim Duplicis Decreti Sacrae Rituum Congregationis, ut duae priores paginae indicabunt. Procurante A. R. P. Thoma de Burgo, Dubliniensi, Ordinis Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae Magistro et Pronotario Apostolico." Dublinii, 1751, in 8vo.

This Supplement was, however, received with disfavour from the beginning. Irish rubricists denied, and justly, that in virtue of the Decree of July 1st, 1747, as the Supplement set forth, the feasts of the fourteen saints mentioned therein were to be celebrated *everywhere* throughout Ireland as doubles-major. They objected to the Supplement also for another and more palpable reason. The Proper Offices it contained, or at least some of them, were not *copied*, as the two Decrees enjoined, from approved Breviaries, but were *compiled* by Dr. Burke himself from a comparison of various approved Breviaries, and were never approved *sub ista forma* by the Sacred Congregation. This was found to be a fatal flaw ; and hence the use of Burke's Supplement soon came to be prohibited by several of the Irish Bishops, and after some time ceased altogether in the Irish Church.

As it may interest the reader to learn the sources whence the Proper Irish Offices, now in use, have been taken, I shall here insert a passage from a Monitum in a little volume entitled "Officia Propria quorumdam Hiberniae Sanctorum, ex Breviariis approbatis, juxta decreta Benedicti XIV. collecta, &c. Parisiis; et vaeneunt Dublinii. 1769":

SS. Brigidae, Frigidiani, Rumoldi, Malachiae & Laurentii officia ex Breviario Canonicorum Regularium Lateranensium, ut praecepit Decretum, desumuntur. SS. Kiliani, Galli & Columbani ex Breviario Benedictino exscripta sunt; Sanctae Dympnae vero ex Proprio Antverpiensi, quod cum ex antiquo illius Ecclesiae Breviario formatum sit, approbatum censeri debet: idem forte dicendum de Proprio Tornacensi, ex quo transcriptum est Sancti Livini officium. Breviaria Parisiense & Meldense, e quibus deprompta sunt officia SS. Fursaei & Fiacrii non videntur nisi tacite a Sancta Sede approbata; an hoc sufficiat. Episcopos penes esto judicium. Eo libentius traduntur, quod quae leguntur in Parisiensi de S. Fursaeo, sint ipsius Venerabilis Bedae verba: quod vero in Meldensi de Sancto Fiacrio, idem fere quod in propriis plurium Dioeceseon, quae Breviario Romano utuntur. Nulla SS. Fintani, Celsi, Congalli, Canici & Colmani Officia approbata inveniri poterant, quae idcirco de Communi recitanda sunt, donec propria ipsis fuerint digesta & a Sede Apostolica approbata."

In 1753 Dr. Burke was appointed Historiographer of the Irish Province of his Order, a fortunate appointment to which we owe his immortal *Hibernia Dominicana*, or History of the Dominican Order in Ireland down to his own time. The collection and arrangement of the mass of materials contained in this great work, were accomplished in the short space of four years. The manuscript, when completed, was presented for the approbation of his superiors, in 1757.

He was appointed to the See of Ossory, by Brief of January 9th, 1759; and was consecrated in the Chapel of the Dominican Nuns, at Drogheda, on the 22nd of April following, by Dr. Anthony Blake, Archbishop of Armagh, assisted by Dr. Edmund O'Doran, Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dr. Anthony O'Garvey, Bishop of Dromore.

The following record of his consecration, with the accompanying lists of the Dignitaries and Parish Priests of the Diocese at the time, is copied from his *Registrum Dioecesanum* now preserved in the Bishop's Palace, Kilkenny:

"STATUS DIAECESIS OSSORIENSIS.

"A.D., 1759, quo Fr. Thomas de Burgo, Ordinis Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae Magister, consecratus fuit praelibatae Diaecesis Episcopus apud Pontanam in Sacello Monialium die 22 Aprilis, ab Illustrissimo D. Antonio Blake Archiepiscopo Armacano, assistentibus Illustrimis. D. Edmundo O'Doran, Episcopo Dunensi & Connorensi, ac D. Antonio O'Garvey, Episcopo Dromorensi.

"Porro memoratus Thomas Episcopus possessionem adiit dictae suae Diaecesis Ossoriensis die 2 Maii, 1759.

"Tunc autem Dignitarii quinque & Canonici, seu Praebendarii septem, erant sequentes:

"Decanus, Gualterus Daton.
"Praecentor, Marcus Mansfield.
"Cancellarius, Thomas Quirk.
"Thesaurarius, Daniel Kennedy.
"Archidiaconus, Patritius Murphy.
Canonici seu Praebendarii de
"Aghoure, alias Freshford, Joannes Hoyne.

" Killamory, Thomas Forstall.
" Tascoffin, Thomas Whyte.
" Cloneamory, Gulielmus Delany.
" Blackrath, Patritius Murphy.
" Mayne, Matthias Lanigan.
" Kilmanagh, Cornelius Delany.
" (Isti porro duodecim constituunt Capitulum Ecclesiae Cathedralis S. Canici Kilkenniae in dicta diaecesi Ossoriensi.)
" Parochi erant sequentes, nempe,
" In Districtu Kilkennensi :'
" Ampliss. D. Patritius Murphy, Canonicus, Parochus S. Canici, Kilkenniae.
" R.D., Patritius Molloy, Vicarius S. Mariae, Kilkenniae. Parochia quippe vacabat per obitum Illmi. Jacobi Dunne, nuper Episcopi, defuncti 30 Apr., 1758.
" R. D. Philippus Purcell, Parochus S. Joannis Evangelistae, Kilkenniae, item Parochiae S. Mochini de Kilderry, SS. Trinitatis de Dunmore & S. Thomae de Rathcoole.
" R. D. Mauritius Delany, Parochus S. Patritii, Kilkenniae, S. Davidis de Castleinch, S. Patritii de Outrath & Parochiae S. Fiacrii de Kilfera.
" Ampliss. D. Marcus Mansfield, Praecentor, Parochus S Michaelis de Danesfort, S. Colmani de Burnchurch, S. Crucis de Grange & S. Moguntini de Ennisnag.
" Ampliss. D. Joannes Hoyne, Canonicus, Parochus S. Mariae de Gowran, S. Nicolai de Blanchfield's—kill, S. Davidis de Dungarvan, S. Colmani de Claragh, S. Scophini de Tasscoffin, S. Mariae de Blackrath, S. Martini de Templemartin et Par[ae] de Dunbell.
" Amps. D. Cornelius Delany, Canonicus, Parochus S. Edani de Kilmanagh, S. Brigidae de Ballycallan & S. Luani de Killaloe.
" In Districtu Superiori Diaecesis :
" Amps. D. Edmundus Kavanagh, Ex-Archidiaconus, Parochus S. Patritii de Ballyragget sive Donoughmore, S. Colmani de Connihey, SS. Petri & Pauli de Kilmacar, S. Nicolai de Culecraheen, S. Mochini de Moyn, S. Mariae de Rossconnell, SS. Simonis & Judae de Leughill, S. Brigidae de Attanagh, S. Finiani de Kilminan.
" Amps. Daniel Kennedy, Thesaurarius, Licentiatus Sorbonicus, Parochus SSmae. Trinitatis de Rathdowny, S. Joannis Baptistae de Coolkerry, S. Patritii de Donoughmore, S. Mariae Assumptae de Skerk, S. Kirani de Errill, S. Brigidae de Ballybuggy & Parochiae S. Columbae, Abbatis, de Rathsaran.
" Amps. D. Thomas Whyte, Canonicus, Parochus S. Lactini de Freshford, S. Mariae Assumptae de Tullarone, Smae. Trinitatis de Ballanamara, S. Nicolai de Bananguagh, S. Kirani de Classecrow, item de Ballilurkan.
" Amps. Gulielmus Delany, Canonicus, Parochus S. Kevini de Anatrim, S. Sedani de Churchtown & S. Kirani de Saiger-Kiran.
" R. D. Richardus Shee, Parochus S. Brigidae de Acharny, S. Manachini de Coolecashell, S. Catherinae de Rathbeagh, S. Fiacrii de Skiffin & Clonetubrid, alias Rathine.
" R.D. Gulielmus Shee, Parochus SSmae. Trinitatis de Durrow, S. Fiacrii de Achamacart, S. Brandani de Killenny & Cahir.
" R. D. Dermitius Criory, Parochus S. Canici de Aghaboe, S. Brigidae de Kilbride, S. Finlicani de Bordell, S. Mochini de Kelrumuh, S. Kirani de Knocksciragh, S. Senani de Kildelligie.
" R. D. Joseph Clarke, Parochus S. Michaelis de Erke, S. Kirani de Farthagh & S. Mariae de Glasshare.
" R. D. Edmundus Butler, Parochus S. Mariae Assumptae de Urlingford, S. Mariae Natae de Clomanti, S. Patritii de Tubrid, S. Dorani, Episcopi de Kildrina, S. Bartholomaei de Killahy—Insimul Parochus conterminae Parochiae in Diaecesi Casseliensi.
" R. D. Thomas Paye, Ordinis Minorum, Parochus S. Brandani de Disart & S. Mariae de Muckalee, collatus ab Illmo. Jacobo Dunne, 17 Julii, 1753, loco R. D. Jacobi Kavanagh.
" R. D. Jacobus Brophy, Parochus S. Crucis de Castlecomer, S. Andreae de Kilmadum, S. Nicolai Tolentinatis de Mothill, S. Dimaci de Kilmademnoc.
" In Districtu Inferiori Diaecesis :
" Ampliss. D. Patritius Murphy, Archidiaconus, Parochus S. Davidis de Knoctopher, S. Kirani de Stumcarty, S. Brandani de Aghaviller, S. Uterini de Kilkeasy, S. Kirilli de Kilkirill, Omnium Sanctorum de Kilcredy, S. Maculvelini de Derrynahinch, S. Mochaei de Lismateag & Sheepstown.
" Amps. D. Thomas Quirk, Cancellarius, Parochus S. Crucis de Kells, S. Mariae Assumptae de Ballytobin, S. Nicolai de Killamery, S. Magneni de Kilmaganny, S. Leonardi de Dunnamaggin, S. Brigidae de Kilree.

" Amps. D. Thomas Forstall, Canonicus, Parochus S. Mariae Assumptae de Thomastown, S. Kirani de Tullohirm, S. Mariae Conceptae de Kilfane, S. Columbae de Columbkill, S. Bernardi de Jerpoint-Abbey, S. Nicolai de Jerpoint-Church.

" Amps. D. Matthias Lanigin, Canonicus, Parochus S. Mariae Assumptae de Owning, S. Canici de Mucully, S. Kirani de Kilkiran, S. Mochi de Fiddown, S. Modomnoci (alias Dominici) Episcopi de Tibraughni.

" R. D. Richardus Archdekin, Parochus S. Colmani de Balligurrin, S. Brigidae de Kilbride, S. Crucis de Kilcolm, S. Patritii de Rathpatrick, S. Jacobi de Kilmacavoghe, S. Killini de Kilclehin vulgo Abbey Parish.

" R. D. Jacobus Purcell, Parochus S. Kirani de Rathkiran, S. Ruani de Polerone, S. Canici de Clonemore, S. Mariae Assumptae de Portnasculli, S. Mariae Natae de Ballitarsna, S. Killoci de Tubrid.

" R. D. Jacobus Comerford, Parochus S. Columbae de Innistoick, S. Brandani de Cloneamory, S. Mariae Assumptae de Rowre.

" R. D. Jacobus Butler, Parochus S. Mae. Assumptae de Callan, Omnium Sanctorum de Newtown, S. Jacobi Apostoli de Mallardstown, S. Mariae Natae de Coolough, S. Catharinae Virginis & Martyris de Tullemaine.

" R. D. Edmundus Shortall, Parochus S. Kirani de Kilmacow, S. Davidis de Ullid, S. Crucis de Killahy, S. Senani, Epi. & Confs. de Rossenan, S. Becani, Epi. & Confs. de Kilbecan, S. Mariae Assumptae de Gaulstown, S. Kiliani, Epi. & Martyris, de Dunkitt.

" Per nuperum obitum R. D. Patritii Nowlan, vacabat Parochia S. Mariae Natae de Rosbercon cum annexis Parochiis S. Moni de Iesus-Mond, S. Davidis de Listerling, S. Bernardi de Mullinakill, S. Fantani de Shanbough."

Following after the above occurs the entry :

" Neo-Episcopus, Thomas de Burgo, anno 1759 visitans singulas Parochias a die 15 Maii ad diem 20 Septembris, confirmavit Novemdecem millia Biscentum & Septuaginta octo (19,278.)"

We have already seen how Dr. Dunne, without obtaining the necessary faculties from the Holy See, had collated Father Molloy to St. Mary's, in 1753. For the next six years Fr. Molloy administered the parish without any question as to his title, and with the full consent and good will of the people. He was a priest of very superior endowments and of undoubted energy and zeal ; and to add to his other claims upon his flock, he was a native, if not of St. Mary's itself, at least of Kilkenny city, where his family had been settled for a considerable time, and where he must have numbered many among his relations and friends. Dr. Dunne had appointed him his Vicar-General, at the same time that he had appointed him to St. Mary's parish, and Dr. Burke continued him, by letter, in the Vicarial administration of the Diocese till he himself took possession of it.

Dr. Burke had not been many days in Kilkenny when he became aware that there was a radical defect in Father Molloy's collation, and that, consequently, St. Mary's was canonically vacant. He, accordingly, determined to secure for himself an appointment *ad commendam* to St. Mary's, in other words to make it his mensal parish. With this end in view, and keeping his purpose to himself, he forwarded a petition to Rome, in which, entirely ignoring Father Molloy's position in St. Mary's, he represented the parish as vacant—as, in Canon Law, it undoubtedly was—and prayed the Holy Father to confer it upon himself for the better support of his

Episcopal diginity. His prayer was granted, and the Papal Brief, addressed for execution to the Prelates of the Dublin Province, was issued June 29th, 1759.

The Brief was not executed, however, nor did Dr. Burke urge its execution, first, because he was apprehensive of opposition on the part of the people; and secondly, because the Leinster Prelates, one and all, deeming it a hardship that Father Molloy should be ousted from the parish after so many years' peaceable possession, concluded, before taking action, to lay the case in all its bearings before the Sacred Congregation. The case was accordingly referred to Rome, and after a full examination, the Sacred Congregation, by a Decree dated June 1st, 1761, and confirmed by a Papal Brief of July 29th, same year, decided as follows: (1) that the collation made by Dr. Dunne, in 1753, to Father Molloy was null and void, inasmuch as the former had held the parish of St. Mary's *in commendam*, and had, therefore, no power to dispose of it to the latter, without special faculties from the Holy See, which faculties he had not received; (2) that the Papal collation made to Dr. Burke was likewise null and void, because in his petition for same to the Holy See, he had suppressed the fact that at the time, the parish was claimed by another: (3) that a new collation be and hereby is made of Dr. Burke to St. Mary's: and (4) that the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishops of Cork and Limerick, and their Vicars General, by themselves or by their delegate, be empowered to induct him and give him possession.

On the 11th Sept., 1761, and in virtue of this Decree, the Rev. Patrick Murphy, P.P., St. Canice's, acting as delegate of Dr. Walsh, Bishop of Cork, quietly gave Dr. Burke possession of St. Mary's Chapel, in the presence of the Rev. Darby Murphy, P.P., St. Patrick's, Rev. Thomas Rourke, Pastor of St. John's, and Rev. James Stapleton, C.C. Castlecomer. Against this Father Molloy protested, characterizing the manner in which the ceremony was carried out as "clandestine," and declaring that Father Murphy in giving the possession "without previous citation or previous exhibition either of the Apostolical *Breve*, or of any authority subdelegated to him for the execution of it; without letting Mr. Molloy or the parishioners know what he was about; and without any of the legal steps necessary by all laws canon and civil to eject one actually in possession," had acted uncanonically and invalidly.[1]

"The parishioners were alarmed. To soften matters and to prevent any opposition on the Sunday following, Dr. Burke begged a friendly interview with Mr. Molloy, who in the presence of two priests assured Dr. Burke he would not give up his right and title to the parish without a fair hearing and canonical proceedings. Dr. Burke consented to refer the point in debate to the Sacred Congregation, wrote

[1] See Father Molloy's MS. *Statement* in the Diocesan Archives.

a little billet with his own hand to this purpose, which Mr. Molloy, by his desire, read to the parishioners on the Sunday following. All was then quiet.

"During these transactions the Sacred Congregation having learned from a Remonstrance signed by the Magistracy of Kilkenny, and sealed with the public seal of sd. city, as well as from another signed by the parishioners of St. Mary's, that Mr. Molloy's removal would occasion general dissatisfaction among all ranks of people, and confusion in the Parish, dispatched, with all expedition, a mandate suspending the execution of Dr. Burke's *Breve*, if he had not already got *peaceable possession* of St. Mary's. The Metropolitan was charged with the execution of it, and did execute it, after which Dr. Burke frivolously protested against sd. execution, but Mr. Molloy all this while remained in the possession of his parish, and in the actual enjoyment of all Parochial emoluments without controul. His Holyness at last appointed the 22nd day of January, 1762, for a rehearing of the case." [1]

At Dr. Burke's request the trial was deferred till the 24th August, 1762. The result was in his favour, the Sacred Congregation deciding that he should be maintained in the possession of St. Mary's:

"Die 24 Augusti, 1762.

"Decretum S. Congreg. Generalis de Propaganda Fide habita die 24 Augusti, 1762.

"Referente Emo. & Rmo. Cardinali Nerio Corsini controversiam inter Episcopum Ossoriensem et Sacerdotem Patritium Molloy, super Parochia S. Mariae, Kilkennii, in Hibernia, Emi. Patres, auditis partibus & Re mature perpensa, decreverunt Episcopum Ossoriensem manutenendum esse in possessione dictae Parochiae.

"Datum Romae die & anno quibus supra.

"J. Card. Spinellus, Praefectus,

"Locus x Sigilli. M. Marefuscus, secrius."

The following letter from the Cardinal Prefect to Dr. Burke, was enclosed with the above Decree:

"Illustris. & Reverendissime Domine, uti Frater:

"Ex adjuncto Decreto amplitudo Tua dignoscet, quae fuerit hujus Sacrae Congregationis sententia super controversia vertente inter Te et sacerdotem Molloy. Coeterum eadem S. Congregatio summopere desideraret, ad praecavendas etiam contentiones & lites, ut amplitudo tua eidem sacerdoti dictae parochiae vicariatum conferres, sicut ei obtulisti, vel saltem cum sese offeret occasio, aliud Beneficium, ut alicujus Ecclesiae servitio mancipatus, Catholicis tuae Dioecesis duplici jure in rebus, quae ad Deum sunt, deserviat. Atque iterum Deum ipsum precor, qui amplitudinem tuam incolumem quam diutissime servet.

Roma, 4 Septembris, 1762.

Uti Frater,

J. Card. Spinellus, Praefectus,

"Ad D. Epum. Ossorien. M. Marefuscus, Secrius."

On receipt of the Decree of the Sacred Congregation, Dr. Burke at once entered on the pastoral charge of St. Mary's, October, 1762, and appointed the Rev. Dr. Denis Deleign to be his coadjutor or assistant in the parish.

[1] See Father Molloy's MS. *Statement* in the Diocesan Archives.

But Father Molloy would not give in. His contention was that Dr. Burke had never got canonical possession of St. Mary's, and if he never had possession of the parish, how could the Sacred Congregation insist on his being maintained in a possession which was never his? He, therefore, on the 5th Oct, 1762, appealed from the Decree of August, 24th, "to the Sacred Congregation better informed."

"Dr. Burke despised his appeal and acting as sole executor and judge in his own cause, suspended him from the exercise of his parochial functions. The parishioners cryed aloud and protested against sd. Decree, declaring unanimously, in public chappell assembled, that Dr. Burke never got possession of the Parish with their consent and satisfaction. . . . . Mr. Molloy, for fear of inflicting a public wound on Episcopal authority, obeyed for a while the unjust suspension from which despotic proceeding he and his parishioners appealed to the Metropolitan who, hearing the distracted situation of the parish, dispatched three delegates to Kilkenny." [1]

The delegates "made their report to the Metropolitan (Dr. Lincoln), who, after mature examination, declared the suspension laid on Mr. Molloy, after his canonical appeal to Rome, null and void; under the shelter of which appeal and Metropolitan sentence, Mr. Molloy has ever since continued in the actual possession of his parochial house, chappel, altar and pulpit, in the exercise of parochial functions and in the enjoyment of the parochial emoluments." [2]

In answer to Fr. Molloy's appeal, Dr. William O'Meara, Bishop of Killaloe, was delegated by the Holy See, to thoroughly investigate both sides of the controversy and to report thereon to the Sacred Congregation.

"The Most Revd. Delegate (Dr. O'Meara, Bishop of Killaloo), having taken in Kilkenny, pursuant to his commission, all the necessary informations, in the month of August, 1763, made his report accordingly to the Sacred Congregation, which on the 23rd of February, 1764, came to a final Resolution and decreed that Mr. Molloy should be continued in the administration of the long-disputed Parish; that Dr. Burke should not interfere by any means in the regulation of it, and that the Archbishop of Dublin should be invested with full power to execute sd. final resolution." [3]

But the end was not yet. It only came on the 12th August, 1765, when a final Decree of the Sacred Congregation, confirmed by the Pope on the 21st of the same month, was issued, constituting Father Molloy pastor of St. Mary's, under the title of Perpetual Vicar, with the obligation of paying yearly £25 to Dr. Burke as titular Parish Priest of said Parish; and granting Dr. Burke faculties to absolve

[1] See Father Molloy's MS. *Statement* in the Diocesan Archives.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

the Rev. Peter Crea, Father Molloy's Curate, from any censures or irregularities he might have incurred during the course of the controversy. This Decree is as follows :

" Decretum Sac. Congnis. Gnlis. de Propaganda Fide habitae die 12 Augusti 1765.

" Propositis per Emum. et Rmum. Dnum. D. Cardlem. Castelli, Praefectum, infrascriptis dubiis, videlicet :

" I. An pro pace tandem restituenda inter Parochianos Catholicos S. Mariae Kilkenniensis, in Hiberniae Regno, concordia praesripta a S. Conge. inter Episcopum Ossoriensem et sacerdotem Patritium Molloy absque ultiore procrastinatione sit exequenda ?

" II. An eadem concordia juxta conditiones partibus primo vel secundo loco propositas ad effectum deduci debeat ?

" III. An, et quomodo provideri oporteat super controversia nuper exorta inter Archiepum-Dublinensem ex una, et praefatum Epum. Ossoriensem ex altera partibus propter poenas Ecclias. ab hoc ultimo inflictas contra sacredotem Petrum Crea ?

" Emi. Patres responderunt

" Ad I. et II. Concordiam esse omnino exequendam juxta modum Partibus secundo loco propositum, nempe quod sacerdos Molloy constituatur vicarius perpetuus Epi. in controversa Paroecia cum independentia ab eodem Epo. tamquam Parocho, et cum onere eidem quotannis solvendi pensionem viginti quinque Librarum sterlingarum, atque ulterius reservetur Epo. regressus ad Paroeciam pleno jure possidendam in casu praemorientis ejusdem Molloy, vel ejus promotionis ad Beneficium incompatibile.

" Ad III. Sacerdotem Petrum Crea, petita prius venia ab Epo.Ossoriensi, esse privato absolvendum, et dispensandum ad cautelam per eumdem Epum., tanquam Delegatum S. Sedis, ab omnibus suspensionibus, et irregularitatibus, facto verbo cum SSmo.

" Quam S. Congnis. sententiam SSmo. Dno. Nro. relatam per R. P. D. Marium Marefuscum secrium. in Audientia habita die 18 Mensis ejusdem, Sanctitas Sua in omnibus benigne approbavit, atque executioni demandari jussit, omnes, et singulas largiendo facultates ad hoc opportunas, et necessarias.

" Datum Romae, ex Ædibus dae. S. Congnis. die 21 Mensis, et anni qbus. supra.

(Signed) " Joseph Ma. Cardlis. Castelli, Pftus.

" Loc. X Sig."

The following entries, bearing on this dispute, are found in the pocket-book of Mr. Sylvester Langton, an old parishioner of St. Mary's :

" My niece, Catherine Murry, was born 10th March, 1762. . . . She was baptised by Father Molloy, Parish Priest.

" My niece, Jane Murry, was born on Monday ye 13th June 1763. . . . She was baptised by Father Deling [*i.e.* Deleign], as ye Parish was in dispute between Doctor Burke and Father Molloy .

" My nephew, William Comerford, was born ye 22nd Sept. 1763. . . . He was baptised by Father Richard Shee, as ye parish was still in dispute.

" My niece, Anne Murry, was born ye 28th August, 1764. She was baptised next day by Dr. Burke, as ye dispute in ye parish still continued.

" My nephew, Edmond Comerford, was born ye 11th Jan., 1767. He was baptised five days after by Father McGeniss, a Dominican Friar, tho' all disputes in ye parish were over and Father Molloy appointed by ye Court of Rome parish priest, yet so much did the party spirit continue.

" My niece, Anne Comerford, was born ye 10th Feb., 1768, and was baptised ye 16th by Father Peter Crea, coadjutor to Father Molloy."

St. Mary's was not the only parish to give trouble to our Bishop, in the early years of his Episcopate. Ballyragget, too, at this period, became a bone of contention. The Butlers of Ballyragget had long claimed the *jus patronatus*, or right of presentation to the parish and its annexes. The Bishops of Ossory never appear to have acknowledged any such right, but it is not unlikely that, in making appointments to the parish, they were always willing to give every consideration to the

feelings and wishes of a great Catholic family, which had never swerved from the ancient Faith during all the storms of persecution.

The death of the Very Rev. Edmund Kavanagh, P.P., on the 2nd Aug., 1761, afforded Robert Butler, the head of the Ballyragget family, an opportunity of exercising, or at least attempting to exercise, the right he believed himself to possess. He accordingly *presented* to the vacant benefice the Rev. Dr. Denis Deleign, a priest of great merit and high in the Bishop's favour. Dr. Burke refused to admit the presentation, but wrote at the same time to Mr. Butler, that if he *recommended* any suitable priest he would willingly give him a collation. This Mr. Butler declined to do; and the Bishop, thereupon, appointed the Rev. James Dowling, P.P. of Ballyragget, having first of all cut off from it the district of Ballyouskill, which he gave in charge to the P.P. of Durrow.

On the 31st August, 1764, Mr. Butler appealed to the Most Rev. Dr. Patrick Fitzsimons, Archbishop of Dublin, against both the Bishop's appointment to, and dismemberment of, Ballyragget parish, as violating his own right of presentation inherited from his ancestors. The result of the appeal is thus noted by Dr. Burke in his MSS.:

"The Bishops of Ferns and Kildare, commissioned by the Archbishop of Dublin, took cognizance of the appeal of Robert Butler Esqr., and the merits thereof, at Ross, in the Diocese of Ferns, & at Kilkenny, in the Diocese of Ossory, for many days in the month of August 1765, but found no advowson, or Right of Presentation, in the appellant."

We have already referred to the *Hibernia Dominicana*. Dr. Burke's famous History of the Dominicans in Ireland, begun in 1753, and warmly approved of, on its completion, by the Chapter of his Order, in 1757. The work having remained in manuscript for some years, was given to the Press, by the author, in 1762. "Owing to the temper of those times," writes Father Brenan, "it was represented in the title, to have been published in Cologne,[1] but in reality that honour belongs to Kilkenny, the city in which he resided." [2]

The full title is:

"Hibernia Dominicana
Sive
Historia Provinciae Hiberniae
Ordinis Praedicatorum
Ex antiquis Manuscriptis, probatis Auctoribus, Literis originalibus

[1] In the copy of the *Hibernia Dominicana* belonging to Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Bishop of Canea, the true names of the printer and place of printing are given, in large type, on the title page, thus:

"Kilkenniae.
"Ex Typographia Jacobi Stokes juxta Praetorium [*i.e. near the Tholsel*].
MDCCLXII."

[2] *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 346.

Nunquam antehac impressis, Instrumentis authenticis & Archivis, aliisque invictae Fidei Monumentis deprompta,

In Qua

Nedum omnia, quae an memoratam attinent Provinciam, & Caenobia ejus, tam intra quam extra Regnum *Hiberniae* constituta (interjectis singulorum Fundatorum Genealogiis) atque Alumnos ipsius, seu Dignitate Episcopali, seu Munere.

Provinciali, seu Librorum Vulgatione, seu Martyrio, publicave Virtutis Opinione claros, succincte distincteque exhibentur,

Sed Etiam Plura

Regulares generatim sumptos, Clerumque Saecularem, necnon & Res Civiles *Hiberniae*, atque etiam *Magnae Brittaniae* spectantia, sparsim appositeque adjectis insuper Notis opportunis, inseruntur, & in perspicuo Ordine collocantur.

Per

P. Thomam de Burgo, praelibati Ordinis Alumnum, S. Theologiae Magistrum, & Protonotarium Apostolicum, necnon *Hiberniae Dominicanae* Historiographum postea

E[piscopum] **O**[ssoriensem].

Coloniae Agrippinae

Ex Typographia Metternichiana sub signo Gryphi

Anno MDCCLXII.

Cum permissu Superiorum & Privilegio Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis."

The work consists of 754 quarto pages, exclusive of the Index, and is divided into seventeen chapters. The earlier chapters treat, for the most part, of the general history of the Dominican Order in Ireland since its introduction into the country in 1224, down to the year 1759. The ninth chapter (153 pages) traces the history of every Dominican Abbey known to have existed in this country, and is the most interesting chapter in the book with the possible exception of the thirteenth, which is devoted to the history of the Irish Archbishops and Bishops of the Dominican Order.

In 1772 he published a valuable addition to this work, under the title: *Supplementum Hiberniae Dominicanae*, or *Supplement to the Hibernia Dominicana*. The *Supplement* is very rare, and is only to be found bound up with copies of the

Hibernia Dominicana itself. The condemnation of both works by the Munster Bishops shall be treated of later on in this chapter.

The following occur among the EDICTA inserted in Dr. Burke's *Diocesan Register :*

I.

" Jan. 25th, 1760.

" To the R.Rd. Messrs. Patrick Murphy & the other Clergymen celebrating in the chapel of the Buts.

" R.Rd. Sirs.

" You are desired to publish the following Declaration at your respective Masses with an audible voice on Sunday next, January 27th.

" Thomas de Burgo.

" By order of our spiritual superior it is notified to you, that whereas he was credibly informed that some evil persons of our Communion in this Parish are disposed in a riotous manner to pull down a Gallery of this Chapel because made use of for the devotion of decent people, by the express approbation of our said spiritual superiors : and whereas the execution of such a wicked design might end in murder or bodily injury. It is therefore he gives this charitable warning, that he'l exert himself in making diligent Inquiries after such evil minded Persons, who from this day will continue in their wretched Disposition ; that he'l get their names & places of abode published not only from this altar but likewise from every altar in Kilkenny ; and that he'l punish them to the utmost of his power."

II.

" Whereas mobbing, rioting, cursing, swearing, thieving, excessive drinking and other great Debaucheries are constantly practised at St. John's Well near Kilkenny, arising mostly from vagrant beggars (many whereof feign themselves lame) who in swarms strole thither from divers parts of this Kingdom ; & who likewise pester the City of Kilkenny, & the roads adjacent, to the great detriment & terror of the inhabitants, & the travellers ; whereby also many Reflections are cast upon the Roman Catholic Religion and its Pilgrimages ; Hence it is, that all the subjects of that Religion are strictly forbid to give alms to any beggars whatsoever at St. John's Well, or from the City of Kilkenny to the said Well, or four miles about it, during the Pilgrimage usually performed on, before and after the Festival of St. John Baptist, and the said Roman Catholics are to take notice, that if they transgress this most just command of their Spiritual Superior, instead of reaping any benefit by going to the said Well, they'l return greater sinners from it than they went to it. But still that they may not be deprived of the merit of charity & that real objects may be thereby relieved, a Charity Box will be erected within the Chapel of the said Well, with a lock & key, which will be opened by the Parish Clergy & the money therein found shall be faithfully distributed among the real objects of St. John's Parish.

" Thomas de Burgo (May 5th, 1761)."

III.

" Whereas the Chapel of St. Kenny's in Kilkenny was rebuilt some years ago as to one half, but the other half left in a ruinous condition, in so much that it is constantly in danger of falling : and whereas I have repeated times admonished the Parish Priest & several of the Parishioners to exert themselves towards finishing the same : and whereas my admonitions were hitherto unnoticed & ineffectual. Hence both for the decency of the house of God & to save people's lives & limbs, I solemnly interdict the said Chapel from the first day of November next, hereby forbidding any Mass to be celebrated therein under pain of suspension to be incurred by the Priest on or after the said first day of November, but is to be shut up, unless it be compleatley rebuilt before that day. This reasonable length of time is allowed that the money requisite may be collected in the Parish & the work done without hurry. Furthermore I command this paper to be read with an audible voice by every priest before the end of his Mass in said Chapel for three Sundays after the date hereof, & on every first Sunday of the month till the mentioned month of November. Given at Kilkenny this 16th of January, 1767.

" Thomas de Burgo."

Other extracts from Dr. Burke's *Register*, probably the oldest Diocesan record of the kind in Ireland, here follow :

I.

" PROMOTIONES AD DIGNATATES & PRAEBENDAS SEU CANONICATUS.

" Die 12 Februarii, 1763. Ampliss. D. Joannes Hoyne, Parochus de Gowran, ex Canonico de Aghoure, Auglice Freshford, fit Thesaurarius, loco Ampmi. D. Danielis Kennedy, Parochi de Rathdowny, defuncti Die 18 Decembris, 1762.

" Die 18 Julii, 1763. R. D. Dionysius Deleign, Parochus de Kilmacow, fit Canonicus de Aghoure. Anglice Freshford, loco Ampmi. Dni. Joannis Hoyne promoti ad Thesaurariatum, juxta mox dicta.

" Die 29 Aprilis, 1764, R. D. Edmundus Butler, Parochus de Urlingford, fit Canonicus seu Praebendarius de Killemory, loco Ampmi. Dni. Thomae Forstall, Parochi de Thomastown, denati 13 Martii proxime elapsi.

" Die 28 Julii, 1764. R. D. Mauritius Delany Parochus de Aghaboe, fit Canonicus de Cloneamory, loco Ampmi. Dni. Gulielmi Delany qui absolute & simpliciter resignavit in manibus Episcopi die 19 ejusdem mensis in scriptis.

" Die 8 Septembris, 1765. R. D. Jacobus Butler, Parochus de Callan, fit Canonicus de Killamory, loco Ampmi. Dni. Edmundi Butler, Parochi de Urlingford, vita functi die 7 mensis Junii ultimi elapsi.

" Die 30 Maii, 1768. R. D. Jacobus Purcell, Parochus de Rathkieran, fit Canonicus de Killamory, loco Ampmi. Dni. Jacobi Butler, qui fatis cessit die 24 ejusdem mensis.

" (En tenorem Literarum Patentium.)

" Nos, Fr. Thomas de Burgo, Ordinis Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae Magister, Dei & Apostolicae Sedis Gratia Episcopus Ossoriensis, necnon Parochiae S. Mariae, Kilkenniae, Parochus : Dilecto nobis in Christo, Reverendo Domino Jacobo Purcell, Rectori Parochiae S. Kirani de Rathkiran, cum annexis, in praelibata diaecesi, salutem in Domino.

" Inter caetra quae pro Pontificalis nostri officii debito praestare cupimus, illud magnopere nobis cordi est, ut Praebendas, sen Canonicatus Ecclesiae nostrae Cathedralis iis conferamus, quos eximiae animi dotes exornant, quosque illibata doctrina, morum probitas, & odor bonae famae blanda Harmonia commendant. Vacante igitur Praebenda seu Canonicatu de Killamory per obitum Amplissimi Domini Jacobi Butler, nuperi Parochi de Callan, qui die 24 elabentis Mensis Maii e vivis discessit, cujus Praebendae collatio, provisio, et quaevis alia dispositio ad nos pleno jure spectat & pertinet, Tibi memorato Jacobo Purcell conferimus et assignamus eandem Praebendam seu Canonicatum de Killamory cum omnibus juribus, honoribus, pertinentiis & privilegiis Praebendario, seu Canonico Cathedralis Ecclesiae quomodolibet competentibus. Quocirca universis & singulis personis Ecclesiasticis, curae nostrae subjectis, in virtute sanctae obedientiae, ac sub poenis & censuris contra inobedientes Praelatorum mandatis a jure inflictis, & arbitrio nostro infligendis, per Praesentes praecipimus et mandamus, ut cum pro parte tua requisiti fuerint, aut eorum aliquis requisitus fuerit, ad praedictam Cathedralem nostram Ecclesiam accedant vel accedat, Teque vel Procuratorem tuum pro Te, in corporalem, realem & actualem possessionem praenominatae Praebendae authoritate nostra, servatis servandis, pro rerum conditionibus, inducant vel inducat, In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. In quorum fidem et robur hasce a nobis scriptas et subscriptas Literas sigillo nostro Episcopali muniri jussimus. Datum Kilkenniae, in Ædibus nostrae Residentiae, Die Trigesima Mensis Maii, Anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo septingentesimo sexagesimo octavo, consecrationis nostrae anno decimo.

" Die 2 Decembris, 1769. Amplissimus D. Dionysius Deleign, Vicarius Generalis & Parochus S. Joannis Kilkenniae, ex Canonico de Aghoure, Anglice Freshford, fit Cancellarius, loco Ampmi. D. Thomae Quirk, Parochi de Kells, defuncti 15 Octobris labentis anni. Literis Patentibus datis Romae extra Portam Praenestinam.

. . . . . .

" Die 12 Julii, 1775. Ampliss. D. Gulielmus Shee, Vicarius Generalis, ex Canonico de Killamory fit Thesaurarius, loco Ampmi. D. Joannis Hoyne, defuncti 14 Aprilis.

" Die item 12 Julii, 1775. R. D. Gulielmus Fitzpatrick, Parochus S. Mariae de Rosbercon, fit Canonicus de Killamory, loco Ampmi. D. Gulielmi Shee promoti ad Dignitatem Thesaurarii.

II.

" INSTITUTIONES & TRANSLATIONES PAROCHORUM.

" Die 4 Maii, 1759. R. D. Gulielmus Fitzpatrick instituitur Parochus S. Mariae Natae de Ros-

bercon, S. Moni de Iesus-Mund, S. Davidis de Listerling, S. Bernardi de Mullinakill, & S. Fantin de Shanbough, loco R. D. Patritii Nowlan, qui vivere desiit 15 Martii dicti anni.

"Die 29 Junii, 1759. Neo-Episcopus, Thomas de Burge, Roma Diploma recepit Pontificium ipsi in commendam conferens Parochiam S. Mariae Kilkenniae jam antea immediato Praedecessori suo, D. Jacobo Dunne commendatam, ut moris est in hac aliisque Hiberniae Diaecesibus, ut nimirum Episcopi statum suum juxta Pontificalis Dignitatis exigentiam decentius tenere valeant. Verum sacerdos Patritius Molloy, cui laudatus Episcopus Jacobus Parochiam istam, tametsi ejusdem Parochus Commendatarius,contulerat, Litem movit in S.Congregatione de Propaganda Fide, praetendens sic sibi datam Parochiae collationem validam fuisse, proindeque Literas Apostolicas nullas esse & inanes. Sed S. Congregatio *nullam declaravit Collationem istam factam ab ipsomet Episcopo resignante in favorem Presbyteri Patritii Molloy, qui ob hanc causam Regula triennali gaudere non poterat.* Caeterum Hortatu ejusdem S. Congregationis & Rogatu, ne dicam Precibus nonnullorum Emorum. Cardinalium, consensit Episcopus Thomas ut ipse Parochus constanter manens S. Mariae, in eadem parochia administret qua Vicarius, sacerdos Molloy, dummodo & quamdiu Episcopo solvat quotannis Pensionem Viginti quinque librarum sterlingarum. Hincque Lis ista pacificum habuit Exitum.

"Die 4 Julii, 1759. Amplissimus Dominus Gulielmus Delany, Canonicus, instituitur Parochus S. Kevini de Offerlane alias Anatrim, S. Cedi (alias Edmundi) Episcopi de Ballintiampuil, Anglice Church-town ; & S. Kirani de Saiger. Porro Districtus hic vacabat a mense Junii, 1737, per obitum Rdi. Dni. Peterson, a quo tempore in eo landabiliter administrabat memoratus Gulielmus Delany absque tamen collatione, seu Institutione, sive ordinaria sive Apostolica.

"Die 5 Novembris, 1759. R. D. Jacobus Purcell instituitur Parochus S. Kirani de Rathkiran cum quinque annexis Parochiis recensitis pag. [163], si forte antea non fuerit valide institutus, praetendente utpoti Parochiam a multis annis in vim Literarum Apostolicarum R. D. Carolo Ryan, defuncto tandem Dublinii die 5 Septembris hujusce anni, 1759.

"Die 20 Julii, 1760. R. D. Mauritius Delany transfertur a Parochia S. Patritii, Kilkenniae, cum tribus eidem annexis Parochiis pag. [162] memoratis, ad Parochias S. Canici de Aghaboe, S, Brigidae de Kilbride, S. Finlicani de Bordwell, S. Mochini de Kelrumuh, S. Kirani de Knocksciragh. & S. Senani de Kildelligre, loco R. D. Dermitii Criory denati 19 Februarii, 1760.

"Die 2 Augusti, 1760. R. D. Dermitius Murphy instituitur Parochus S. Patritii, Kilkenniae, S. Davidis de Castle-Inch, S. Patritii de Outrath, & S. Fiacrii de Kilfera, loco R. D. Mauritii Delany mox memorati.

"Die 9 Octobris, 1761. Defuncto R. D. Edmunde Shortall recensito pag. [163] die 13 Aprilis labentis anni 1761, bipartitae suut authoritate Apostolica septem illius Parochiae in duos scilicet Districtus, eos sejungente amne cui nomen Glandanell.

"Porro R. D. Dionysius Deleign collatus fuit praedicto die ad Occidentalem praelibati Territorii Districtum, nempe ad Parochiam S. Kirani de Kilmacoe cum duobus annexis Parochiis S. Davidis de Ullid & S. Crucis de Killahey.

"Atque R. D. Jacobus Stapleton collatus fuit eodem die ad Orientalem ejusdem Territorii Districtum, nimirum ad Parochiam S. Senani de Rossenan cum tribus annexis Parochiis S. Becani de Kilbecan, B. Mariae Assumptae de Gaulstown & S. Kiliani de Dunkitt.

"Die 8 Januarii, 1762. Defuncto die 2 Augusti, 1761, Amplissimo Domino Edmundo Kavanagh (qui saepenumero declaraverat moderno Episcopo Thomae de Burgo Territorium suum nimis ommino amplum & extensum) divisae sunt novem illius Parochiae, Authoritate Apostolica, in duos districtus, eos, ut plurimum, sejungente Amne cui nomen Glashagall. Quoad reliquam vero partem si aliqua inter Parochos suboriatur Lis, ea dirimenda est specta Divisione Parochiarum a Protestantibus servata.

"Porro R. D. Jacobus Dowling collatus fuit suprascripto die 8 Januarii 1762, ad Parochiam S. Patritii de Ballyragget, seu Donoghmore, cum quatuor annexis Parochiis S. Colmani de Connihey, SS. Petri & Pauli de Kilmacar, S. Nicolai de Culecraheen, S. Mochini de Moyne.

"Alter vero Districtus, complectens residuas quatuor Parochias S. Mariae de Rossconnell, SS. Simonis & Judae de Leuhill, S. Brigidae de Attanagh & S. Finiani de Kilminan, eodem die assignatus & datus fuit R. D. Gulielmo Shee, Parocho de Durrow (memorato pag. 162) cum dictae Parochiae Retentione.

"Die 12 Januarii, 1763. R. D. Thomas Rourke instituitur Parochus S. Joannis Evangelistae, Kilkenniae, SS. Trinitatis de Dunmore, S. Thomae de Rathcoole & S. Mochini de Kilderry, loco R. D. Philippi Purcell, qui viam universae carnis ingressus est 26 Julii 1760.

"Diu porro vacabat Parochia justis de causis Sanctae Sedi Apostolicae notis, totoque eo tempore praelibatus Thomas Rourke ibi administrabat.

"Die 16 Junii, 1763. R. D. Jacobus Butler instituitur Parochus SS. Trinitatis de Rathdowney S. Joannis Baptistae de Coolkerry, S. Patritii de Donoughmore, S. Mariae Assumptae de Skerk, S.

Kirani de Errill, S. Brigidae de Ballibuggy & S. Columbae, Abbatis, de Ratsaran, loco Ampmi. D. Danielis Kennedy, Thesaurarii, defuncti 18 Decembris 1762.

" Die 4 Maii 1764. R. D. Stephanus Lower instituitur Parochus S. Mariae de Rossconnell, SS. Simonis & Judae de Leuhill, S. Brigidae de Attanagh, ac S. Finiani de Kilminan, loco R.D. Gulielmi Shee, qui Districtum istum absolute & simpliciter in manibus Episcopi resignavit, contentus prioribus suis Parochiis de Durrow, &c.

. . . . . .

" Die 15 Septembris 1768. R. D. Joseph Clarke transfertur a Districtu de Galmoy, ut vulgo loquimur, sive a Parochiis S. Michaelis de Erke S. Kirani de Fertagh & S. Mariae de Glasshare, ad Parochias S. Brigidae de Acharny, S. Manachini de Coolcashell, S. Catharinae de Rathbeagh, S. Fiacrii de Skiffin, & Clonetubrid alias Rathine, vacantes per obitum R. D. Richardi Shee, qui e vivis discessit die 18 Martii proxime praeteriti.

" Die 16 Septembris 1768. R. D. Joannes Cody instituitur Parochus memoratarum Parochiarum, nempe S. Michaelis de Erke, S. Kirani de Fartagh, & S Mariae de Glashare vacantium per hesternam Translationem R. D. Josephi Clarke, mox recensitam.

" En tenorem Literarum Patentium

" Nos, Fr. Thomas de Burgo, Ordinis Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae Magister, Dei & Apostolicae Sedis Gratia Episcopus Ossoriensis, necnon Parochiae S. Mariae Kilkenniae Parochus : Dilecto nobis in Christo, Reverendo Domino Joanni Cody, Presbytero Ossoriensi, salutem in Domino.

" Inter caetera quae pro Pontificalis nostri officii Debito praestare cupimus, illud praecipue Nobis Cordi est, ut Parochiis, quibus de Rectoribus per nos providendum est, tales praeficiamus, qui muneri & ministerio Curae animarum, quod omnium gravissimum est, laudabiliter satisfaciant. Vacante igitur Parochia S. Michaelis de Erke, cum annexis Parochiis, S. Kirani de Fertagh & S. Mariae de Glashare, per liberam et absolutam in manibus nostris heri factam Resignationem Reverendi Domini Josephi Clarke, translati subinde ad Parochiam S. Brigidae de Acharny, cum annexis, in praelibata hac nostra Diaecesi, Nos, recensitis Parochiis, sic vacantibus, de idoneo Rectore providere volentes, Tibi memorato Reverendo Dno. Joanni Cody, rigorose coram nobis examinato & approbato, easdem Parochias, cum omnibus juribus & Pertinentiis suis universis, conferimus & assignamus. Quocirca universis & singulis Personis Ecclesiasticis, curae nostrae subjectis, in virtute sanctae obedientiae, ac sub poenis & Censuris, contra inobedientes Praelatorum mandatis a jure inflictis, & arbitrio nostro infligendis, per Praesentes praecipimus & mandamus, ut cum pro Parte tua, vigore Praesentium, requisiti fuerint aut eorum aliquis requisitus fuerit, ad sacellum aliquod praefatarum Parochiarum accedant, vel accedat, Teque, vel Procuratorem tuum pro Te, in corporalem, realem, & actualem Possessionem paredictarum Parochiarum, ac omnium eis annexorum, jurium, & Pertinentium, servatis servandis, pro Rerum conditionibus, inducant vel inducat, et inductum defendant vel defendat authoritate nostra, amoto exinde quolibet illicito Detentore, quem nos etiam harum serie amovemus et amotum denunciamus. In nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti. Amen. In quorum Fidem et Robur Praesentes Literas Sigillo Nostro Episcopali muniri jussimus. Datum Kilkenniae, in Ædibus nostrae Residentiae hac dic decima sexta Septembris, anno a Virginis Partu millesimo septingentissimo sexagesimo octavo, Consecrationis nostrae anno Decimo.

. . . . . .

" Die 15 Februarii 1771. R. D. Eduardus Fitzpatrick fit Parochus S. Kevini de Offerlane, alias Anatrim, S. Cedi (alias Edmundi), Episcopi de Ballintiampuil, Anglice Church-town, & S. Kirani, Episcopi, de Saiger-Kiran, vacantium per obitum R. D. Gulielmi Delany die 8 hujus mensis.

. . . . . .

" Die 1 Februarii 1774. R. D. Richardus de Burgo fit Parochus S. Mariae Assumptae de Urlingford, S. Mariae Natae de Clomanti, S. Patritii de Tobrid, S. Dorani de Kildrina, & S. Bartholomaei de Killahy, loco R. D. Thomae Lalor qui easdem absolute resignavit.

" Die 19 Februarii 1774. R. D. Jacobus Brophy transfertur a Parochiis S. Crucis de Castlecomber, S. Andreae de Kilmadum, S. Nicolai Tolentinatis de Mothill, & S. Dimaci de Kilmademnoc, ad Parochias S. Columbae Abbatis de Inistioge, S. Brandani Abbatis de Cloneamory, & S. Mariae Assumptae de Rowre, vacantes per Translationem R. D. Richardi Hart ad Parochiam S. Mariae Assumptae de Thomastown cum annexis mox recensitis.

. . . . . .

" Die 24 Decembris 1774. R, D. Joannes Costello fit Parochus S. Mariae de Muckalee & S. Brandani de Disart, loco R. D. Timothaei Phelan, qui die 18 hujus labentis mensis vivere desiit.

" Die 4 Maii 1775[6]. Ampmus. D. Jacobus Stapleton, Archidiaconus Ossoriensis, transfertur a Parochia S. Senani de Rossenan, cum tribus annexis Parochiis S. Becani de Kilbecan, B. Mariae Assumptae de Gaulstown, & S. Kiliani de Dunkitt, ad Parochiam S. Mariae de Gowran, cum annexis

Parochiis S. Nicolai de Blanchfield's Hill, S. Davidis de Dungarvan, S. Colmani de Clara, S. Schophini de Tascoffin, S. Mariae de Blackrath, S. Martini de Templemartin & Parochiae de Dunbell, loco Ampmi. D. Joannis Hoyne, Thesaurarii Ossoriensis, qui die 14 Aprilis animam reddidit Creatori.

" Eodem die 4 Maii, 1776. R. D. Dionysius Corcoran fit Parochus S. Senani de Rossenan cum tribus annexis Parochiis mox recensitis, loco Ampmi. Domini Jacobi Stapleton.

III.

" ORDINATIONES IN HAC DIAECESI.

" In Capella Parochiali de Balliragget, Diebus 13, 15 & 16 Junii, 1764.

" In Quatuor Temporibus infra Octavam Pentecostes, Feria 4a., Tonsuram Clericalem & Quatuor Minores Ordines, atque Subdiaconatum, Feria 6a. Diaconatum, necnon Sabbato Presbyteratum suscepere Jacobus [*recte* Joannes] Byrne & Brianus Kavanagh, alumni Diaecesis hujus Ossoriensis, ac Thaddaeus O'Neill, Diaecesis Ardfertensis seu Kerriensis, cum Literis Dimissorialibus sui Ordinarii, Illmi. nempe Nicolai Madgett.

" Die 29 Maii, 1765, Philippus Purcell, adolescens Ossoriensis, Gulielmi filius, recepit Clericalem Tonsuram in Ædibus Residentiae Epi., Thomae de Burgo, apud Kilkenniam.

" In aedibus Dni. Richardi Hoyne apud Garricrin, diebus 21, 23 & 24 Junii, 1766.

" In Quatuor Temporibus infra Octavam Pentecostes, Feria 4a Primam Tonsuram, quatuor Minores Ordines, & Subdiaconatum, Feria 6a Diaconatum, Sabbato Presbyteratum receperunt Andreas Gorman, Rickardus de Burgo & Joannes Cassin, Diaecesis Ossoriensis Alumni.

" Ibidem, diebus 10, 12 & 13 Junii, 1767.

" Feria 4a Quatuor Temporum infra Octavam Pentecostes, Clericalem Tonsuram, Ordines Minores, & Subdiaconatum, Feria 6a. Diaconatum, Sabbato Presbyteratum recepere Richardus Donnell, Jacobus Lalor & Simon Meany, Diaecesis Ossoriensis alumni, ac Jacobus Gorman.

" In aedibus Dni. Eduardi Stanton, apud Legat's-Rath.

" Diebus 25, 27 & 28 Maii, 1768.

" Feria quarta Quatuor Temporum infra Octavam Pentecostes, Primam Clericalem Tonsuram quatuor Ordines Minores & Subdiaconatum, Feria vero 6a Diaconatum, demum Sabbato Presbyteratum susceperunt alumni tres Diaecesis hujus Ossoriensis, nempe Richardus Mansfield, Andreas Shee & Patritius Stanton, praelibati Edwardi Filius.

" In aedibus Dni Richardi Hoyne apud Garricrin,

" Diebus 15, 17 & 18 Mensis Februarii, 1769.

" Feria quarta Quatuor Temporum post Cineres, Primam Tonsuram, quatuor Minores Ordines & Subdiaconatum ; Feria vero 6a Diaconatum ; Sabbato denique Presbyteratum suscepere Joannes Phelan, & Jacobus Morus [*i.e.*, Moore], Ossoriensis hujus Diaecesis Alumni.

" En Fidem Ordinum.

" Nos. Fr. Thomas de Burgo, Ordinis Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae, Magister, Dei & Apostolicae Sedis Gratia Episcopus Ossoriensis, necnon Parochiae S. Mariae, Kilkenniae, Parochus :

" Universis et singulis praesentes nostras Literas inspecturis, lecturis pariter, & audituris notum facimus & attestamur, Nos. anno a Nativitate Domini Millesimo septingentesimo sexagesimo nono, in Quatuor Temporibus post Cineres, Missam in Pontificalibus celebrantes, inter alios dilectum Nobis in Christo Filium, Joannem Phelan, praelibatae nostrae Diaecesis Alumnum, Feria Quarta, Die 15, Februarii ad Primam Clericalem Tonsuram & Quatuor Minores Ordines, Ostiariatum nempe, Lectoratum, Exorcistatum & Acolytathum, necnon Sacrum Subdiaconatus Ordinem ; Feria vero sexta, Die 17 memorati Mensis, ad Sacrum Ordinem Diaconatus ; demum Sabbato, die 18 ejusdem Mensis, ad Presbyteratus Sacrum Ordinem, juxta & secundum S.R.E. Ritum, morem & consuetudinem, in Domino promovisse & ordinasse, haud servatis Interstitiis in vim Priviligiorum Apostolicorum, servatis tamen alias servandis. In quorum omnium & singulorum Fidem ac Robur hasce a nobis scriptas & subscriptas Literas Sigillo nostro Episcopali muniri jussimus. Datum Kilkenniae in aedibus nostrae Residentiae, Die 21 mensis & anni supra scriptorum, consecrationis nostrae anno decimo.

" En Literas exeundi pro Studiis.

" Nos, Fr. Thomas de Burgo, Ordinis Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae Magister, Dei & Apostolicae Sedis gratia Episcopus Ossoriensis, necnon Parochiae S. Mariae, Kilkenniae, Parochus. In Dei Filio sibi dilecto, Reverendo Dno. Joanni Phelan, ejusdem Diaecesis Neo-Presbytero, salutem & S. Raphaelem, Archangelum, Comitem in via :

" Cum ob Temporum Calamitates, heu nimium ! notas, non vigeant in hac Regione Umbrae Mortis studia Literarum pro idonea Clericorum Educatione, idcirco Locorum Ordinarii coguntur suos mittere Diaecesanos ad Principum Catholicorum Ditiones, ut ibi sufficienter instructi, atque pro

apostolicis exercendis Missionibus aptiores probati, ad natale solum revertantur pro Orthodoxa Fide propugnanda & propaganda. Haec cum ita sint, laudabili Petitioni tuae annuere cupientes, exeundi Licentiam concedimus, praesentesque Tibi ultro damus Literas testimoniales et commendatitias, quibus Fidem facimus, Te ex piis, Catholicisque Parentibus, nulla Haereseos Labe infectis, legitime procreatum, in Sacro Presbyteratus Ordine a Nobis rite & recte constitutum fuisse, atque praeclaris fulgere morum ornamentis. Quapropter Te omnibus Reverendissimis Locorum Ordinariis, aliisque Christi Fidelibus, ad quos declinaveris, et quorum auxilio Tibi opus fuerit, praesertim Seminariorum Hibernorum Reverendis Superioribus, enixe in Domino commendamus, quatenus Te benigne recipere & pertractare dignentur, aeternae Retributionis Praemium a Bonorum omnium Largitore recepturi. Tibi insuper Paternam nostram Benedictionem peramanter impertimur. In Nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti, Amen. In quorum omnium et singulorum Fidem, hasce a Nobis scriptas & subscriptas Literas sigillo nostro Episcopali muniri jussimus. Datum Kilkenniae in aedibus nostrae Residentiae Die 23 Aprilis, 1769, Consecrationis nostrae anno Undecimo.

" In aedibus Dni. Richardi Hoyne apud Garricrin,

" Diebus 20, 22 & 23 Mensis Februarii, 1771.

" Feria quarta Quatuor Temporum post Cineres, Primam Tonsuram, Quatuor Minores Ordines & Subdiaconatum ; Feria sexta, Diaconatum ; Sabbato, Presbyteratum, suscepere Jacobus Lanigin, Andreas Phelan, Petrus Hayden, Joannes Farrell, Nicolaus Kealy & Patritius Grady, Ossoriensis Diaecesis hujus alumni.

IV.

" ORDINATIONES IN ALIENA DIAECESI.

" Die 7 Julii, 1759. Edmundo Meagher conceduntur Literae *exeundi* de Diaecesi hac Ossoriensi ad Effectum suscipiendi Ordines pro Diaecesi Casseliensi ab Illmo. & Rmo. D. Jacobo Butler in hunc modum :

" Nos, Fr. Thomas de Burgo, Ordinis Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae Magister, Dei & apostolicae Sedis Gratia Episcopus Ossoriensis : Dilecto Nobis in Christo, Edmundo Meagher, ejusdem Diaecesis alumno, salutem :

" Quandoquidem in hac nostra Diaecesi sit copia sacerdotum, hinc ad Instantiam tuam Te commendamus Illmo. et Rmo. Dno. Jacobo, Archiepo. Casseliensi, qui, ut asseris, libenter Te promovebit ad Minores Sacrosque Ordines pro sua Diaecesi Casseliensi, Benedictionem nostram Tibi peramanter impertientes. In Nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti, Amen. In cujus rei fidem praesentes a nobis scriptas & subscriptas Literas sigillo nostro Episcopali muniri jussimus. Datum Kilkenniae, in Ædibus nostrae Residentiae, Die 7 Julii, 1759.

" Die 14 Januarii, 1764. Jacobo Butler, ex Familia de Ballyragget dantur Literae Dimissoriales ad Effectum suscipiendi Clericalem Tonsuram & quatuor Minores Ordines in Belgio, ubi versatur, pro diaecesi hac Ossoriensi.

" Die 27 Junii, 1765. Edmundo Shelly, apud Matritum commoranti, conceduntur Dimissoriales Literae ad suscipiendam Primam Tonsuram Clericalem, Quatuorque Minores Ordines pro Diaecesi hac Ossoriensi.

" Die 1 Aprilis, 1767. Jacobo Butler supra memorato dantur Literae Dimissoriales, ut, Insulis, vulgo, L'Isle, in Gallia Belgica, constitutus, ad sacrum Subdiaconatus Ordinem pro Diaecesi hac Ossoriensi, ad Titulum Patrimonii, promoveri valeat in hunc modum :

" Nos, Fr. Thomas de Burgo, Ordinis Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae Magister, Dei & Apostolicae Sedis Gratia Episcopus Ossoriensis, necnon Parochiae S. Mariae, Kilkenniae, Parochus : Dilecto nobis in Christo, Jacobo Butler, Acolytho Ossoriensi, utpote e Castro allodiali de Ballyragget in praelibata nostra Diaecesi oriundo, salutem in Domino :

"Petitioni tuae annuere cupientes ut a quocunque quem adire malueris, Illmo. & Rmo. Antistite, Gratiam & Communionem ejusdem Sanctae Sedis habente, Sacrum Subdiaconatus Ordinem ad Titulum Patrimonii suscipere possis & valeas, dummodo tamen idoneus repertus fueris, atque Patrimonium Viginti Librarum Sterlingarum, ut vulgo loquimur, moneta Hibernica, annuatim percipiendarum, legitimum probetur & certum, Licentiam concedimus & Facultatem per Praesentes. In quarum Fidem & Robur, easdem a Nobis scriptas & subscriptas, Sigillo nostro Episcopali muniri, & secretarii nostri Chirographo subsignari jussimus. Datum Kilkenniae in aedibus nostrae Residentiae, Die 1 ma. Mensis Aprilis, Anno Aerae Christianae 1767, Consecrationis nostrae anno octavo.

" Die Dominica 2 Julii, 1769. Lovanii versans, in Ecclesia S. Crucis Fratrum Praedicatorum Hibernorum de specali et expressa Licentia Excellentissimi & Rmi. Dni. Joannis-Henrici, Comitis de Franckenberg, Archiepiscopi Mechlinensis, & Belgii Primatis, mihi vivae vocis oraculo facta, inter Missarum solemnia, sequentes. coram me examinatos & approbatos, promovi & ordinavi, nempe Fratres

Dionysium Ferrall & Hyacinthum Serry, Ordinis Praedicatorum, ad Clericalem Tonsuram & Quatuor Minores Ordines; Jacobum Naghten, Diaecesis Limericensis, & Jeremiam Donovan, Diaecesis Clonensis; item Fratres Michaelem White, Thomam Mulanny & Bernardum Coffy, Ordinis Praedicatorum; item Fratres Bonaventuram O'Connor, Bernardum MacMahon & Josephum Power, Ordinis Minorum, ad Primam Tonsuram, Quatuor Minores Ordines & Sacrum Subdiaconatus Ordinem; insuper Fratres Patritium Brady & Jacobum Ferrall, Ordinis Minorum, ad sacrum Ordinem Diaconatus; demumque Joannem Macve, Diaecesis Kilmorensis, Fratres Dominicum Bovi, Bruxellensem, & Gundisalvum Cunningham, Hibernum, Ordinis Praedicatorum alumnos, necnon Fratres Thomam Johnston, Franciscum Broder & Thomam Meighan, Ordinis Minorum ad Presbyteratus Ordinem sacrum, servatis servandis, durante Caeremonia per tres integras horas.,

"Dum absens essem a Diaecesi, visitans nimirum sacra Apostolorum Limina, Vicarius meus Generalis, Ampmus. Dnus. Dionysius Deleign, Jacobo Butler, superius memorato Literas dedit Dimissoriales pro Diaconatu. Die 10 Junii, 1770.

"Die 1 Octobris, 1770. Jacobo Butler praelibato, idem Vicarius Generalis alias dedit Literas dispensantes in consuetis Interstitiis pro suscipiendo memorato Diaconatus Sacro Ordine.

"Die 23 Januarii, 1771. Literas dedi Dimissoriales ut saepedictus Jacobus Butler suscipiat Sacrum Presbyteratus Ordinem ab Illmo. Episcopo Audomarensi, haud servatis Interstitiis

"Die 10 Martii, 1770. Viterbii versans ad Instantiam Emi. & Rmi. Domini Jacobi Oddi, S. R. E. Presbyteri Cardinalis, Tituli S. Laurentii in Lucina, necnon Episcopi Viterbiensis & Tuscunallensis, nonagenarii & ultra, inter Missarum solemnia, celebravi Solemnem Ordinationem Generalem, Sabbato Quatuor Temporum post Cineres, in Ecclesia S. Mariae ad Gradus, assistentibus Cancellario, magistris caeremoniarum, Capellanis, aliisque Eminentiae suae Administris.

"Die 14 Septembris, 1771. Edmundo Archdekin Licentiam dedi *exeundi* de hac Diaecesi Ossoriensi ad Effectum Ordines suscipiendi pro Diaecesi *Fernensi* ab Illmo. & Revmo. Dno. D. Nicolao Sweetman.

"Die 5 Novembris, 1771. Philippo Purcell, clerico, superius memorato pag. [174] ad diem 29 Maii, 1765, Licentiam dedi *exeundi* de hac Diaecesi Ossoriensi ad Effectum Ordines suscipiendi pro Diaecesi Fernensi ab Illmo. & Rmo. D. Nicolao Sweetman.

"Die 14 Septembris, 1772. Gulielmo Swift, Incolae quidem hujus Diaecesis Ossoriensis, sed nativo Diaecesis Leghlinensis, Benedictionem dedi eunti ad Illmum. & Rmum. D. Jacobum Keeffe, collaturum ipsi Ordines pro Diacecesi sua Leghlinensi.

"Die 1 Maii, 1774. Patritius Delany dimissus ad Illmum. & Rmum. D. Joannem Carpenter, Archiepiscopum Dubliniensem & Hiberniae Primatem pro suscipiendis Ordinibus.

"Die 7 Martii, 1776. Joannes Denn dimissus ad [Illmum.] & Rmum. Nicolaum Sweetman, Episcopum Fernensem pro suscipiendis Ordinibus.

"Die 12 Junii, 1776. Alter Patritius Delany, Patritii filius, in Collegio Insulano constitutus dimissus ad Illmum. & Rmum. Tornacensem Episcopum pro suscipiendis Ordinibus. .

Early in Dr. Burke's Episcopate, Whiteboyism found its way into Ossory Diocese. This lawless combination had its origin in Munster, about 1761, and gradually spread thence to the neighbouring counties. Our Bishop exerted himself to the utmost to save his flock from this contamination, but without success; and the evil seed being once sown, grew up, and produced its natural crop of outrage, demoralisation and irreligion among his people for many years even after he himself had been called to his reward. The Diocesan records do not show that Dr. Burke visited those evil-doers with special ecclesiastical punishment: he hoped, perhaps, for better fruits from milder treatment; and, besides, no one knew better than he the bitter wrongs, inflicted in the name of the law, upon these men and their fathers before them. It was only in 1770 that his successor, Dr. Troy, finding it hopeless otherwise to cope with the evil, at length fulminated the severest censures of the Church against all such of his subjects as were members of the White Boy confederacy.

During his visit *Ad Limina Apostolorum* in 1769 and 1770, Dr. Burke had

ransacked many a library on the Continent, and especially in Italy, and filled his note-books with copies of many rare and valuable documents. On his return home he gave the result of these investigations to the public in his *Supplementum Hiberniae Dominicanae*, printed in the year 1772. Among other documents published in the *Supplementum*, is a letter written to the four Archbishops of Ireland, from Brussels, in 1768, by the Internuncio, Archbishop Ghilini, condemning a Test-oath then proposed to be taken by the Irish people. This Test-oath caused a tremendous amount of controversy in the Catholic Ireland of its day. Bishops, priests and laity were divided on the question of its lawfulness. Dr. Burke was one of its most stenuous opponents; and at the present day it is quite plain that he was in the right.

On the other hand, Dr. Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, and his suffragans stood up for the lawfulness of the oath. Dr. Burke, by his publication of the Internuncio's letter, so damaging to their cause, gave them mortal offence. Honestly convinced that their views were right and should prevail, and seeing in Dr. Burke their principal opponent, they now determined to lessen his influence by a condemnation of his writings. For this purpose they summoned a meeting of their Episcopal sympathisers to be held in Kilkenny city. "The execution of this measure," writes Father Brenan, "was soon found to be impracticable; the Bishop of Ossory loudly protested against the illegality of such a meeting within the precincts of his Diocese, and denounced it as a censurable infringement on his canonical rights. The project was accordingly abandoned: some of the prelates refusing to attend at Kilkenny: Dr. Sweetman, Bishop of Ferns, after having proceeded on his journey as far as Ross, and being there made acquainted with the intentions of the Bishop of Ossory, very prudently changed his determination and returned home." [1]

Soon after, on the 25th July, 1775, the Munster Prelates, with the exception of Dr. MacMahon, the Dominican Bishop of Killaloe, assembled at Thurles, and passed sentence on the *Hibernia Dominicana* and its *Supplementum*, giving "our entire disapprobation of them, because they tend to weaken and subvert that allegiance, fidelity, and submission, which we acknowledge ourselves we owe from duty and from gratitude to his Majesty, King George III.; because they are likely to disturb the public peace and tranquillity, by raising unnecessary scruples in the minds of our people, and sowing the seeds of dissensions amongst them, in points in which they ought, both from their religion and their interest, to be firmly united; and because they manifestly tend to give a handle to those who differ in religious principles with us, to impute to us maxims that we utterly reject, and which are by no means founded on the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church."

[1] *Eccl. His. of Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 346.

In proof of the necessity for this condemnation they ordered a small portion of the work, consisting merely of a reprint of ten pages (137-46) from Father Porter's *Annals*, relative to the proceedings of King James II., to be expunged.

Far from being cast down by the odium thus brought upon his immortal *Hibernia Dominicana*, Dr. Burke set about preparing a new edition of the book for the press, devoting all his spare moments to the work during the early part of 1776. The publication of the Jubilee to the Catholic world this year, and its celebration in Kilkenny city, during the Summer season, caused the Bishop to lay aside his pen, and devote himself exclusively to the work of hearing the Confessions of the multitudes who thronged the city chapels, day after day, as the Jubilee was drawing to a close. While thus engaged in the sublime work of dispensing God's grace and mercy to his people, the great Pastor and Father was struck down with a mortal illness. He lingered but for a short time, and was then called to his crown, on the 25th of September, 1776, being then in his 67th year.

The *Hibernian Magazine* for Oct., 1776, thus announces his death: "Died at Kilkenny, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Burke, titular Bishop of Ossory;" and the following entry occurs, in a contemporary hand, in the Register of St. Canice's Parish: "Dr. Burke departed 7ber 25th, 1776."

"He was interred," writes Father Brenan, "in the ancient cemetery attached to the parish chapel of St. John, in Maudlin Street, of which he had been for so many years the brilliant and distinguished ornament."[1] His grave, in the little burial plot formerly set apart for the interment of the Bishops and the city clergy, is at the south side of the iron railing that encloses Father Forrestal's burial place and head stone; it is separated by one grave, viz., that of the Rev. Dr. Denis Deleign, P.P., St. John's, and V.G., from the grave of Bishop O'Shaghnussy. His monument is an altar-tomb in good condition, except that the covering slab is broken across the centre. The inscription which has fortunately been inserted in O'Shee's *History of St. Canice's Cathedral*, Kilkenny, is much obliterated; it is as follows, the portions now (Oct. 20th, 1902) obliterated being given in italics:

"I. H. S.

D. O. M.

Hic jacet

Illustrissimus et Reverendissimus Dominus,

Fr. Thomas de Burgo,

Ep*iscopus* Oss*orien*sis,

[1] *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, Vol. ii., p. 347.

Ex Ordine Praedic*ato*rum *a*ssumptus,
Qui v*ita* exemplari, e*x*imia
eruditione, *ac zelo apostolico*,
Ecclesiam sibi *commissam*
per septendecim annos illustravit.
Obiit Kilkenniae die *XXVI*. Septembris,
Anno Salutis *MDCCLXXVI*.
Ætatis L*XVII*.
R. I. P."

CHAPTER XIX.

JOHN THOMAS TROY (1777-86).

AFTER Dr. Burke's death the Chapter elected Father Molloy, of St. Mary's, Vicar Capitular, and, in conjunction with the other pastors of the Diocese, unanimously recommended him to the Holy See for the vacant Bishopric. The Bishops of Kildare, Elphin and Achonry, and all the Bishops of Munster, except Dr. MacMahon, the Dominican Bishop of Killaloe, gave their support to the recommendation, and forwarded the following petition to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland, Oct. 28th, 1776:

"Eminentissime Domine.

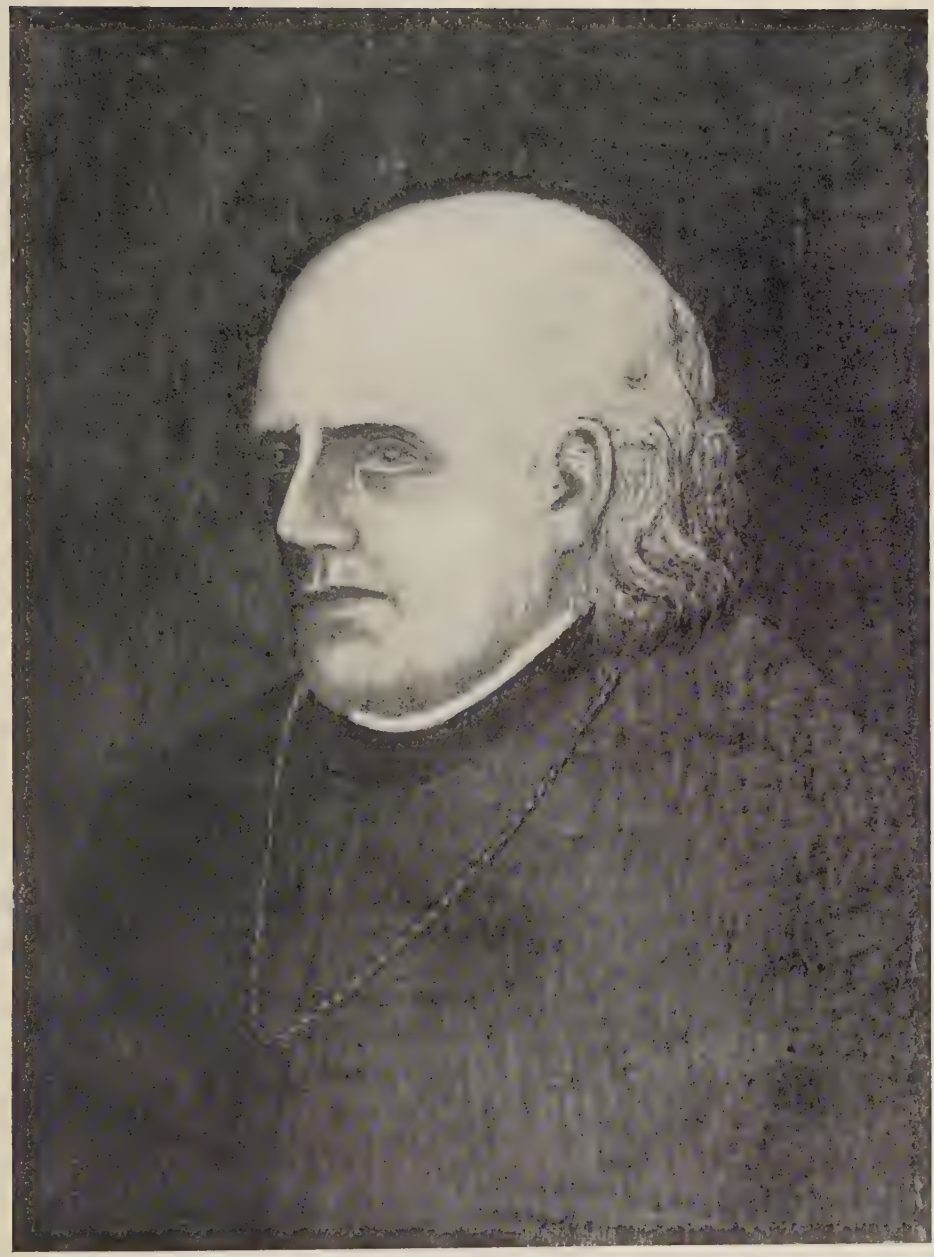
"Experti toties singularem Eminentissimae Dominationis Vestrae bonitatem piumque zelum pro conservatione Religionis in hoc Regno, non solum cum maxima veneratione et humilitate verum etiam cum summa fiducia fervidoque cordis affectu convenimus nunc, imploraturi benignum Eminentissimae Dominationis Vestrae Patrocinuim.

"Nuperrime accepimus quod Capitulum Diaecesis Ossoriensis jam vacantis per obitum bonae memoriae Thomae de Burgo Episcopi, elegerit sibi in Vicarium Capitularem Revdum. Admodum Dominum Patricium Molloy, Decanum Cathedralis Ecclesiae Ossoriensis precibusque enixis supplicaverit Eminentissimis Patribus ut eximius ille vir ad episcopatum promoveretur.

"Hujusmodi electio et supplicatio ingens profecto attulit gaudium, Eminentissime Domine, tum quia perspectissima nobis sunt et merita et virtutes ejusdem clarissimi viri Domini Molloy, tum maxime quod omnium ordinum oculi Acatholicorum non minus quam Catholicorum in ipsum jam convertantur utpote Clero ac populo Ossoriensi unice gratum ac idoneum ad exequendum munus Episcopale in ista Dioecesi.

"Probe novit Eminentissima Dominatio Vestra quam miserabiliter perturbata fuit sacrosancta Religio in praedicta Diaecesi, nec quosdam ex nobis, viciniores nimirum Episcopos, latet, quanta cum Doctrinae, prudentiae, pietatis, charitatis, integritatis et solertiae laude idem Dominus Molloy labefactatum Religionis aedificium, adspirante Deo in eadem Diaecesi restauraverit, per assiduam verbi cultusque Divini praedicationem et celebrationem, per egregia sua scripta in defensione Catholicae fidei, perque singularem morum candorem et sauvitatem quam ad conciliandos animos, ad convertendos et demulcendos Haereticos in procellosis temporibus aptissimam uno ore praedicamus.

"Non mirum ergo quod junctis lubentissime votis cum clero Ossoriensi hujusmodi virum tot meritis cumulatum, quem et ipsi Protestantes singulari veneratione prosequuntur apud Eminentissimam Dominationem Vestram Eminentissimosque Patres enixissime commendemus pro Episcopatu



JOHN THOMAS TROY, Bishop of Ossory.
Afterwards Archbishop of Dublin.

To face page 180, Vol. I. (Text).

praedicto. Nec deerit nobis ut confidimus in hoc negotio Eminentissimae Dominationis Vestrae Protectrix benignitas, quae pro more suo ita pandet sibi viam ad Sanctissimum per circumstrepentes calumniae, invidiae et ambitionis sonos, si qui futuri sint, ut virtus probata veritasque tandem praevaleat.

" Nos interim cum ferventissimo animi affectu et summis laudibus celebrare nomen Eminentissimi Protectoris Nostri non cessamus, nec orare cessabimus Omnipotentem ut Eminentissima Dominatio Vestra per longam annorum seriem sospes felixque vivat. Dedimus die 28 Octobris, anno, 1776.

" Eminentissime Domine,
" Eminentissimae Dominationis Vestrae
" Addictissimi et observantissimi cultores,
" Jacobus, Arrchiepiscopus, Casseliensis, Momoniae Primas.
" Jacobus, Episcopus Kildariensis.
" Daniel, Episcopus Limericensis.
" Jacobus, Episcopus Elphinensis.
" Joannes, Episcopus Corcagiensis.
" Matthaeus, Episcopus Cloynensis.
" Gulielmus, Episcopus Waterfordiensis et Lismorensis.
" Franciscus, Episcopus Kerriensis.
" Alexander, Episcopus Acchadensis.
" Concordat cum Originali,
" Gulielmus Epus. Waterfordien. et Lismoren.
" De mandato Illustrissimi et Revdissimi. D. D. mei Episcopi,
" Gulielmus Power, Secrts."

Before, however, this petition could reach Rome, the See of Ossory had been already well provided for in the person of the Very Rev. John Thomas Troy, Prior of St. Clement's, Rome.

A branch of the Troy family, which is Anglo-Norman, settled in Kilkenny city, some centuries back, and continued to be represented there, till comparatively recent times. They must have been of some consequence, little or much, seeing that they have left their mark on the nomenclature of the city, the well-known locality called Troy's gate (*Hibernice* Gathantro), deriving its name from them. But Kilkenny was not the birth-place of the new Bishop, nor is there anything to show that his ancestors were ever located there. He was born in Porterstown, in the parish of Blanchardstown, Co. Dublin, June 26 (o.s.), or July 7th (n.s.), 1739. He had three younger brothers, William, b. 1741 ; Walter, b. 1742 ; and James, b. 1748 ; and three sisters, the last of whom was born in 1755.

" While yet very young," Dr. Troy writes in his diary, " I was removed to Smithfield, and sent to school in Liffey Street ; I was received into the Order of the Most Holy Rosary at Dublin, July 5th, 1755 (n.s.) ; I was examined by the gentlemen of Bridge Street, Dublin, 5th July, 1755 ; I suppose I pleased them, though I must have made very little progress in study ; I owed my success more to the care of friends than to the lessons I learned in school."

Feeling within himself a vocation to the religious life, as practised in the venerable Order of St. Dominick, he left his native land, ere yet he had completed the 17th year of his age, and proceeded to the Dominican House of St. Clement's,

at Rome, where he arrived after a journey of nearly two months, on the 11th April, 1756. Neither of his noviciate, nor of his profession in the Dominican Order, is there now any detailed account to be had. That he was a distinguished student, and assiduous in the discharge of duty, is plain from the fact that he filled successively every office in the Convent of St. Clement's. Even before his profession, and while yet a student, he gave lectures in Philosophy. He was next appointed Professor of Theology and Canon Law; then Master of Novices; and finally Prior of the Convent, in Nov., 1772. His distinguished merits must have been well known at Rome, and it is, therefore, little to be wondered at that when he was nominated to the See of Ossory by the Pretender, the nomination was at once approved of by the Sacred College. His proposal for the vacant See was made on the 27th Nov., 1776, and confirmed by the Pope on Sunday the 1st of the following month.

Dr. Troy remained in Rome for nearly four months after his appointment to Ossory, and continued to discharge during that period all the duties of Prior at St. Clement's. On the 2nd of Feb., 1777, he addressed the following able pastoral to the Chapter, clergy and people of Ossory:

"Fr. Joh. Thos. Troy, S. Ords. Praedm. Dei et SS. Sedis Apostolicae gratia Episcopus Ossoriensis, Ven. fratribus capitulo, Dignitatibus, et Canonicis, Ecclesiae Cathedralis ac dilectissimis in Christo filiis Saeculari et Regulari Clero populoque universo Ossoriensi Salutem ac Benedictionem in Domino sempiternam.

"Placuit Omnipotenti Deo consolationis et pacis authori cujus viae investigabiles et judicia inscrutabilia quique omnia disponendo suaviter a fine ad finem attingit fortiter, me pusillum inermem imbecillem neque de re simili cogitantem quidem ex religiosae securitatis portu in altum mare ducere atque ad praesulatum Ossoriensem evocare. Nihil non tremendum ipsisque angelicis humeris formidandum gravissimo et laborioso huic muneri adnexum esse scitis Ven. fratres filiique dilectissimi verum omnia possum in eo qui me confortat idemque misericordiarum Pater qui imperat ventis et mari nutu suo efficere potest ut arduo consummato cursu eo navigium appellat, ubi deinceps non poterit metuere naufragium nec ullam animi perturbationem aut dolorem. Non casu aliquo vel fortuito sed aeterni numinis voluntate ad vestrum regimen me vocatum esse firmissime credo, quapropter in spem certam erigor fore ut fidelis Deus faciet mihi magna quia potens est, dexteraque sua excelsa et brachio extento sublevabit me idoneumque efficiet ministrum novi testamenti. Episcopi imaginem quam vivis coloribus exprimit Paulus ad Titum scribens ob oculos habens contremui quidem. *Oportet*, inter caetera, inquit Apostolus, *Episcopum sine crimine esse sicut Dei Dispensatorem amplectentem eum qui secundum doctrinam est fidelem sermonem ut potens sit exhortari in doctrina sana et eos qui contradicunt arguere.* Verum ancipitem curam molestiamque omnem, de medio sustulit angelicus Doctor et Praeceptor meus D. Thomas Aquinas inquiens eos quos ad aliquid elegit Deus ita ab ipso praeparari et disponi ut ad illud ad quod eliguntur inveniantur idonei. Spem meam ipsam ingenter auxit vestra, Ven. fratres Filiiq. dilectissimi, mihi probe cognita atque perspecta Probitas ac religionis et Eccelsiasticae disciplinae conservandae augendaeque studium; Sed praecipue carissimi Decessoris mei re magis quam dignitate illustris Hierarchici ordinis universi inclitae meae Praedm. Familiae nationisque nostrae luminis profulgidi et insignis ornamenti agendi regendique modus. Tanta porro sapientia, suavitate tali nobilissimam ecclesiam vestram moderatus est, ut nihil mihi reliquum fuerit quod ad ejus splendorem amplificandum addi essi videatur. Ad vos igitur veniam non in sublimitate sermonis non enim in sermone est verbum Dei, sed in virtute; non in doctis humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in doctrina Spiritus; quumque venero et videro vos, versabor vobiscum in simplicitate cordis, in charitate, in spiritu mansuetudinis, cupiens exemplum esse Fidelium in verbo, in conversatione, repletus fructu justitiae in gloriam et laudem Dei. Obsecro autem vos per Jesum Christum et per charitatem spiritus ut adjuvetis me in orationibus vestris pro me ad Deum ut tantae spei plenus et animi veniam ad vos in gaudio per voluntatem Dei. Vos cum primis oro ac enixe obtestor Ven. Fratres, corona mea et desiderium meum, vos inquam, capitulum, Pastores, vos sacerdotes reliqui

in partem solicitudinis nostrae vocati, vos quoque Regularium Ordinum proeclari viri Ecclesiae divitiae et Episcoporum coadjutores quos in perfectionis spiritu ambulantes, impense colo, vos inquam omnes oro et obtestor ut sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus ut videant opera vestra bona et glorificent Patrem vestrum qui in caelis est. Reputate vobiscum animo Populi mores ad eorum agendi rationem praecipue componi, qui vel dignitate in Ecclesia praecellunt aut sacerdotio, sanctiorisque Regularis vitae conditione illustrantur. Estote igitur, Fratres mei dilecti, stabiles et immobiles abundantes in opere Domini semper, scientes quod labor vester non est inanis in Domino. Fidelibus reliquis Divitibus praesertim nihil magis cordi esse debet, quam morum candore et prisca probitate istius Dioecesis splendorem amplificare memores beneficentiae et communicationis et solliciti servare unitatem in vinculo pacis. Tandem Ven. Fratres ac Filii dilectissimi in omni instantia et obsecratione orate pro omnibus pro sanctissimo Pantifice nostro Pio VI. Optimo maximo, nostrorum temporum felicitate, ut eum Deus nobis quam diutissime servet incolumem ad sui nominis gloriam et Ecclesiae Catholicae universae utilitatem, pro saeculi Potestatibus Dominis temporalibus, illisque omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus in omni pietate et castitate, pro me vero ut veniam ad vos in abundantia Benedictionis Christi pro quo legatione fungor ut condolere possim iis qui ignorant et errant quoniam et ipse circumdatus sum infirmitate, honorem non assumens sed vocatus a Deo tanquam Aaron. Ut autem et vos sciatis quae circa me sunt quid agam, omnia vobis nota faciet Illmus. et Clarissimus Metropolita et Frater noster, fidelis minister in Domino. Interim consolamini invicem verbis istis. Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi et charitas Dei et communicatio Sancti Spiritus sit semper cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

" Datum Romae extra Portam Praenestinam Die 2da. Februarii, 1777.

" Fr. Joh. Thomas, Episcopus electus Ossoriensis.

" De Mandato Illimi. et Rmi. D. Domini Mei,

" Michael O'Carroll, Scrius.

" Locus ⌟ Sigilli."

On the 21st March, 1777, Dr. Troy set out from St. Clement's for his Diocese. Of his consecration—which, strange to say, did not take place at Rome, but on his journey homeward—as well as of his appointment to Ossory, he has left the following interesting record in the *Registr. Dioeces. :*

" Vacante Sede Episcopali Ossoriensi per obitum Illustrimi. D. Fr. Thomae de Burgo qui animam reddidit Creatori die 25 Sepris. anno, 1776, consecrationis suae anno 17, aetatis vero 67, in Congregatione Emorum. Cardinalium de Propaganda Fide, praesentibus Emis. D. D. Castello Praefecto, Corsino, Visconti, Antonello, Orsino et Secretario Borgia, die 26 Novembris, 1776, praedictae sedi propositus fuit Fr. Joh. Thomas Troy Dublinensis, S. Ords. Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae Praesentatus, Conventus Romani SS. Sixti & Clementis actualis praeses, seu Prior, post quam per viginti et unum ferme annos in eodem coenobio continuo versatus fuerit, expletis ibidem singulis scholae muneribus et domesticis officiis.

" Dictam S. Congnis. Propositionem seu Nominationem benigne approbavit et confirmavit Summus Pontifix Pius VI., Die Dominica, 1, Xbris. ejusdem anni et literas apostolicas desuper expediri mandavit, prout revera factum est ad S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 16 xbris. 1776, Pontificatus sui anno secundo : Consecrationis Beneficium recepit Neo-Episcopus, Die 8 Junii, 1777, ab Exemo. Nuntio Apostolico D. Ignatio Busca Archipo. Emesseno, in Ecclesia Abbatiali Canonicorum Praemonstratensium *de Park* prope Lovanium, assistentibus, ex indulto apostolico, duobus Abbatibus infulatis, Josepho de Rondeau, Abbati Grimbergensi [or Guinbergensi] et Francisco Genere, Abbate Parcensi [*i.e.*, of Park].

" Die 21 Julii, 1777 in Hiberniam venit Neo-Episcopus praedictus et Kilkenniam appulit die 14 Augusti, postquam jam a die 1 Martii per Procuratorem dictae suae Diaecesis possessionem adiit."

A few days before his arrival in his Cathedral city, he forwarded the following notification to be read in all the chapels of Kilkenny, on the 15th August, 1777 :

" Whereas, his Holiness by his rescript bearing date 9th March, this present year, 1777, has been graciously pleased to grant a plenary indulgence to the faithful who, after complying with the conditions hereafter specified, shall assist at the first Mass of our present Bishop, Dr. John Troy, in each of the parishes of this diocess, We are authorized to inform you that our said Most Rev. Bishop will celebrate

his first Mass, in his parish Chapel of St. Canice of this city, on Sunday next, 17th instant, at 11 o'clock precisely, and will immediately afterwards give his solemn Benediction to the congregation assembled. You are, therefore, exhorted to dispose yourselves for the acquisition of so great a treasure, which cannot be obtained without observing the following conditions:—1st To confess and communicate with the necessary dispositions. 2nd To pray for the propagation of the true Faith, and the exaltation of the Catholic Church; for peace and union among Christian princes; for the conversion of Jews, infidels, hardened sinners, and all those that err; for our aforesaid Bishop, who in order to facilitate and promote the spiritual good of his beloved people, has granted ample powers to all approved confessors, to absolve from all cases otherwise reserved to himself, and recommended to all the pastors, preachers and spiritual directors, to explain the nature and efficacy of indulgences, at the same time observing that the present plenary one, by special grant of his Holiness, can avail the souls in Purgatory.

"Dat. Dublinii, Die 4 Augusti, Anni 1777.

"Fr. Joh. Thos. Epis. Ossorien.

"Locus Sigilli."

St. Canice's being held by Dr. Burke as his mensal parish, was disposed of in like manner by the Holy See to his successor. It is this circumstance that induced the new Bishop to take up his quarters in St. Canice's parish. The old house in the recess at the north side of Dean Street, is still known as "Bishop Troy's house," and here according to local tradition, the Bishop dwelt. Though now a ruin, this house saw better days, and, more than a century ago, must have been considered a desirable and comfortable residence. Dr. Troy's first appointment was that of the Rev. Brian Kavanagh, Administrator of St. Canice's, whom he promoted to the pastoral charge of Gowran and Clara, by letters dated from Rome, on the 14th of Feb., 1777; at the same time he appointed the Rev. John Cassin to the Administratorship of St. Canice's.

The following is the text of his first Lenten regulations:

"Feb. 7th, 1778.

"*To the Rev. Pastors and other Clergymen of the Diocess of Ossory:*

"You are requested to notify to your respective congregations at each Mass that shall be said on Sunday the 1st of next March, that the Fast of Lent is to be strictly observed according to the laws of our Holy Mother the Church. For that purpose you are to explain said laws, and particularly inculcate the spirit of them, in order to promote an abstinence from sin during that Holy season whereby the faithful committed to your care may be properly disposed for their Easter Communion. But as there may be some belonging to your respective districts, who from various motives may be entitled to a dispensation, I hereby empower the pastors to grant such dispensations in all cases they may judge necessary, except on the four first and seven last days, on which I require the fast to be religiously observed by all who are not evidently disabled from indigence, infirmity, or feeble old age. You are to observe to those whom you may judge proper to dispense with, that they are to eat but one meal a day except on Sundays and in cases of necessity; that they are not to eat flesh meat and fish at the same meal; and finally, that they boil their flesh meat in order to make broth for the poor whom 'tis expected they will relieve by the acts of charity also.

"You are likewise to inform your congregation that Easter duty will be performed from St. Kieran's Day to Ascension Day, and that whoever does not confess and receive within that time, will be guilty of mortal sin against the precepts of Paschal Communion, and will incur the most heavy censures of the church.

"John Troy.

"Kilkenny, 7th February, 1778."

During the course of the same month, he issued the following instructions:

"*For the Rev. Pastors and other R. Catholic Clergymen of the Diocess of Ossory*:—

"R. Rev. Sirs,

"You are to read the following lines at each of your respective Masses on Sunday next, 22nd instant.

"John Troy.

"Kilkenny, 20th February, 1778.

"Dear Christians,

"You have been frequently reminded of the obedience you owe to the powers whom the Almighty has appointed to rule over us. Your Pastors and other teachers have not ceased to inculcate and enforce that indispensable duty after the example of our Divine Redeemer who commands us 'To give unto Cæsar what belongeth to Cæsar, and unto God what belongeth to God.' You have experienced the lenity of Government in the execution of Penal Laws, which continue to distinguish you from other subjects, notwithstanding your irreproachable demeanour in times of temptation and trial. Impressed as I know you are with these affecting considerations of duty and gratitude, I cannot doubt of your persevering endeavours to merit an increase of indulgence from his Majesty and every other branch of the Legislature. A cheerful compliance with this important obligation is particularly requisite in these days of discord and calamity, when our American fellow subjects, seduced by the specious notions of liberty and other illusive expectations of sovereignty, disclaim any dependence on Great Britain, and endeavour by force of arms to distress their mother country, which has cherished and protected them. Our ingratitude to God, our want of commiseration and tenderness for our distressed neighbours, our immoralities of every kind, our contempt and mockery of religion, and of everything that has an appearance of piety, deserve greater punishments than are inflicted on us by the present unnatural and destructive war. Let us, therefore, without loss of time prostrate ourselves before the throne of mercy, and ask pardon, and beseech forgiveness. Let us make supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings for all men, for Kings and all who are in high stations, that we may lead quiet and peaceable life in all piety and charity, And whereas it has pleased his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and Council to order a general fast on Friday, 27th inst., I desire you will observe the same with that religious decency and exactness expressive of compunction, and a lively feeling of our present situation. Offer up your most fervent prayers on that occasion for the spiritual and temporal happiness of your Most gracious Lord and Sovereign King George the third, his Royal Consort and family; approach with confidence the Supreme Ruler of empires and states, 'by whom Kings reign and legislatures determine what is just,' humbly imploring him to direct his Majesty's Councils, and render them the happy instrument of a speedy, honourable, and lasting reconciliation between Great Britain and her once flourishing colonies of America, without further effusion of blood. Your love for your native country will induce you to recommend this poor Kingdom in your prayers, also his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Governor thereof, who like his Royal Master has nothing more at heart than the happiness of all his Majesty's subjects without distinction. I wish you all every blessing, and am

"Your very humble servant in Christ,

"John Troy.

"Kilkenny, Feb. 20th, 1778."

It was probably when leaving Rome, to begin his labours in Ossory, that Dr. Troy received his commission from the Holy See to examine into and decide the various disputes that had arisen in Armagh, between the Primate, Dr. Anthony Blake, and his clergy. Charges of non-residence and of severity in his exactions, had been made against the Primate, with the consequence that a suspension was issued against him by Rome. After a long and careful examination of all the bearings of the case, Dr. Troy, in virtue of the powers delegated to him by the Holy See, restored Dr. Blake to "primatial jurisdiction," towards the close of 1777. Disputes again breaking out in the Archdiocese, the Primate was again suspended,

by a decree from Rome, dated April 28th, 1781, and Dr. Troy was appointed Administrator of the Primatial See. In 1782 Dr. Richard O'Reilly was appointed Coadjutor-Bishop of Armagh, *cum jure successionis*, and thenceforward Dr. Troy was free to devote himself exclusively to the affairs of his own Diocese.

In his Lenten pastoral for 1779, Dr. Troy condemns in strongest language the White Boy combination, which for several years past had been spread extensively through the Diocese. Finding his warning and remonstrances of no avail, he at length issued the dread sentence of excommunication against the members of the society :

"*To the Rev. Pastors and other Roman Catholic Clergy of the Diocese of Ossory* :—

"Rev. Sirs,

"The under-written sentence of excommunication is to be published with the usual ceremonies of Bell, Book, and Candle light, at each of your respective Masses on Sunday next, 17th inst. And you are to read it in Irish where the ignorance of the English language amongst the generality of your parishioners may render it necessary. You are likewise to explain the nature and dreadful consequences of an excommunication, and by every possible method endeavour to prevent your people from being exposed to so great an evil.

"I am, Rev. Sirs,

"Your very obedient and humble servant in Christ,

"John Troy.

"Kilkenny, October 11th, 1779."

Sentence of Excommunication.

"Whereas, several disorderly persons of our Communion and of this Diocess, distinguished by the appellation and appearance of *White Boys*, continue to disturbe the public peace and injure private property, notwithstanding the censures of the Church and rigour of the laws against riotous assemblies of any kind, We think it incumbent on us to inform you, dear Christians, that from a due sense of our pastoral duty, and from a sincere desire of promoting their eternal salvation, We have not failed to warn them of their perilous situation, and exhort them to repentance and amendment. We have from these sacred altars repeatedly explained their duty towards God and the Powers He has appointed to rule over them. We have enforced their religious compliance with that indispensable obligation, from the example and precepts of our Divine Redeemer and his Blessed Disciples, from the practice of good Christians of all ages, and by our own solemn and sincere declarations of fidelity and submission to his Majesty's most gracious government. We have likewise announced the vengeance of heaven against those unthinking wretches, their associates and abettors, and declare them unworthy of the Sacraments and Christian burial. We are not insensible of the rigorous account we shall be obliged to give of them and all others committed to our charge, at the awful tribunal of the Prince of Pastors, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who tells us that 'If we do not declare to the wicked man his impiety, He our just Judge will require his blood at our hands.' We have therefore canonically admonished them and paternally invited them to satisfaction and penance. But they, alas! have despised our salutary exhortations, and actuated as they are by the spirit of pride, obstinately persevere in their apostacy from the promise made at their baptism, and without shame or seeming remorse scandalize the Church. In such cases our line of conduct is prescribed by our Divine Redeemer : 'If,' says He, 'your hand or your foot should scandalize thee cut it off and cast it from thee.' And St. Paul desires we 'should remove evil from amongst us.' Authorized then as we are, by the precepts of our Lord and His Apostles, We have resolved, after mature deliberation, and imploring the assistance of heaven, to use the sword of excommunication, and cut off from the Church these rotten and incurable limbs, lest the other members of that Mystical Body should be poisoned or infected by a further communication with them. Wherefore as they have impiously despised our repeated admonitions and exhortations, and although thrice called upon according to the Gospel Precept, have scorned the very thought of amendment, and have not acknowledged or reflected on their heinous crimes, but at the instigation of the devil, persist in their wicked courses, and according to the observation of

St. Paul, 'Treasure up wrath for themselves against the day of wrath,' by the sentence of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, of the Blessed St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and of all the saints, and also by the authority of loosing and binding both on earth and above granted to us by the Son of God, We exclude them, their accomplices and abettors, from the participation and communion of the Precious Body of our Lord, from the society of all christians, and from the threshold of the Church in heaven and on earth, declaring them by these presents excommunicated, accursed and condemned to the everlasting fire of hell, there to burn with the devil and his angels and all the wicked, unless being freed from the snares of Satan, they shall by sincere repentance and amendment atone for past offences, repair the scandals they have occasioned and be reconciled to their holy and tender mother the Church, which they have insulted and injured. They are to be looked upon as heathens and publicans, because they did not listen to her, but returned hatred for her love, and evil for good. Set Thou, then, O Lord, a wicked sinner over them, and let the devil stand at their right hand. When they shall be judged, may they be condemned, and may their prayers be turned to sin; may their days be few and others take their places. Let their children be carried about vagabonds and beg, and let them be cast out of their dwellings. May the usurers search all their substance, and let strangers plunder their labours. May there be none to help them, nor none to pity their fatherless offspring. May their posterity be cut off in one generation. May their names be blotted out. May they be continually before the Lord, and let their memory perish from the earth. Because they remembered not to show mercy, but persecuted the poor man and the beggar, and the broken in heart to put him to death. They loved cursing, it shall come unto them, and they would not have blessing, and it shall be taken from them. They put on cursing like a garment, and it went in like water into their entrails, and like oil into their bones.

"These shall be their rewards. But do Thou for us, O Lord, for Thy name's sake, for we are poor and needy, and our hearts are troubled within us. Help us, O Lord, our God, and save us according to Thy mercy, that they may know that Thou, O Lord, hast done it. They will curse and Thou wilt bless. Let them that rise up against us be confounded, but Thy servants shall rejoice.

"Let all the congregation say, Amen, Amen, Amen.

"John Troy."

Diocesan Conferences, long interrupted, were restored by Dr. Troy in 1779. In reference to these he issued the following circular to the clergy, Feb., 5th, 1780:

"Fr. Joh. Thomas Troy, S. Ords. Praedicatorum, Dei & S. Sedis Apostolicae Gratia Episcopus Ossoriensis, &c.

"In Dei Filio maxime Sibi dilectis RR. Parochis, aliisque Sacerdotibus Saecularibus & Regularibus Dioecesis Ossoriensis, Salutem, Disciplinaeque Ecclesiasticae Studium & observantiam.

"Postquam imperscrutabili Dei omnipotentis dispositione, & SSmi. Patris Pii VI. Beneficentia, nullis nostris suffragantibus meritis, vel expetentibus votis, ad hanc dilectam nobis Cathedram Ossoriensem moderandam evocati sumus; statim Conferentias Casuum Conscientiae, provido consilio ab Ecclesiae statutis praescriptas, sed justis de causis, in hac Dioecesi per plures annos intermissas, restabiliendas esse animo decrevimus. Propositum hoc nostrum executioni demandatum laeti conspeximus anno proxime elapso cum maximo Cleri fructu & Populi aedificatione. Ut hoc igitur saluberrimum institutum tam feliciter auctoritate nostra renovatum, pari successu progrediatur, nonnulla in congressibus observanda, scripto nobis tradere opportunum existimavimus, ne ignorantiae occasione vel praetextu, confusio aliqua, aut perturbatio in illis oriatur.

"Curent igitur imprimis quam diligenter Conferentiarum Praesides ut absque clamorosa vocis elatione de expositis, aliisque emergentibus quaestionibus breviter & perspicue quoad fieri poterit, agatur. Duos simul loqui non permittant omnino ne contentio quaevis causetur cum fraternae charitatis discrimine. In quaestionibus explicandis, sive in objectis proponendis & diluendis veritas unice quaeratur ex sacris Litteris, Summorum Pontificum, conciliorumque decretis, atque ex constanti communique Ecclesiae usu & praxi; posthabitis inutilibus luxuriantium ingeniorum commentis & aridis Scholarum tricis quae moribus componendis & conscientiis dirigendis, parum certe, ut plurimum inserviunt; neque tamen rationem ipsam vere theologicam e suo loco dimoveri cupimus; jamdudum enim didicimus quantum ponderis, quidve virium eidem insit: verum suis coarctatur, & circumscribitur finibus, de quibus inter alios egregie disseruit celeberrimus sui Aevi Scriptor Hispanus, Milchior Canus, Episcopus olim Canariensis. Ad authorum delectum quod attinet, monitos vos volumus, caute admodum & circumspecte legendos illos esse, qui de Re morali & Sacramentaria scripserunt ante condemnatas saeculo praeterito a Summis Pontificibus varias propositiones simplicitati Evangelicae

adversantes atque luctuosam morum corruptelam, speciosis quidem, sed minus probabilibus argumentis, introducentes. ". In istis aliisque quibuscumque Scriptoribus, non vulgaris de eisdem existimatio, non dignitates quas obtinebant attendendae, sed momenta quibus eorumdem placita innituntur sedulo absque partium studio perpendenda, ut inde illae sententiae eligi & amplecti possint, quae ex limpidis suprascriptis fontibus tanquam rivuli decurrunt. In rebus Ritualibus & Liturgicis necnon Ecclesiastico —Forensibus enucleandis, eas sequi opiniones mandamus, quae cum praescriptis in Missali, Pontificali, & Breviario Romanis conveniunt ; quaeque ex juris communis principiis & Sacrarum Urbis Congregationum authenticis Resolutionibus eruuntur. Hoc erga B. Petri sedem obsequium simul cum fide ipsa [1] a majoribus accepimus ; nihil enim magis cordi habebant, nihil enixius successoribus commendarunt Praedecessores,[2] per totam Hiberniam Episcopi, caeterique animarum Rectores, quam Romanae Ecclesiae omnium alearum Matri & Magistrae tanquam Fidei Canonumque custodi & interpreti, necnon Catholicae unitatis centro, indivulse adhaerere ; sepositis consuetudinibus caeteroquin laudbilibus, aliarum Ecclesiarum quantum cumque insignium, atque de Re christiana et ipsa apostolica sede optime meritarum.

" Unicuique Conferentiae praemittendus erit brevis sermo de vita et honestate Clericorum vel de vitiis in populo communioribus, anglico vel Hibernico idiomate memoriter recitandus a sacredote saeculari nondum de Beneficio curato proviso, vel Regulari, incipiendo a seniori in respectivis district bus. Deficientibus vero istis, sermo fiet a Parochis ipsis. Absentes legitima etiam ex causa, mulctam pecuniarum jam a nobis stabilitam, atque in pios usus omnino erogandam, solvant Conferentiarum praefectis ; qui vero absentiae causam per nuncium, vel epistolam coram omnibus legendam, significare neglexerit, is praeterea in poenam contemptus, a celebratione Missae per quindenam suspensus declaretur a praeside respectivo, cui hanc facultatem tribuimus. Summam pecuniae ex mulctis colligendae in eos usus erogandam decernimus, qui opportuni videbuntur majori numero eorum qui interibunt respectivis conferentiis, mense Octobris. Convenire debent omnes in locis designatis hora undecima matutina : finito vero sermone statim incipiet conferentia per duas integras horas duratura. Prandium hora secunda mensae apponatur, eoque durante, nonnisi de rebus ecclesiasticis vel scientificis verba fiant. In cibo et potu is modus servetur qui decet Dispensatores Mysteriorum Dei : ut autem quaecumque Scandali vel pravae suspicionis occasio penitus amoveatur, omnes & singulos hora quarta e loco discedere jubemus, domumque recto tramite reverti. Haec sunt inter alia, quae ad communem utilitatem & Ecclesiastici Nominis decorem, a nobis exacte observari optamus & praecipimus sub poenis arbitrio nostro in transgressores infligendis. Valete, Fratres, ac Filii dilectissimi, nosque in Sacrificiis & precationibus vestris commendatos habete. Interim ex plenitudine paterni nostri in vos amoris, Benedictionem pastoralem vobis omnibus peramanter impertimus. Datum Kilkenniae ex aedibus nostrae Residentiae nonis Februariis anni 1780 : conserationis vero nostrae anno tertio.

" F. Joh. Thomas, Epus. Ossoriensis.

" Conferentiae habebuntur infrascriptis Locis, et Diebus :—

" Kilkenniae. Prima feria quarta non impedita uniuscujusque mensis
" In oppido de Durrow vel Balliragget. Feria tertia immediate sequenti.
" In oppido de Thomastown. Feria secunda immediate sequenti.
" In oppido de Mullinevat. Feria tertia immediate sequenti."

To an Act for the Registration of the Roman Catholic Clergy, passed about 1780, but not referred to in any authority to hand, we owe the following most interesting list of almost all our Diocesan clergy, in the year 1782 : the original

[1] " Bollandiani in *Vita S. Patritii* passim. *Baillet*, num. 5. Emus. Ursius *Hist. Eccl.* Tom. XV., Lib. 34, num. 84 & seqq.

[2] " S Bernardus in *Vita S. Malachiae* Archiepiscopi Armacani & per universam Hiberniam Legati Apostolici ab Innocentio II. constituti, inter caetra de eo scribit :—*Apostolicas Sanctiones ac Decreta SS. Patrum praecipueque Consuetudines S. Romanae Ecclesiae in cunctis Ecclesiis statuebat ;* Mabillon *De Liturgia Gallicana*, Lib. I. cap. 2, num. 14 ; Catalanus in Proel. ad *Commentaria in Rituale Romanum*, num. VIII. ; Hugo MacMahon, Archiepiscopus Armacanus & Suffraganei Episcopi in Epistola ad Clementem XI., die 28 Aprilis 1718, cujus exempler authenticum extat MS. in Archivo S. Sixti de Urbe, Codice I. ; Christophorus Butler, Archiepiscopus Casseliensis in Epistola ad eundem die 25 Aprilis 1719, legenda in Hibernia Dominicana, Suppl. pag. 819 : alios omittimus ne prolixiores simus."

may be seen in the end of a volume of Ossory Wills, in the Public Record Office, Dublin :

"REGISTRY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF OSSORY PURSUANT TO THE LATE ACT OF PARLIAMENT FOR THAT PURPOSE :—

"WILLIAM SHEE of Durrow in the County of Kilkenny, secular priest, aged fifty-six years, received his orders in Seville in the Kingdom of Spain, in the year 1750 from Dominick Perez de Revera, Suffragan Bishop of Seville, and was collated to the Parish of Durrow by Dr. James Bernard Dunn, Bishop of Ossory, in the year 1751. (Registered, Aug. 14th, 1782.)

"JAMES BUTLER of Mount Oliver in the Queen's County, secular priest, aged about fifty-eight years, was ordained Deacon and Priest by Dr. Coleman O'Shaughnessy, the 2nd day of August, 1747, and was collated to the Parish of Rathdowney in the Diocese of Ossory by Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory, in the year 1763. (Registered, Aug. 16th, 1782.)

"MAURICE DELANY of Rathendrick in the Queen's County, secular priest, was ordained Deacon and Priest by the said Dr. O'Shaughnessy in the year 1746, and was collated to the parish of Aghavoe by Dr. Thomas Burke in the year 1760. (Registered, Aug. 16th, 1782).

"JOHN GUGARTY of Ballypatrick in the County of Kilkenny, regular priest, aged about twenty-nine years, was ordained Deacon the 20th September, 1777, by Dr. John Henry, Archbishop of Mechlin, and was ordained priest the 14th day of March, 1778, by the said Archbishop. (Registered, Sept. 13th, 1782.)

"WILLIAM SWIFT of Muckully in the County Kilkenny, secular priest, aged 36 years, was ordained Deacon the 16th day of September, 1772, by Dr. James Keefe, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and was ordained priest on the 19th September aforesaid by the said Bishop of Tullow in the County Carlow. (Registered, Sept. 28th, 1782.)

"JOHN THOMAS TROY of the City of Kilkenny, regular priest, aged 43 years, received all his Orders at Rome from Dominick Giordane, Patriarch of Antioch, and Cardinal Mark Anthony Colonna, in the years 1759, 1760, 1761, and 1762, and was consecrated Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, at Park, near Louvain, by Ignatius Busea, Archbishop of Emessa, in the year 1777. (Registered, Oct. 12th, 1782.)

"LAURENCE SHAW of Durrow in the County of Kilkenny, Regular Priest, aged 28 years, received all his Orders from John Henrick, Cardinal Archbishop of Mechlin, in the years 1778 and 1779. (Registered, Oct. 12th, 1782.)

"JOHN DUNNE of the City of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged about 38 years, received all his Orders in Paris in the years 1778 and 1779, from Dr. Christopher Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris. (Registered, Oct. 4th, 1782.)

"JAMES GORMAN of Burnchurch in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged about 38 years, received all his Popish Orders at Kilkenny in the year 1767 from Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory. (Registered, Oct. 4th, 1782.)

"WILLIAM PHELAN of Kilmoganny in the County Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged about 41 years, received all his Orders at Rome in the year 1767 from Cardinal Mark Antonio, Bishop of Adrianopolis, and was collated to the Union of Kells by Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory, in the year 1772. (Registered, Oct. 9th, 1782.)

"JAMES LALOR of Owning, in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged about forty years, received all his Orders, at Kilkenny, in the year 1765, from Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory, and was collated to the parish of Owning, aforesaid, by Dr. John Thomas Troy, Bishop of Ossory, on the 15th day of October, 1782. (Registered, Oct. 12th, 1782.)

"CORNELIUS DELANY of Ballycallan, in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, age 59 years, received all his Orders at Urlingford in the said County, in the year 1746, from Dr. Coleman O'Shaughnessy, Bishop of Ossory, and was collated to the parish of Kilmanagh, by Dr. James Keeffe, Administrator of the Diocese of Ossory, on the 4th of October, 1757. (Registered, Oct. 12th, 1782.)

"JOHN BYRNE of Freshford, in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged about 41 years, received all his Orders at Ballyragget in the said County, in the year 1764, from Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory, and was collated to the parish of Freshford aforesaid by the said Dr. Burke, the 20th August, 1775. (Registered, Oct. 12th, 1782.)

"THOMAS MURPHY of the City of Kilkenny, Regular Priest, aged about 38 years, received all his Orders at St. Malo's in France, in the year 1768, from Antony Joseph Des Laurents, Bishop of St. Malo's aforesaid. (Registered, Oct. 16th, 1782.)

"WILLIAM BERRY of the City of Kilkenny, Regular Priest, aged about 34 years, received all his

Orders at St. Malo's in the years 1769 and 1770, from the said Antony Joseph Des Laurents, Bishop of St. Malo's aforesaid. (Registered, Oct. 16th, 1782.)

"Nicholas Kealy of Freshford in the County Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged 36 years, received all his Popish Orders at the City of Kilkenny, from Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory, in the year 1771. (Registered, Oct. 19th, 1782.)

"Richard Mansfield of Muckalee in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged 38 years, received all his orders at the City of Kilkenny, from Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory, in the year 1768, and was collated to the parish of Muckalee aforesaid in Oct. 1780. Registered, Oct. 22nd, 1782.)

"Bryan Kavanagh of Gowran in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged 42 years, received all his Orders at Kilkenny from Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory, in the year 1764, and was collated to the parish of Gowran aforesaid in the year 1778 by Dr. John Thomas Troy, Bishop of Ossory aforesaid. (Registered, Oct. 23rd, 1782.)

"Peter Creagh of Dangan, in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged 60 years, received all his Orders at Paris, from Dr. Christopher de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris aforesaid, in the years 1750, 1751, and 1752, and was collated to the parish of Kilmacow in the month of March, 1781, by Dr. John Thomas Troy, Bishop of Ossory. (Registered, Oct. 23rd, 1782.)

"William Carroll of Ballinabarna in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged 29 years, received all his Orders at Doway in Flanders, from Lewis de Conzie, Bishop of Arras, in the years 1778 and 1779. (Registered, Oct. 23rd, 1782.)

"Peter Hayden of the Parish of Ida, in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged 35 years, received all his Orders at Kilkenny, from Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory, in the year 1771. (Registered, Oct. 23rd, 1782.)

"John Cassin of Ballygardra, in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged 42 years, received all his Orders from Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory, at Kilkenny, in the year 1766, and was collated to the parish of Knocktopher in the month of March 1781, by Dr. Troy, Bishop of Ossory. (Registered Oct. 23rd, 1782.)

"Andrew Gorman of Lisdowney, in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged about 48 years, received all his Orders at Kilkenny, from Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory, in the year 1766, and was collated to the parish of Lisdowney aforesaid in the month of July 1778, by Dr. John Thomas Troy, Bishop of Ossory. (Registered, Oct. 24th, 1782.)

"Patrick Molloy of the City of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged about 56 years, received all his Orders at Paris, from Dr. Christopher de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, in the years 1750 and 1752, and was collated to the Parish of St. Mary's, in the said city of Kilkenny, in the year 1753, by Dr. James Bernard Dunne, Bishop of Ossory. (Registered, Oct. 26th, 1782.)

"Patrick Power of the City of Kilkenny, Regular Priest, aged about 40 years, received all his Orders from Dr. Phillip Mernati, Bishop of Nepi and Sutry, at Rome, in the year 1777. (Registered, Oct. 28th, 1782.)

"Peter Colfer of the same, Regular Priest, aged about 52 years, received all his Orders at Rome, from Dr. Antony Maria, Vicar-General to His Holiness, Clement the 13th, in the year 1761. (Registered, Oct. 28th, 1782.)

"Patrick Mortimer of Rathdowney in the Queen's County, Secular Priest, aged 35 years, received all his Orders at Kilkenny, from Dr. John Thomas Troy, Bishop of Ossory, in the year 1778. (Registered, Oct. 28th, 1782.)

"Michael Vincent Meade of the City of Kilkenny, Regular Priest, aged 35 years, received all his Orders at Mecklin, in the year 1770, from Joannes Henricus, Archbishop of Mecklin aforesaid. (Registered Oct. 29th, 1782).

"Joseph Clarke of the City of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged about 67 years, received all his Orders at Kilkenny, in the year 1741, from Dr. Coleman O'Shaughnessy, and was collated to the parish of St. Patrick in the said City of Kilkenny in the year 1778, by Dr. John Thomas Troy, Bishop of Ossory. (Registered, Oct. 30th, 1782.)

'John Cody of Galmoy, in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged 49 years, received all his Orders at Tullow in the County of Carlow, in the year 1756, from Dr. Keetle, Bishop of Leighlin, and was collated to the parish of Galmoy aforesaid in the year 1768 by Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory. (Registered, Oct. 31st, 1782.)

"John Woodlock of Callan, in the County of Kilkenny, Regular, aged 18 years, received no Orders on account of his nonage but is a Regular of the Order of St. Augustine, and has taken the oaths and subscribed the declaration pursuant to the Statute. (Registered, Nov. 2nd, 1782.)

"Daniel Tierney of Callan, County of Kilkenny, Regular Priest, aged 40 years, received his Orders at Rome, in the years 1763 and 1764, from Cardinal Mark Anthony Colona, Bishop of Rome. (Registered Nov. 2nd, 1782.)

"Alexander Cahill of Ballyragget, in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged 50 years, received all his Orders at Ballyragget aforesaid from Dr. James Butler, late Archbishop of Cashel, in the year 1758, and was collated to the parish of Ballyragget aforesaid in the year 1772 by Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory. (Registered, Nov. 2nd, 1782.)

"Darby Murphy of Callan, in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged 56 years, received all his Orders at Kilkenny, in the year 1755, from Dr. Dunn, Bishop of Ossory, and was collated to the parish of Callan aforesaid by Dr. Thomas Burke in the year [1768]. (Registered, Nov. 4th, 1782.)

"Thomas Grace of Callan, in the County of Kilkenny, Regular Priest, aged 30 years, received all his Orders at Bourdeaux, from Ferdinand Maximilian de Rohan, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, in the year 1777, (Registered, Nov. 4th 1782.)

"Andrew Phelan of Castlecomer, in the County of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged 36 years, received all his Orders at Kilkenny, in the year 1777, from Dr. Thomas Burke, Bishop of Ossory, and was collated to the Parish of Comer aforesaid on the 27th September, 1781 by Dr. John Thomas Troy, Bishop of Ossory, (Registered, Nov. 4th, 1782.)

"Michael Fitzgerald of the City of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, aged 58 years, received all his Orders at Kilkenny, in the year 1758, from Dr. Dunne, Bishop of Ossory, and was collated to the parish of St. John, in the said City, by Dr. Burke, in the year 1774. (Registered, Nov. 4th, 1782.)

"James Butler, Secular Priest, registered for the Parish of Rathdowney, in the Queen's County, removed from thence the 25th October, 1783, to the Parish of Rathkyran in the Diocese of Ossory and County of Kilkenny, by Dr. John Thomas Troy, Bishop of the said Diocese.

"James Butler, Secular Priest aforesaid, removed from the parish of Rathkyran aforesaid to the parish of Thomastown by Dr. John Dunne, Bishop of the said Diocese.

"Dr. John Dunne of the City of Kilkenny, Secular Priest, promoted 16th September, 1787, to the parish of St. Canice, and also appointed Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory.

The slight relaxation of the penal laws, which began to make itself felt about 1778, gave the zealous Bishop a favourable opportunity of providing for his Diocese the long sorely-felt want of a Catholic College. The project took definite shape in 1782. Two learned and accomplished priests, both destined later on to wear the mitre of Ossory, were then labouring on the mission in Kilkenny city; one was the Rev. John Dunne, who had been C.C. St. Mary's since 1772; the other, the Rev. James Lanigan, who had just entered on the mission in St. Canice's, after having for several years filled a Professor's Chair in the College of Nantes. To Fathers Dunne and Lanigan, under the direction of Dr. Molloy, the Bishop committed the establishment and working of the new undertaking. And first it was necessary to secure a house large enough and suited for the purpose. Burrell's Hall was fixed on and a lease of the premises to Fathers Dunne and Lanigan, for fourteen years, was made out on the 12th October, 1782. Steps were at once taken to convert the Hall into an educational establishment. "The enclosed printed paper," writes Dr. Troy to Dr. Fallon, Bishop of Elphin, on the 9th Nov., 1782, "will explain the nature and design of an Academy now erecting here. I have the pleasure to assure you it meets with general approbation and encouragement." In 1783 the new College was in full working order, and on the 4th of September in that year the Bishop showed his appreciation of the services of its two principals, or Co-Rectors, Fathers Dunne and Lanigan, by appointing the former Canon of Tascoffin, and the latter Canon of Killamory.

Notwithstanding the awful sentence of excommunication issued against them

on the 11th October, 1779, the unfortunate White Boys still continued their evil courses, as appears from the following addressed "To the Revd. Pastors & other R. Catholic Clergy of the Diocess of Ossory," on the 12th Nov., 1784:

"Revd. Sirs,—You are to publish the underwritten Exhortation to yr. respective Congregations, as intelligibly as possible on the three Sundays immediately following the receipt thereof. I rely on yr. experienced zeal and prudence in complying with my present requisition & referring you to my circular Letters of the 27th January & 11th October, 1779, on the same disagreeable subject, am, Revd. Sirs, your very humble servant in Christ. John Troy, Kilkenny, November 12th, 1784.

"Dear Christians—At this particular time when the blessings of peace & a plentiful harvest should warm the hearts of Christians with becoming gratitude to the Father of Mercies, & excite a spirit of industry amongst all ranks of people, we are much concerned to observe riot and disorder pervading those of our Communion, in many parts of the county & diocess. Unmindful of the untimely & ignominious death of their relations and their acquaintances, formerly distinguished by the execrable appellation of *White Boys*, and deaf to the dictates of reason & religion constantly enforced by our exhortations from the altars, they are endeavouring to renew the horrid scenes of confusion & bloodshed wch. disgraced this part of the Kingdom not many years ago. They again seem to glory in the opprobrious name of *White Boys* & have lately assembled at unseasonable hours & in different parties, sounding their riotous horn. They have presumed to administer oaths of combinations & proceeded to barbarous acts of violence against the persons and property of several individuals. In a word they notoriously violate the most sacred laws, & equally despise the injunctions of their spiritual & temporal rulers. Such accumulated enormities call to Heaven for vengeance, which will, most assuredly, fall on the deluded offenders, if they do not speedily expiate their crimes by sincere & exemplary repentance. As our silence upon this occasion might be misunderstood by ignorant, or sinistriously interpreted by malevolent persons, we think it highly incumbent on us to declare, as we do hereby most solemnly in the name & by the authority of our Holy Mother the Church: First: That the association oaths usually taken by the misguided & unhappy wretches called *White Boys*, are Bonds of Iniquity: & consequently unlawful, wicked and damnable. They are not, therefore, binding in any manner whatsoever. Secondly: We in like manner declare, that we condemn, abhor & detest the above mentioned outrages as contrary to the maxims & canons of our holy religion, destructive of the public peace, injurious to private property & subversive of every law. Finally: We regard these deluded offenders, who call themselves Roman Catholics, as scandalous & rotten members of our holy Church, from which they have been already cut off by the sentence of excommunication solemnly pronounced against them on the 17th October, 1779, in all the chapels of the Diocess. We cannot conclude without beseeching you, dearest Christians, to join us in fervent & constant prayer, for the speedy conversion of these unthinking creatures. Their condition is truly deplorable, in this life exposed by their nocturnal excursion & wanton depradations to sickness, loathsome imprisonment, & an infamous death; whilst in the next their obstinacy will be punished with endless torture. May our gracious God, by his efficacious grace, avert this greatest of evils & thereby prevent the bitter recollection of their having disregarded our timely & charitable admonitions. We shudder at the very apprehension of the manifold evils wch. must necessarily ensue to themselves, to their families & to their country from a continuation of their unwarrantable proceedings.

"It being equally our wish & duty to promote the happiness of mankind in general & that of our country & flock in particular, we shall invariably conduct ourselves in a manner becoming ministers of the Gospel & members of society. Uninfluenced by fear or any worldly consideration we are determined to adopt such means as shall be found conducive to the above mentioned & other great objects of our vocation.

"J. T. Kilkenny, Nov. 12th, 1784."

In 1786, Ossory and a great part of the South of Ireland were thrown into a state of commotion by the combination known as the Right Boys. At the first outbreak of the Right Boys, their efforts were directed exclusively against the tithe system, and the exactions of the Protestant clergy; but by degrees a cry was raised against all ecclesiastical endowments, particularly in those districts where some pastors had been accused of exacting excessive dues, or where they

incurred public odium by firmly resisting the violence of illegal societies. The following entry, made in the *Diocesan Register* by Dr. Troy, will give some idea of the excitement caused at the time by the reckless members of the new society :

"On Sunday, 27th August, 1786, none of the chapels of the City of Kilkenny were open for the celebration of Mass. The *Right Boys* having threatened the city with a visit on that day, & making the chapels their usual place of meeting in order to take & administer oaths, it was determined by thus shutting them up to remove every colourable pretext for their assembling in numbers, & profaning the sabbath and house of God. The same precaution was taken at every chapel in the Diocess of Ossory at which there was reason to apprehend a meeting of the *Right Boys*. I had an occasion to write to Lord Viscount Lutterell on different occurences respecting the disturbances occasioned by the wretched insurgents. This nobleman my early & particular friend answered my three letters to him in a very polite and affectionate manner, & by his active interference wth. Col. Pigott & other gentlemen of the Queen's County effectually prevented the many very alarming inconveniences & scandals to our holy religion, which were justly apprehended from the clamours against Rev. Mr. Burke, Parish Priest of Upperwoods. The friendship of the above nobleman, son to Earl Carhampton, Lieut. General in his Majesty's service, brother-in-law to the Duke of Cumberland, his Majesty's brother, a Privy Councillor in this Kingdom, & appointed by Government Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Munster, with full powers, in order to suppress the insurrection in that province, was highly conducive, under the mercy of God, towards the peace of this Diocess."

To prevent abuses, and remove all causes of complaint in the collection of dues in future, our Bishop now drew up the following regulations, which were announced to the clergy at the different Conferences on the 4th, 5th, and 12th of September, 1786 :

"Regulations respecting dues to be paid to the R. Catholic Clergy of the Diocess of Ossory; which are to be observed in said Diocess :—

"For Marriages no more to be demanded from the richest person than .. £0 11 4½
"From middling people according to their circumstances £0 8 1½
01
£0 5 5
"From the real poor or distressed Nothing
"N.B. The cake and offerings at the discretion of the people.
"From persons going to another parish in order to be married, for the usual certificate, if they are able to pay it £0 2 8½
"If not, according to their circumstances, & from the real poor, ... Nothing
"For funeral Masses to the Parish Priest £0 5 5
"For the same to the Coadjutor, or any other Priest of the parish £0 2 8½
"The above to be understood when Mass is celebrated in the house of the deceased.
"N.B.—When one priest only is called to a funeral, he is to be satisfied with whatever is given. This regulation to take place in such parishes where there are coadjutors. In others humanity is recommended to the parish priest.
"For unctions from the wealthy £0 1 1
"From the poor .. .. Nothing
"N.B.—Neither the Parish Priest, coadjutor, or any other clergyman to dine on occasions of funerals, or stations of any kind, with any family not able and very willing to entertain them. The clergy to retire from table as soon as possible.
"When clergymen from other parishes are invited to a funeral they are to be paid as usual.
"No clergyman to assist at a Dirge, or say Mass in the house of the deceased, without an express invitation for that purpose; relations in the first and second degree are excepted.
"For baptisms, from such as can afford it £0 2 2

"From the real poor what they can afford or nothing.
"At Easter & Christmas from each family that can afford it £0 1 1
"N.B.—No mention to be made of money before the administration of any sacrament : and no person to be refused spiritual assistance of any kind for want of money.
"The above regulations are to be observed by the R. Catholic clergy of the Diocess of Ossory, *sub poena suspensionis ferendae sententiae.*

"F. Joh. Thomas Troy, Epus Ossoriensis, &c.

"Kilkenny, Septr. 2nd, 1786."

Dr. Troy's connection with Ossory was now soon to cease. His great zeal for religion, and merits as a churchman, were fully appreciated at Rome, and had long marked him as one worthy of the highest and most responsible position in the Irish hierarchy. It is little wonder, then, that on the death of Dr. Carpenter, Archbishop of Dublin, on the 29th October, 1786, the Bishop of Ossory was, without delay, promoted to the vacant See. His translation was decreed by the Propaganda, Nov. 27th, 1786, and confirmed by the Pope on the 3rd of the following month, as appears by the following entry in our *Diocesan Register :*

"Die Dominica 29 Octobris, 1786 e vivis execssit Illmus. D. Joh. Carpenter, Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis, postquam metropolim illam rexisset annis sexdecim & aliquot mensibus. In ejus locum suffectus fui ego indignus, postulantibus Emis. D.D. Cardinalibus S. Congnis. de Propaganda Fide, die 27 Novembris. Purpuratorum Patrum electionem confirmare dignatus est SSmus. Dominus Noster Pius VI. sub die Dominica sequenti 3 decembris. Consuetae litterae apostolicae expeditae fuere sub forma *Brevis* ad. . . . . sub die . . . .

"Faxit Deus ut in majorem Sancti ejus nominis gloriam, Provinciae Dubliniensis utilitatem & propriam meam salutem cedat haec electio : In eamdem conspirabant Praesulum Provincialium aliorumque suffragia ; necnon cleri & populi Dubliniensis aliorumque plurimorum Vota. Miserere mei Deus. Kilkenniae die 30 Janii. 1787.

"F. Joh. Troy, Epus. Ossoriensis,
"Electus Dubliniensis."

The following entries made by Dr. Troy in the *Diocesan Register* about the same date are too interesting to be omitted :

"NOTANDUM.

"Circa Procurationes vulgo *Proxies* mihi infrascripto tanquam Episcopo Ossoriensi communiter solutas a Parochis Ossoriensibus adhuc viventibus.

"Ab Ampmo. Dno. Molloy, Vicario Perpetuo Sae. Mariae de Kilkennia ..	£2	5	6
"A Dno. Joh. Byrne, Parocho S. Johannis Evangelistæ de Kilkennia.. ..	2	5	6
"A Dno. Briano Kavanagh, Parocho de Gowran & annexis	2	5	6
"A Dno. Thoma Power, Parocho de Ballicallen, &c.	2	5	6
"A Dno. Andrea Phelan, Parocho de Castlecomer, &c.	2	5	6
"A Dno. Joh. Ferrall, Parocho de Muckalee, &c.	2	5	6
"A Dno. Joh. Cody, Parocho de Galmoy, &c.	2	5	6
"A Dno. Purcell, Parocho de Rathdowney, &c.	2	5	6
"A Dno. Grady, Parocho de Freshford, &c.	2	5	6
"A Dno. Lower, Parocho de Ida, &c.	2	5	6
"A Dno. Gorman, Parocho de Kilmacow, &c.	2	5	6
"A Dno. Butler, Parocho de Rathkeran.	2	5	6
"A Dno. Cassin, Parocho de Knocktopher.	2	5	6
"A Dno. Gorman, Parocho de Burnchurch	2	5	6
"A Dno. Murphy, Parocho de Callan	2	5	6
"A Dno. Mansfield, Parocho de Kells, &c.	2	5	6

"A Dno. Lalor, Parocho de Owning, &c.	£2	5	6
"A Parochia de Thomastown, &c.	2	5	6
"A Revdo. P. Shaw pro Parochia de Durrow, &c., hoc anno 1786	1	14	1½
"A Dno. Burke, Parocho de Upperwoods, &c.	1	14	1½
"A Dno Delany, Parocho de Aghaboe, &c.	1	14	1½
"A Dno. Clarke, Parocho S. Patritii de Kilkennia	1	2	9
"A Dno. Brophy, Parocho de Inistioge, &c.	1	2	9
"A Dno. Ryan, Parocho de Urlingford, &c.	1	2	9
"A Dno. Cahill, Parocho de Ballyragget, &c.	1	2	9
"A Dno. Shelly, Parocho de Rosbericon, &c.	1	2	9
"A Dno. Kelly, Diaecesis Laonensis & Vicarius S. Kyrani	1	2	9
"A Dno. Kealy, Parocho de Lisdowny, &c.	1	2	9
"Summa totalis annualis	52	0	7

"Ultra dictam summam Episcopo persolvendam solent singuli Parochi ab immemorabili consuetudine in *toto Regno* vigente *dimidium scuti* Anglicani, vulgo dicti *Crown* dare Famulo Episcopi, intra vel circa Hebdomadam Paschatis, quando ad Parochos distribuuntur olea sacra.

"Ita testamur hac die 24 Januarii, 1787.

"F. Joh. Thomas Troy Ep. Osseriensis.

"Electus Dubliniensis, &c."

"MEMORANDUM.

"During my administration of the parish of St. Canice, Kilkenny, *in commendam*, & which commenced in March, 1777, the following benefactions were made to the parish chapel, besides others of inferior note.

"A flowered silk vestment with yellow lace by Mrs. Dominick Meagher.

"A green sprigged silk vestment & antipendium by Miss Mary Ann Walsh.

"A linen worked cover for the tabernacle by Mrs. Seix.

"A flowered silk vestment with white lace by Mrs. Cormick alias Summerville.

"N.B. The lace purchased & vestments made up by Dr. Troy.

"A plate for the wine and water cruets by Dr. Troy.

"A carpet for the altar steps, a thurible & a genuflectory, all by Dr. Troy.

"A large silver chalice, a black vestment, a fine alb and a small pixis, all by Richard Archer.

"An embroidered chalice veil, by Dr. Troy.

"N.B. It was a present to him from Mr. Magrath of Dublin.

"A rich brocade vestment by Mr. Barnaby Murphy of Cadiz.

"A silk cope with silver lace by ditto.

"An humeral or veil for the Benediction of the B. Sacrament, ditto.

"Silver cruets with plate of the same, by ditto.

"A flowered purple silk vestment by Mrs. Chantillion of Cadiz, mother-in-law of ditto.

"N.B. The lace was purchased & vestment made up by Dr. Troy.

"Six silver candlesticks, cross & altar charts, by Joseph Loughnan.

"Artificial Italian flowers for solemnities & Holy Week, by Dr. Troy.

"A crimson damask cope with lace, by ditto.

"N.B. It was a present to him from Mrs. Luke Meagher.

"Two altar cloths with lace, ditto.

"Many corporals and purifiers, by Dr. Troy.

"Purple covers for the altar in Holy Week & ornaments for the Sepulchre, by ditto.

"Cover for the branch, a small alb & surplice, by ditto.

"Canopy for the procession of Corpus Christi, by ditto.

"N.B. The new floor of the chapel, the gilded ordinary candlesticks & late third Confessional were made by subscription of the parish.

"A large alb & amict, by Dr. Troy.

"N.B. It was a present to him from Mrs. Luke Meagher.

"A new carpet for the altar steps, by Dr. Troy.

"Witness my hand. Kilkenny 3rd Feb., 1787.

"F. Joh. Thomas Troy, Epus. Ossorien.

"Electus Dubliniensis."

"MEMORANDUM.

"On Tuesday, January 30th, 1787, I delivered to the Rev. Patrick Molloy, Dean, John Dunne, John Byrne & Richard O'Donel, prebendaries of the Chapter of Ossory the following articles belonging to the Catholic Bishop of Ossory for the time being.

"One rich embroidered mitre wth. the arms of the Holy See.
"Another inferior, ditto.
"Both were cleaned and lined at Dr. Troy's expense.
"One gold pectoral cross.
"Another silver, ditto, washed wth. gold.
"One topaz ring.
"One ruby, ditto.
"Another inferior ruby, ditto.
"An old fashioned large useless ring.
"An elegant folio edition of the Pontificale Romanum—the bequest of Dr. Burke.
"Ordo & Canon *pro Missa Pontificali* in folio, elegantly bound with Dr. Burke's arms on the cover.—The gift of Dr. Troy.
"An octavo edition of the Roman Pontifical.
"A silver oilstock wth. Dr. Burke's arms.—The gift of Dr. Troy.
"A Dalmatic & Tunicelle.—Bequest of Dr. Burke.
"Two clumsy pair of Pontifical gloves.
"A small clerical cap.—The gift of Dr. Troy.
"An ebony crozier, tipped wth silver, bequeathed by Dr. Burke.
"A crimson velvet case for the Breads, ditto.
"A small silver Remonstrance for the Visitations with a case, made by subscription of the Diocesan Clergy.
"The cruets for the holy oils wth. a mahogany case.—The gift of Dr. Troy.
"An oak box, bequeathed by Dr. Burke; with other trifling articles.

"John Thomas Troy, Ossory.

"N.B. At same time I delivered to the above mentioned gentlemen some diocesan papers & a Registry of the Diocess commenced by Dr. Burke and continued by me till my departure from the Diocess.

"John Thomas, Ossory."

Dr. Troy survived his translation to Dublin more than 36 years and died on the 11th May, 1823, having almost completed his 84th year.

Although many extracts from his *Diocesan Register* have been already given, still we feel justified in appending the following :

I.

"PROMOTIONES AD DIGNITATES & PRAEBENDAS, SEU CANONICATUS.

"Die 26 Augusti, 1777. R. D. Petrus Crea, Parochus S. Davidis de Knocktopher, &c., fit Canonicus seu Praebendarius de Tasscoffin, loco Ampmi. D. Thomae Whyte, Parochi S. Lactini de Freshford, &c., qui obiit die 18 Julii anno 1775.

"Die 26 Augusti, 1777. Amplissimus D. Gulielmus Phelan, Parochus S. Crucis de Kells, &c., ex Canonico de Aghoure, vulgo Freshford, fit Cancellarius, loco Ampmi. D. Jacobi Purcell, Parochi de Rathkiran, &c., qui vivere desiit die 12 Maii proxime elapsi.

"Die 30 Augusti, 1777. R. D. Brianus Kavanagh, Parochus S. Patritii de Kilkenny, &c., fit Canoncus seu Praebendarius de Aghoure (alias Freshford), loco Ampmi. D. Gulielmi Phelan, promoti ad Dignitatem Cancellarii die 26 hujus.

"Die 19 Januarii, 1778. R. D. Michael Geraldinus, Parochus S. Johannis Evangelistae, Kilkenniae, &c., fit Canonicus seu Praebendarus de Mayne, loco Amplissimi Dni. Mathiae Lanigin, denati 4 ejusdem mensis.

"Die 14 Junii, 1778. Ampmus. D. Stephanus Lower, Parochus S. Colmani de Balligurrin, &c., ex Canonico de Blackrath fit Archidiaconus, loco Ampmi. D. Jacobi Stapleton denati heri.

" Die 15 Junii, 1778. R. D. Jacobus Butler, Parochus SSmae. Trinitatis de Rathdowney, &c., fit Canonicus de Blackrath, loco Ampmi. D. Stephani Lower, promoti ad Dignitatem Archidiaconi, uti supra.

" Die 4 Septbris., 1783. R. D. Joh. Dunne, Con-Rector Academiae Kilkenniensis, fit Canonicus de Tasscoffin, loco Ampmi. D. Petri Crea, denati die 4 Martii proxime praeteriti.

" Eodem die 4 Septbris., 1783. R. D. Jacobus Lanigan, Con-Rector Academiae Kilkenniensis, fit Canonicus de Killamory, loco Ampmi. Dni. Gulielmi Fitz-Patrick qui obiit heri.

" Die 23 Novembris, 1783. Ampmus. Dnus. Mauritius Delany, Parochus S. Canici de Aghaboe, &c., ex Canonico de Cloneamory fit Praecentor loco Ampmi. Dni. Marci Mansfield, qui die 12 hujus mensis e vivis excessit.

II.

" INSTITUTIONES & TRANSLATIONES PAROCHORUM.

" Die 14 Februarii 1777. R. D. Brianus Kavanagh fit Parochus S. Patritii, Kilkenniae, S. Davidis de Castle-Inch, S. Patritii de Outrath & S. Fiacrii de Kilfere, vacantium per obitum R. D. Edmundi Smythwick, qui die hujus vitae jacturam fecit.

" Die 26 Augusti, 1777. Ampmus. D. Gulielmus Fitz-Patrick, Canonicus Ossoriensis, transfertur a Parochiis S. Mariae Natae de Rosbercon, S. Moni de Iesus-Mund, &c. ad Parochias S. Kirani de Rathkiran, S. Ruani de Polerone, S. Canici de Clonemore, Sae. Mariae Assumptae de Portnasculli, Sae. Mariae Natae de Ballitarsna, S. Killoci de Tubrid, vacantes per obitum Ampmi. D. Jacobi Purcell, Cancellarii Ossoriensis, mense Maio proxime elapso.

" Die 27 Augusti, 1777. R. D. Edmundus Shelly fit Parochus S. Mar. Natae de Rosbercon, cum annexis uti supra, vacantium per Translationem heri factam Ampmi. D. Gulielmi Fitz-Patrick, uti supra.

" Die 7 Januarii, 1778. R. D. Thomas Lalor transfertur a Parochiis S. Kirani de Kilmacow, &c., uti pag. [172] ad Parochias Sae. Mariae Assumptae de Owning, &c., uti pag. [163] vacantes per obitum Ampmi. Dni. Matthiae Lanigin, Canonici Ossoriensis, qui e vivis excessit die 4 hujus mensis.

" Eodem die quo supra. R. D. Dionysius Corcoran fit administrator Parochiarum S. Kirani de Kilmacow, &c., uti supra, vacantium per Translationem R. D. Thomae Lalor, uti supra ; usque ad Beneplacitum nostrum. De ista Parochia de Kilmacow et annexis, Vide annotationem ad pag. [ ]

" Fertur fide dignorum Relatione, neque Parochiam S. Senani de Rossenan cum annexis, neque Parochiam S. Kirani de Kilmacow cum annexis divisim sumptam respective, decenti Parochi sustentationi sufficere, unde opportunum duxi ambas uti supra unius Parochi Regimini committere.

. . . . . .

" Die 20 Martii, 1781. Ampmus. D. Petrus Crea transfertur a Parochia de Knocktopher, cum annexis, supra descriptas pag. [ ] ad diem 24 Augusti, 1772, ad Parochiam S. Senani de Rossenan, et ad alias Parochias eidem adnexas et supra recensitas pag. [173] ad diem 4 Maii, 1776 ; necnon ad Administrationem conterminarum Parochiarum S. Kirani de Kilmacow, S. Davidis de Ullid & S. Crucis de Killahey. Vide paginas [163 et 172].

" Die 21 Martii, 1781. R. D. Joh. Cassin fit Parochus S. Davidis de Knocktopher, & aliarum eidem annexarum, uti supra, vacantium per Translationem Ampmi. D. Canonici Petri Crea supra memorati, ad Parochiam S. Senani de Rossenan, &c., ut ad diem hesternam.

" Die 5 Octobris, 1781. R. D. Jacobus Lalor transfertur a Parochia S. Crucis de Castlecomer, &c., ad Parochiam S. Mariae de Owning cum annexis, vacantem per obitum R. D. Thomae Lalor, qui die 7 Mensis proxime elapsi Fatis cessit.

" Die 6 Octobris, 1781, R. D. Andreas Phelan fit Parochus S. Crucis de Castlecomer cum annexis, loco R. D. Jacobi Lalor, translati, uti supra, ad Parochiam S. Mae. Assumptae de Owning cum annexis.

" Die 8 Martii, 1783. R. D. Andreas Gorman transfertur a Parochia S. Brigidae de Acharney, eidemque annexis uti supra pag. [173] ad Parochiam S. Senani de Rossenan cum annexis uti supra pag. [173] necnon ad administrationem conterminarum Parochiarum S. Kirani de Kilmacow, S. Davidis de Ullid, & S. Crucis de Killahey. Confer pags. [163 et 172].

" Porro istae omnes Parochiae vacabant per obitum Ampmi. Dni. Petri Crea, qui die 4 hujus ex hac vita dicessit.

, ...

" Die 20 Novembris, 1783. R. D. Joh. Ferrall fit Parochus S. Mariae de Muckalee & S. Brandani de Disart loco Rdi. Dni. Richardi Mansfield translati uti upra.

. . . . . .

" Die 14 Martii, 1786. R. D. Patritius Mortimer fit Parochus SSmae. Trinitatis de Durrow, S. Tierni de Achamacart, S. Brandani de Killeny & Cahir, loco Ampmi. Dni. Gulielmi Shee, qui e vivis discessit die 16 Mensis Februarii proxime praeteriti.

III.

ORDINATIONES IN HAC DIAECESI.

" In Capella Parochiali S. Joannis Evangelistae, civitatis Kilkenniensis.
" Diebus 10, 12 & 13 Mensis Junii, 1778.

" Feria Quarta Quatuor Temporum post Pentecosten, Primam Tonsuram, quatuor Minores Ordines & Subdiaconatum; Feria sexta, Diaconatum ; Sabbato, Presbyteratum, suscepere Johannes Dwiggan, Nicholaus Hart, Ricardus Laressey, Robertus Grace, Patritius Mortimer, Patritius Phelan, Phillipus Purcell & Johannes Dalton, Diaecesis hujus Alumni.

" N. B. Praedictus D. Patritius Mortimer Tonsuram & quatuor Minores Ordines non suscepit uti supra, cum eosdem jam receperit Parisiis ab aliquot annis.

" In capella Parochiali S. Canici Civitatis Kilkenniensis.
" Diebus 7, 9 & 11, Mensis Martii, 1781.

" Feria quarta Quatuor Temporum post Cineres, Quatuor Minores Ordines & Subdiaconatum ; Feria sexta, Diaconatum ; Sabbato Presbyteratum, suscepit, ad Titulum Missionis, Patritius Delany, Martini Filius, Ossoriensis hujus Diaecesis Alumnus.

" In Aedibus Nostrae Residentiae, Kilkenniae.
" Diebus 20 & 25 Martii, 1 & 2 Aprilis, 1782.

" Primam Clericalem Tonsuram & Minores Ordines, necnon SS. Subdiaconatus, Diaconatus, et Presbyteratus Ordines suscepit Petrus Hart, Ossoriensis hujus Diaecesis Alumnus.
" Diebus 25 Martii, 1 & 2 Aprilis, 1782 ibidem.

" Primam Tonsuram, et quatuor Minores Ordines, necnon Subdiaconatus, Diaconatus & Presbyteratus Sacros Ordines suscepere Johannes Hester & Patritius Hurly, Ordis. Heremitarum S. Augustini, cum Praesentatione Superioris et Commendatione Illmi. Jacobi Fallon, Epi. Elphinensis.

" In Aedibus nostrae Residentiae, Kilkenniae.
" Feria 4 Quatuor Temporum post Pentecosten,
" Die vero 22 Maii, 1782,

" Primam Tonsuram, Quatuor Minores Ordines, & Subdiaconatum suscepere Jacobus Keeffe & Thos. Gorman, hujus Diaecesis Alumni ; Feria vero sexta, die 24 ejusdem mensis, Diaconatum ; Sabbato, die 25, S. Presbyteratus Ordinem dicti Jacobus & Thomas suscepere in Capella Parochiali S. Canici, Civitatis Kilkenniensis.

" N.B. Cum dicto Thoma Gorman dispensatum fuit super Defectum aetatis unius anni, vigore Indulti Apostolici.

" N. B. Die 19 Decris., 1783. Facultatem dedi Ampmo. Dno. Jacobo Butler, Parocho de Rathkiran, &c., dispensandi in 3^0 & 3^0 necnon 4^0 & 4^0 Gradibus Consanguinitatis & affinitatis cum suis Parochianis duntaxat, servatis servandis &c.,

" In Capella Parochiali S. Canici de Kilkennia.
" Diebus 3, 5 & 6 Martii, 1784.

" Feria quarta Quatuor Temporum post Cineres, Primam Clericalem Tonsuram, quatuor Minores Ordines, & Subdiaconatum ; Feria sexta, Diaconatum ; Sabbato, Presbyteratum suscepere Henricus Kelly, Thomas Brenan, Lucas Hogan, Johannes Fitz-Patrick, Andreas O'Donnell, Joh. Fitz-Patrick, junr., Richardus Lynch, Walterus Houlahan, & Jacobus Gorman, hujus Diaecesis Ossoriensis Alumni, necnon Fr. Edmundus Thomas Quinlan, Ords. Heremitarum S. Augustini, rite dimissus.

" Ibidem, eadem feria sexta, 5 Martii, Primam Tonsuram, quatuor Minores Ordines, & Subdiaconatum suscepere Fratres Jacobus & Michael Wall ejusdem Ordinis ; Sabato vero, die sequenti, dictus Jacobus Wall S. Diaconatus Ordinem ibidem pariter suscepit.

" N. B. Cum posteriore Joh. Fitz-Patrick dispensatum fuit super defectum aetatis in quinque mensibus, cum Richardo Lynch in septem, cum Waltero Houlehan in novem, cum Jacobo vero Gorman in tredecim mensibus, vigore Indulti Apostolici.

" In Capella Parochiali S. Canici de Kilkennia.
" Die 18 Mensis Decembris anni 1784.

" Die dicto, Sabbato Quatuor Temporum post Festum S. Luciae, S. Diaconatus Ordinem suscepit Nicolaus Shee hujus Diaecesis Alumnus, servatis servandis.

" In Capella Parochiali S. Canici de Kilkennia.
" Sabbato *Sitientes*, die vero 12 Mensis Martii, anni, 1785,

" S. Presbyteratus Ordinem suscepit retroscriptus Nicholaus Shee.

" Eodem die, Quatuor Minores Ordines, necnon S. Subdiaconatus Ordinem suscepit Gulielmus Butler, hujus Diaecesis Alumnus, servatis servandis.

" Diebus 20 & 21 Maii, 1785. In Capella Parochiali S. Canici de Kilkennia,

" Feria sexta, 20 Maii, Quatuor Temporum post Pentecosten, 1785, sacrum Diaconatus Ordinem suscepit praedictus Gulielmus Butler, servatis servandis.

" Sabbato, 21 Maii, 1785. Quatuor Temporum post Pentecosten, Sacrum Presbyteratus ordinem suscepit in Capella Parochiali S. Canici de Kilkennia, dictus Gulielmus Butler, servatis servandis.

IV.

" ORDINATIONES IN ALIENA DIAECESI.

" Die [ ] Augusti, 1777. Dublinii versans Literas Commendatitias dedi juveni Kirano Delany, Parochiae S. Kevini de Anatrim, vulgo Afferlin, hujus Diaecesis Ossoriensis, pro Collegio Parisiensi Clericorum Hibernorum. Annos habuit 17 circiter.

" Die 8 Octobris, 1777. Literas dedi Dimissoriales, ut juvenis Ossoriensis, Gulielmus Phelan, qui a quinquennio et amplius studiis vacabat in Collegio Duacensi Anglorum, ubi modo versatur, a quocumque Catholico Antistite ad Minores et Sacros Ordines promoveatur, ad Titulum Missionis, haud servatis Interstitiis, in hunc modum :

" Nos. Fr. Joh. Thomas Troy, S. Ordinis Praedicatorum, Die & S. Sedis Apcae. Gratia Epus. Ossoriensis, &c., Dilecto nobis in Christo filio, Gulielmo Phelan, juveni Ossoriensi, Salutem in Domino :

" Cum ex Literis Testimonialibus Ampmi. D. Henrici Tichborne Blount, Praesidis vigilantissimi Collegii Duaceni Anglorum, ubi a quinquennio et amplius, continuo versabaris & modo versaris, Te literis & moribus ornatum nulloque Canonico Impedimento irretitum perspexerimus, Licentiam tibi impertimur ut a quocumque quem malueris Catholico Antistite, Gratiam & Communionem S. Sedis Apcae. habente, ad Primam Clericalem Tonsuram & Minores Ordines promoveri valeas. Facultatem Tibi pariter concedimus ut simili modo ad Subdiaconatus, Diaconatus & Presbyteratus Sacros Ordines successive promoveri possis pro Diaecesi hac nostra Ossoriensi ad Titulum Missionis, servatis minime Interstitiis super quibus tecum dispensamus, vigore Facultatum Hiberniae Episcopis ab eadem S. Sede Apostolica concessarum. In quorum omnium et singulorum Fidem, has praesentes Literas, a Nobis scriptas et subscriptas, Sigillo nostro Episcopali muniri & Secretarii nostri chirographo subsignari jussimus. Datum Kilkenniae in Ædibus nostrae Residentiae, Die 8 Octobris Anni Incarnationis Dominicae 1777, Consecrationis nostrae anno Primo.

" Fr. Joh. Thomas, Epus. Ossoriensis.

" Fr. Joh. O'Connor S. Theolae. Praestus., Pro. Aposts., Pro-Secretarius.

" Die 31 Januarii, 1778. Literas dedi Dimissoriales ut Juvenis Ossoriensis, Gulielmus O'Carroll, qui a sexdecim Mensibus, Studiis incumbebat & modo incumbit. in Seminario Hiberno-Duaceno, quique morum Integritate aliisque Requisitis ad ordines suscipiendos ornatus dicitur ab Ampmo. D. Luca Mac Kiernan, Collegii Hiberno-Duaceni Praeside, in Literis Testimonialibus datis Duaci, die 6 hujus Mensis, a quocumque Catholico Antistite ad Minores & Sacros Ordines promoveatur ad Titulum Missionis, haud servatis Interstitiis, modo quo supra.

" Patritius Delany, Parisiis constitutus in Collegio vulgo dicto *Trent-Trois* hujus Diaecesis Alumnus, dimissus ad quemcumque Catholicum Antistitem pro suscipiendis Ordinibus pro hac Diaecesi Die 31 Maii. 1778.

" Die 6 Februarii, 1782. Michael Carroll, post expleta studia in Collegio Ludovisiono Hibernorum, Romae constitutus, dimissus ad quemcumque Catholicum Antistitem pro suscipiendis Ordinibus pro hac Diaecesi.

" Die 25 Aprilis, 1782. Nicolaus Shee in Collegio Hiberno-Burdigalensi versans, dimissus, uti supra, ad Ordines suscipiendos pro hac Diaecesi.

" Die 27 Septembris, 1782. [ ] O'Mara, hujus Diaecesis nativo & Incolae, Licentiam dedi *exeundi* de hac diaecesi Ossoriensi, ad Effectum Ordines suscipiendi ab Illmo. D. Petro MacMahon, Episcope Laonensi, pro eadem *Diaecesi Laonensi.*

" Die 4 Martii, 1783. Timotheus Ryan in Collegio Anglo-Duaceno versans, dimissus, uti supra, ad Ordines suscipiendos pro hac Diaecesi.

" Die 17 Septembris, 1783. Index juvenum Ossoriensium qui ad S. Ordines non promoti, incumbunt in Seminariis Exnationalibus infra nominandis :

" In Seminario Hiberno-Parisiensi—Gulielmus Fitzgerald, Lanigan, Magrath, Butler, Maram, &c.

" In Seminario-Burdigalensi— Shee.

" In Collegio Anglo-Duaceno—Timotheus Ryan

"Hac ipsa die Literas didi commendatitias juveni Michaeli Forstal, ad effectum studia prosequendi in aliquo Seminario Belgico ab ipso eligendo.

"Die 19 Octobris, 1785. Literas dedi dimissoriales ut juvenis Martinus Bergin, hujus Diaecesis alumnus, qui Philosophiae in Seminario Hiberno—Parisiensi incubuit; & modo Theologiae studet Lovanii, in Collegio Leodiensi, ad Minores & Sacros Ordines, ad Titulum Missionis, haud servatis Interstitiis promoveatur ab Emo. Cardinali & Archiepiscopo Mechliniensi, vel quocunque alio Catholico Antistite.

"Die 17 Martii, 1786. Literas dedi commendatitias R. D. Patritio Curtis Collegii Hiberno—Salmanticensis Rectori, favore juvenis Kyrani Marum e parochia de Erke, ad effectum studia prosequendi & S. Ordines suo tempore suscipiendi pro hac diaecesi Ossoriensi.

V.

Catalogus

"Presbyterorum Ossoriensium & Regularium

'Mortuorum in dicta Diaecesi a Die 1 Decembris, 1776.

'Quando ad Episcopatum Ossoriensem sublimatus fuit

"Fr. Joh. Thomas Troy, S. Ordinis. Praedicatorum.

"R. D. Edmundus Smythwick, Parochus S. Patritii, Kilkenniae, uti supra pag. [197] diem clausit extremum [ ] 1776. Sepultus in Coemeterio S. Patritii, Kilkenniae.

'Ampmus. D. Jacobus Purcell, Cancellarius & Parochus de Rathkiran, &c., Fatis cessit mense Maio, 1777.

"Ampmus. D. Matthias Lanigin, Canonicus, Parochus de Owning, &c., obiit die 5 Januarii, 1778.

"Ampmus. D. Jacobus Stapleton, Archidiaconus, Parochus de Gowran, &c., Mortuus die 13 Junii, 1778. Sepultus in Coemeterio de Gowran.

"R. D. Joh. Dwiggin obiit Nannetis in Gallia, die 8 Martii, 1779.

"R. D. Jacobus Morus [*i.e.*, Moore] defunctus in Aedibus R. D. Dermitii Murphy, Parochi de Callan, die 19 Junii, 1780. Sepultus in coemeterio de Inisteague.

"R. D. Joh. Costelloe, Parochus S. Mae. de Muckallee, &c., Obiit die 5 Novembris, 1780. Sepultus in coemeterio de Muckallee.

"R. P. Fr. [Joannes] Kennedy, Ords. B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo Calceatus. Denatus [ ] Novembris, 1780. Sepultus in coemeterio de Durrow.

"R. D. Michael Kealy, Parochus de Castlecomer, defunctus die 24 Februarii, 1781. Sepultus in coemeterio de Clogh.

"R. D. Dionysius Corcoran, Parochus S. Senani de Rossenan, &c., defunctus die 19 Martii, 1781. Sepultus in coemeterio de Kilmacow.

"R. D. Thomas Lalor, Parochus S. Mae. Assumptae de Owning, &c., denatus die 7 Sepris., 1781. Sepultus in coemeterio S. Mae. in Kilkennia.

"R. D. Gulielmus Phelan, vicarius seu coadjutor in Parochia de Balliragget, defunctus die 20 Sepris. 1782. Sepultus in Coemeterio de Rabe. [Rathbeagh.]

"R. D. Thomas Quirke, denatus Kilkenniae die 21 Sepris., 1782. Sepultus in coemeterio de Freshford.

"N.B.—R. D. Patritius Phelan, praefati Gulielmi Frater, & de quo supra pag. [198] diem clausit extremum in oppido de Balliragget, vix in Patriam redux, die [ ] Mensis [ ] praesentis anni, 1782. Sepultus in praefato coemiterio de Rabe, alias Rathbeag.

"R. D. Michael Prendergast, Vicarius S. Johannis Evangelistae, Kilkenniae, obiit ibidem die 18 Februarii, 1783. Sepultus in Tumulo Parentum prope Granny-Ferry.

"Ampmus. D. Petrus Crea, Parochus de Kilmacow. &c., defunctus in pago de Dangan die 4 Martii, 1783. Sepultus in Coemeterio de Kilmacow

"Ampmus. D. Gulielmus Fitz Patrick, Canonicus, Parochus de Rathkiran, &c., obiit in pago de Brownstown, die 3 Sepris., 1783. Sepultus in coemeterio de Rossbercon.

"R. D. Mauritius Spencer obiit die 24 Julii in oppido de Callan. Sepultus in coemeterio ibidem.

"Ampmus. D. Cornelius Delany, Canonicus & Parochus S. Edani de Kilmanagh, &c., Defunctus in pago de Clonard, die 3 Novembris, 1783. Sepultus postridie in coemeterio de Kilmanagh.

"Ampmus., D. Marcus Mansfield, Praecentor Capituli Ossoriensis, necnon Parochus de Burnchurch, &c., obiit nonagenarius, die 12 Novris., 1783. Sepultus die 14 di. Mensis in coemeterio de Danesfort.

"Ampmus., D. Michael Fitzgerald, Praebendarius de Mayne, necnon Parochus S. Joh. Evangelistae de Kilkennia, discessit e vivis die 11 Aprilis, 1785. Sepultus in coemeterio vicino.

"Ampmus. D. Gulielmus Shee, Vicarius Generalis, Thesaurarius, & Parochus de Durrow, &c., obiit die 16 Februarii, 1786. Sepultus in coemeterio de Durrow.

N.B.—R. D. Jacobus Keeffe de quo supra pag. [198] e vivis discessit in Mona Insula, mense Junii, anni, 1785.

"R. D. Jacobus Byrne obiit in Aedibus D. Joh. Ferrall, Parochi de Muckallee, die 30 Decembris anni, 1786. [Sepultus in coemeterio de [ ].'

CHAPTER XX.

JOHN DUNNE (1787-89).

ON the 18th June, 1787, Dr. John Dunne was elected by Propaganda to the See of Ossory, vacant by the translation of Dr. Troy: his election was approved by the Pope, June 24th; and his Brief was dated July 13th following. He was consecrated in Kilkenny two months later, as appears from an entry in Finn's *Leinster Journal* of Wednesday, Sept. 19th, 1787:

"On Sunday the Reverend John Dunne was consecrated titular Bishop of the see of Ossory, at St. James's chapel, in this city, in room of the Reverend Dr. Troy promoted to the titular archiepiscopal see of Dublin."

The following record of the above important events is found in our *Diocesan Register:*

"Cum per translationem Illmi. & Revdmi. D. D. Joannis Troy ad archiepiscopatum Dublinensem vacaverit haec sedes Ossoriensis ubi idem Illmus. antistes per decem et amplius annos cum religioni, tum morum integritati augendae feliciter allaboravit, hinc postulantibus hujusce Provinciae aliisque Epis. & suffragante omni fere clero & saeculari et regulari Diaeceseos, me quantumvis indignum die 18ma. Mensis Junii proxime elapsi ad regendam hanc viduatam Eccm. eligere dignati sunt Eminentissimi sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Patres, die vero 24ta. ejusdem mensis votis Emtsimorum. benigne annuit Sanctissimus, ad Episcopalem ordinem evectus fui die 16ta. hujusce Septbris. ab illustrmo. et dilectmo. Metropolitano, assistentibus Epis. Fernensi & Kildariensi, praesentibus Archiepiscopo Casselensi & Epis. Waterfordiensi, Corcagiensi, Midensi et Kerriensi. Faxit Deus ut ob oculos semper curem obversari ministerii mei sanctitatem et frequenter recogitare quanto pretio fuerit redemptus Grex mihi commissus.

"JOANNES DUNNE,

"Kilkenniae hac die 30ma. Sept., 1787. Epus. Ossoriensis."

The new Bishop, like several of his immediate predecessors, belonged to a family of undoubted antiquity and respectability. For ages his ancestors had ruled over Iregan, a territory in the north-west of the Queen's Co., bordering on the Slieve Bloom Mountains. The branch of the family from which he was directly

JOHN DUNNE (1787-89).
WILLIAM KINSELLA (1829-45). EDWARD WALSH (1846-72).
Bishops of Ossory.

To face page 202, Vol. I. (Text).

descended, were known as the Dunnes of Brittas, and were represented, in recent times, by General Edward Dunne (1763-1844), and his son, Lieut.-Colonel Francis Plunkett Dunne, both of Brittas. James Dunne, father of our Bishop and, according to family tradition, granduncle of General Dunne, removed from the tribe-land of his forefathers, and settled down in Lisdowney, in the Co. Kilkenny, as a gentleman farmer. He married Elizabeth Kavanagh, and by her had the following issue : Lewis ; Bryan ; James ; John, the future Bishop of Ossory ; Mary ; Mrs. Roberts ; and Mrs. O'Donnell. By his will dated from Lisdowney, March 27th, 1755, he bequeaths to his wife, Elizabeth, and son, Bryan, his interest in the farm in Lisdowney, with the house and furniture, 20 cows and the horses ; to his son, Lewis his interest in the farm of Ballyring, with the rest of his stock ; to his daughter, Mary Dunne, £100 ; his son James to be bound to some trade or calling speedily, and when out of his time to be given £50 ; *his son John to be kept to school and put to business and then to get* £30 ; to his son (*i.e.* son-in-law), Stephen Roberts, five shillings ; a bequest to his son Edmond O'Donnell. Executors James Byrne of Ballyspellan and John Maher of Nicholastown. Mr. Dunne died July, 1758, aged 61 ; his wife, Dec., 1773, aged 72 : both rest in Donoughmore, Ballyragget.

John Dunne was kept to school, as his father directed, but feeling himself called to the ecclesiastical state, he soon abandoned all notions of worldly advancement, and resolved to devote himself to God, in the sacred ministry. Having made the necessary studies in his own country, he proceeded to Paris where, I believe, in the celebrated College of Trent-trois, he studied Philosophy and Theology. He was ordained a priest by Dr. Christopher Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, in the year 1769 ; after which he appears to have remained some time in France. On his return to Ireland he was appointed C.C. St. Mary's, Kilkenny, in Sept., 1772, and remained attached to that parish up to the time of his consecration, in 1789. Early in 1783, while still continuing to discharge the duties of the mission in St. Mary's, he was appointed conjointly with Dr. Lanigan, to the Rectorship of the newly established Diocesan College of Burrell's Hall ; on the 4th Sept., same year, he was promoted to the Canonry of Tascoffin, in place of the Rev. Peter Crea, deceased. His promotion to the See of Ossory, in 1787, was due to his own merits and, as he himself writes, to the recommendation of the Bishops of the Province and of other Irish Bishops, and to the almost universal suffrage of the Clergy of the Diocese, secular and regular.

A few months after his consecration he issued the following circular to his clergy :

" Joannes Dunne, Dei & Apostolicae Sedis gratia Epus. Ossis. venerabili clero tum saeculari cum Regulari salutem in Domo. Cum beatissimo Patri Pio Sexto ad enixas preces complurium Illmorum. & Revdssimorum, Antistitum, vestramque nobis pergratam supplicationem, nos licet indignos ad hanc

Sedem Ossem. Deo sic volente, evehere placuerit ; cumq. nobis bene innotescat quam grave humeris nostris impositum sit onus, vos obsecramus, fratres dilectissimi, qui in partem sollicitudinis nostrae adsciti estis, ut suppliciter inprimum omnium pastorem exoretis eas nobis benignissime conferre gratias quibus injunctum ministerium fideliter exequi valeamus.

" Tristi omnium experientia constat quam multi circa Dominicum gregem lupi quotidie premant et quanta opus sit pastoribus cura, ne crudeliter grex pretio inaestimabilis dilanietur : hinc non possumus quin mentis nostrae aciem convertamus ad ea omnia, quae populi saluti comparandae opportuna videntur. Muneris itaq : nostri esse existimamus Illmi. Praedecessoris & dilectissimi Metropolitani inhaerere vestigiis, eaque omnia quae de colloquiis habendis circa res morum & fidei, de rinatoribus, de iis qui paschali defuerint officio, de collectis in pios expendendis usus, denique de omnibus & singulis quae tam sapienter decrevit, confirmare, sicut per praesentes confirmamus & quam diligentissime observare volumus & mandamus. Strenue vos, fratres dilecti, exhortamur ut exhibeatis vos dignos vocatione vestra ; docete rudes viam pacis, annuntiate populis scelera eorum quae proh dolor ! in dies ingravescunt. Quapropter vitiis radicitus convellendis, quae in immensum excreverunt, eisq. in posterum praecavendis summa cum mansuetudine & abstinentia allaboremus. Accingimini ergo ad opus Dei perficiendum et Deus pacis erit vobiscum. Datum Kilkae. hac die 30ma. men : Janii. A.D., 1788, consecrationis nostrae ano. primo.

" J : D : E : O :"

In his regulations for Lent, 1788, drawn up January 23rd, " the Vicars were directed to acquaint their neighbouring Pastors that leave would be granted to eat eggs on the approaching Lent on Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays & Thursdays, from the first to the last Sunday, both included. In every other respect this holy and apostolic institution to be strictly observed according to the laws of holy Church."

During his first and only visitation of the Diocese, which commenced early in 1788, and ended in the beginning of 1789, Dr. Dunne required each P.P. to enter in the *Diocesan Register* a list of the church plate, vestments, &c., belonging to his respective parish. Portions of some of these lists are now illegible, but incomplete as they are they are too interesting to be omitted here :

ST. PATRICK'S :

" February ye 8th, 1789, Dr. Dunne visited my Parish chappel, to him I return the following articles as the property of the aforesaid Chappel of St. Patrick's, Kilkenny. One green & white silk vestment, one yellow do., one red and white inside black do., one black do., one with white and green flowers do., one do. with yellow flowers, one black do., being a present from Fatr.Clarke to the chappel, one flowered silk with yellow silk lace, another present from him, three do. a white, a green, a yellow and violet. A rich new vestment and antependium given to the chappel by Mrs. of Butler house, a red silk flowered antependium given by Fr. Clarke ; four albs, one large silver chalice, one ciborium, two old Missals, one black vestment do., curtains & gauze for the sepulchre & tabernacle, also black curtains for said purpose.

" Present,
" Philip Forrestal."

" (Signed), JOSEPH CLARKE,
" P.P. of Patrick Street.

DANESFORT :

" 7ber. ye 28th, 1788. On the day of Dr. Dunne's visitation at my parish I return to him the following articles belonging to my respective chappils, the chappel of Deansfort has a full shuit of [vestments in] bad repair with alter cloths of the same & missal, but a tollerable good silver challice. The chappel of Grange has a vestment of flower silk the gift of Mr. Jon. an of Kilkenny, Brewer, together with indifferent alb and altercloths.

' JAS. GORMON."

GOWRAN :

"On ye 21st September, 1788, I returned to ye R. Revd. Doctor on his visitation the following ornaments belonging to ye united parishes of Gowran. An entire suit of ornaments, gold vessel (?) altar linen, fringed amict, alb, chalice and missal belonging to ye" [ends here.]

BALLYRAGGET :

"An acct. of the ornaments of the chapel of Ballyragget in the Parish of St. Patrick. A silver remonstrance the gift of Tobias Purcell, silver chalice the gift of Robert Butler, Esq., a Ciboir, a flowered silk [vestment] with a white ground & gold lace the gift of Robert Butler, Esq., a white flowd. silk the gift of Lady Mt. Garret, a blue silver silk vt. sint from Spain, a red damask laced with gold vt., the gift of—— Purcell, A black damask the gift of do., a black mixed with white satin vt., two linnen albs, two alter cloths, an old large Missal & a new one la[tely] given by Robert Butler, Esqr., a white flowd. silk antependium with gold lace given by do., a large press for the [use] of the ornaments bought by Mr. Cahill for the price of a small chalice which was of no use.

"Ornaments of the chapel of Rosconel of St. Mary's Parish.

"A middle sized silver chalice, a green flowd. silk vestt. the gift of Mary Lalor, alias Shea, a new Missal the gift of Messrs. Thomas & Pierce Magher.

"The ornaments of the Parish of Conahy, a silver chalice, the gift of Mr. James Murphy of Thurles, a pail red vt., a missl. & alb and the necessary altar linnen.

"ALEX : CAHILL.

"Denns. Cullenan."

RATHDOWNEY :

"August 31st, I returned the following articles on Dr. Dunne's visitation. Silver chalice given by Revd. Dr. Ryan of Spain with an inscription on it. Crucifix. I superadd from my own free gift a green flowerd. silk chasuble with alb & altar cloths necessary.

"PHILIP PURCELL."

FRESHFORD :

"19th October, 1788, at Dr. Dunne's visitation, in the parish of Freshford, the following articles are returned, viz. One white flowerd. silk vestment, the gift of Mrs. Murray to this chapel. One green silk vestment, the gift of Mrs. Danl. Fitzpatrick to this chapel. One red silk vestment, the property of Piers White. One silver chalice, the property of Piers White. Three albs and altar cloathes suitable thereto.

"P. GRADY."

LISDOWNEY :

[I] "return to Doctr. Dunne [the followin]g articles, viz. : two vestments [which] have been used before me ; one red flowered silk with silver lace, one . . own poorly ornamented with yellow & one new ornament : with one plate chalice.

"MIC. CARROLL."

GALMOY :

"May ye 4th, at Dr. Jn. Dunne's visitation in my parish, I acknowledge to have returned to him the following account of all the ornaments, chalices, &c., appertaining to my parish. 1°. 1 suit of flowered silk, bestowed by Mrs. Houghton, wife of Thoms. Houghton, Esqr. 2°. A suit of white flowered sattin vestt. with all the necessary altar linnen, bestowed by the Rev. Mr. Cody to the said parish ; as item a small silver chalice given by Mrs. Bourk to the sd. parish.

"JOHN CODY.

"Witness, Willm. Butler."

DURROW :

"Augt. 3. At Dr. Dunne's visitation of my parish I acknowledge to have returned to him the following acct. of all the ornaments, chalices, &c., appertaining to my parish : 1°. A suit of white

flowered silk belonging to the chapel of Durrow, with a small silver chalice, alb, altar cloths, &c.; 2°. A suit of yellow flowered silk belonging to the chapel of Cullihill, with a small silver chalice, alb, &c, &c.

" PATRICK MORTIMER."

URLINGFORD :

". . . . 9th, 1788, the day of Dr. Dunne's visitation, I hereby acknowledge to have in the chapl. of Grean a small silver chalice, good altar linen, very bad chasuble, stole and maniple ; in the chapel of Urlingford a very good suit of Vestmts. the property of the parish, without book or chalice.

" PH. RYAN, P.P."

MUCKALEE :

" March 30th, 1788. The day of Dr. Dunne's Visitation, I hereby acknowledge that I have one chalice, one alb, &c., one chasuble, &c., together with two full suits [of vestments] and an alb belonging to myself, all of which I intend to make a present of to this parish.

" Philip Purcell " [witness]. " JOHN FERRALL.

CASTLECOMER :

" June 1st, 1788. I returned to Doctor Dunne on his visitation of the parish of Castlecomer : To Clough three suits of vestments ; to do. two small chalices ; to Castlecomer do. one old vestment with an alb & old altar cloaths only.

" ANDW. PHELAN.

" Present, Jno. Goharty."

AGHABOE :

" Octbr. 5th, 1788, the day of Doctr. Dunne's visitation in my Parish chapels, I hereby promise that I will leave to the aforesaid parish chapel a striped silk vestment with a white ground, alb, amict, silver chalice with this inscription *me fieri fecit M. Delany* with the altar linnen. All this I promise though I got no ornaments of any kind in the parish.

" MAURICE DELANY."

CAMROSS :

" August ye 25th, 1788. On Dr. Dunne's [visitation of my] chapels, I return the following articles ; 1 suit of olive coloured vestments, ditto. 1 suit of cennamon coloured vestments ; ditto 1 suit of Black, three missals, two new silver chalices, 1 ditto old, together with the altar linnens all which I give & bequeath to the Parish.

" RICARD BURK.

" Martin Bergin " [witness].

THOMASTOWN :

" 10th of August : I acknowledge to have returned the following [list] of ornaments belonging to the united parishes of Thos. town & Tullow, viz. : to Thos. town parish one chalice, one large plate chalice, one large missal, two suits of vestments, one flower silk & one black, two old albs & amicts, two old altar cloths.

" JAMES BUTLER.

" William Carroll " [witness].

INISTIOGE :

" June 15th, 1788. On Dr. Dunne's visitation I returned the following ornaments, belonging to the chapel of Inisteoge, viz. : 1°. two silver chalices whereof there is one in the possession of Rev. Mr. Brophy & a pixis in his possession also ; 2dly. three vestments whereof two red and one old purple, two altar cloths, a stone & corporal, one alb & amict, a new and old Missle, a set of old altar charts.

"Ornaments belonging to the Roar chaple:

"1st. One silver chalice, two vestments, one white or spotted with a silk flower given by the aunt of Mrs. Bolger, the other green, one alb and amict, two altar cloths, a stone, two corporals, two towels & an old Missle, to all which I promise to superadd every similar article I may be possessed of at the hour of my death provided I shall die in the parish.

"WM. CARROLL.

"Brother Francis Vincent Ennis" [witness].

ROSBERCON:

"Septemr. 7th, 1788. On Dr. Dunne's visitation I return him an account of the ornaments belonging to the chapel of Rosbercon—a suit of green lined with black, also a suit of white; 4 altar cloaths, two corporals, silver chalice, Missal, Altar charts, 2 amicts, 2 albs, 2 singulums, 4 touls, 1 purificator, altar stone, and an old vestment left by Revd. Mr. Fitzpatrick. Ornaments of Tullaha [*i.e.*, Tullaher]: a suit of green lined with black, another of white lined with yellow, 4 altar cloths, 2 corporals, 2 amicts, 2 albs, 2 cingulums, silver chalice, Mass book, altar stone, Purificator, 2 touls and an old . . . vestment left by Rev. Mr. Fitzpatrick.

"EDMUND SHELLY."

KILMOGANNY:

"July 20th. At Doctor Dunne's visitation in . . . . . I acknowledge to have returned to him the following account of the ornaments, &c., appertaining to my parish: to witt, one blue vestment linnen, altar stone, chalice, &c., at the chappel of Dangenmore, and one green vestment with linnen, altar stone and chalice at the chappel of Windgap, with a missal belonging to each chappel.

"R. MANSFIELD.

"John Byrne" [witness].

TEMPLEORUM.

"Aug . . . . . Parish . . . . . an acc. of . . . . . my Par- . . . . . 1st that of Owning one suit of silk, all colours & a plate chalice & the alb & alter linnen: 2dly. in the Parish chapple of Templeorum a suit of red silk, plain, given by the late Mr. Butler of Brenor, & a new alb, with altar cloths, but no chalice.

"JAMES LALOR.

"Witness, Nichs. Kealy."

SLIEVERUE and GLENMORE:

"October 12th, 1788 . . . . . Visitation in my . . . . . him the following inventory . . . . different articles belonging to . . . . respective chapels. To the one of [Slieverue], one altar stone, one plate sterling chalice with a plate sterling paten & a small silver spoon; on the chalice are to be seen the following inscription & year: *The chalice of the Congregation of the Chapel of Shleyroe 1788 (eight)*; one Pall, one Antwerpian Missal in folio printed A.D. 1762. Three altar cloths, one corporal, one towel, six large brass candlesticks, also six candlesticks of wood. One amice, one alb, & one girdle. One chasuble, manipule, & stole of silver tissue, with a vail for the chalice of the same; one small bell, one oak vestment box and one oak candle box with a lock to each box. [The Chapel of Glinmore] has been also fur . . . . . articles by the Congre[gation of the Chape]l, to witt: one altar stone, ... chalice, one plate sterling paten, one small silver spoon. On chalice are mentioned the year and following inscription: *The chalice of the Congregation of the Chapel of Glinmore 1768 (eight)*; one Pall, one Antwerpian Missal in folio printed A.D. 1762. Three altar cloths, one corporal, one towel, six candlesticks of wood, one amice, one alb & one girdle, one chasuble, maniple & stole of figured satin, with a vail for the chalice of the same. One small bell, one oak vestment box & one oak candle box, with a lock to each. Witness my hand to the above articles.

"STEPHEN LOWER,
P. Priest of Ida, &c"

"Present, John Denn.

MOONCOIN :

" I do hereby acknowledge . . . , . . . in the Parish of Rathkyran . . . . . flowered silk vestment, a . . . . . vestment. I do hereby also bind myself . . . . . to the aforesaid parish a white and flowe . . . . . silk vestment, togeather with and above . . . . . cincture, altar linnen and an octavo My . . . . in case it should please God I die Parish Priest of St. Kyran's May ye 19th, 1788.

" PETER HAYDEN,

" f. Thomas Murphy."

KILMACOW and MULLINAVAT :

" July 27th, 1788. I return to Dr. Dunne the [following ornaments of the] Parish of Kilmacow and Skart ; one v[estment, a] chalice, no missal.

" ANDW. GORMAN."

BALLYHALE and AGHAVILLAR :

" At a visitation of Doctr. Dun :. . . . . account of the following orn . . . . . to Baliyhale and Newmarket. In Ballyhale chappel there are one pla . . . . . guilt, 3 suits of silk ornaments, that is chasubles, stoles & maniples, with veils and palls, 1 new silk vestment laced with silver of a red ground, a gift of Mr. [or Mrs.] Kavanagh ; 1 old alb with an amict & singulum, 1 set of indifferent altar cloths, a long communion towel & one small altar towel, one small crucifix and one large do., 2 old defaced images, one small pair of brass candlesticks and new Missil.

" In Newmarket there are one green silk chasuble, stole, maniple and veil, a gift of Mrs. Kennedy of Sheepstown, one vestment of striped sattin, and one suit of black silk, a set of wooden candlesticks.

" JOHN CASSIN.

" Present, John Byrne."

The list of ornaments of CALLAN PARISH is dated 1792 (during the Episcopate of Dr. Lanigan), and is as follows :

" I began my Visitation . . . . . Monday, July 16th, 1792.

" Ornaments of Callan, one suit cloth of twilly (?) goold laced and lined with white, one suit of sky coloured lined with white, another old suit of spangled silk, too albs, one corporal & altar cloths. The first has been given to the parish chapel by the R. H. Lord Callan, the second by Ms. Bridget Hern, the third by Mrs. Hern, deceasd.

" THOMAS MALLEY."

The following are also taken from Dr. Dunne's *Register of the Diocese :*

" Joannes Dunne, Dei et S. Sedis Aplae. Gratia Epus Ossoriensis.

" Die 30 Septbris. 1787. R.D. Joannes Cody, Parochus de Erke fit Praebendarius de Tascoffin vi Rescripti Aplici. in loco Revdissimi. Joannis Dunne promoti ad hanc Sedem Ossoriensem.

" Die 7ma. 1787. Ampmus. D. Jacobus Butler transfertur a Parochia Sti. Kyrani de Rathkyran, &c., ad Parochiam Stae. Mariae Assumptae de Thomastown cum annexis, vacantem per resignationem Ampmi. D. Gulielmi Phelan.

" Die 22 Septbris, 1787. R. D. Petrus Hayden fit Parochus S. Kyrani de Rathkiran loco Ampmi. D. Jacobi Butler translati ut supra.

" Die 7ma. Men. Maii, 1788. Revdus. D. Robertus Grace fit Parochus Sti. Edani de Kilmanagh vacantis per absentiam Revdi. Thomae Power.

" Die 11ma. Men. Maii, 1788. Revdus. D. Nicholaus Kealy fit Parochus Stae, Mariae Assumptae de Callan, loco Revdi. Dermatii Murphy suspensi et excommunicati.

" Die 26 Men. Augusti, 1788. Revdus. D. Michael Carroll fit. Parochus Stae. Brigidae de Aharney, cum annexis, vacantis per translationem praefati Nicolai Kealy.

" Revdus. D. G. Butler, Presbyter saecularis Diaecesis Ossoriensis haud absoluto cursu Theologico, natale repetere solum coactus fuit mense Junii, A.D., 1787, ob infirmitatem qua graviter laborabat.

" R. D. P. Hart, absoluto quinquennio, redux est a studiis, Mense Sepris., A.D., 1787.

" R. D. M. Bergin, Presbyter. Ossoriensis, reversus est a studiis, sub fine Mensis Julii, A.D., 1788.

"MEMORANDUM.

"That Miss Jane Langton delivered up to me 3 silver chalices, 2 patenas, a silver decade beads & pixis, which belong to the diocese and which were deposited in the hands of the late Mrs. Elinor Langton. Mr. Molloy took a Patena belonging to the large gilt chalice, in the year 1774, to supply the place of one that had been stolen out of his chapel according to his own memorandum.

"Janry. ye 16th, 1788. JOHN DUNNE, E.O."

"MEMORANDUM.

"Lent to the Rd. Andrew Gorman, P.P. of Kilmacow, one of the above silver chalices which bears the following inscription "Ora pro Joanne Muirisio qui me fieri fecit, A.D., 1668," lent I say for the use of his Parish, for one year, in presence of the R. John Byrne, P.P. of St. John the Evangelist, May ye 2nd, 1788. ✠ JOHN DUNNE, E.O.

"John Byrne.

"Recvd. the above chalice 2d. day of May, 1788.

"AND. GORMAN."

"MEMORANDUM.

"That I lent one of the three chalices mentioned on the opposite page to the Revd. Richard Mansfield, P.P. of the Parish of Kilmaganny for the use of said Parish for one year only. This chalice bears the following inscription: 'Jac. Phelan Ep. Oss. me fieri fecit. A.D., 1676.'

"Sepr. ye 3rd, 1788. JOHN DUNNE, E.O.

"Received the chalice of the above description this 3rd day of September, 1788, for which I am to be accountable.

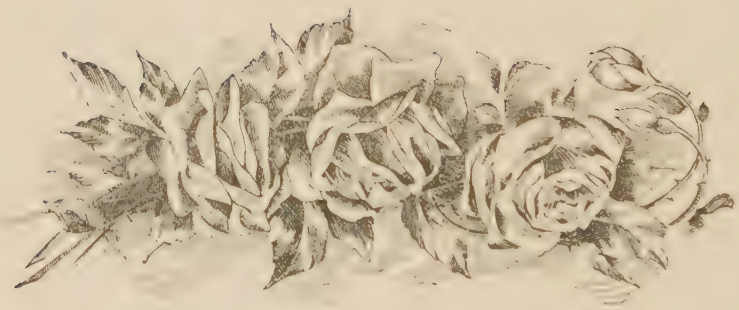
"RD. MANSFIELD."

As far as it is now possible to form an estimate of his character, Dr. Dunne was a disciplinarian strict and stern, a lover of the glory of God's house, and zealous for the welfare of his people. The high hopes that were justly entertained from his Episcopate were, however, nipped almost in the bud. On the 8th Feb., 1789, he had made his visitation in St. Patrick's parish. A few days after, while crossing a stile in Kilcreen, he fell accidentally, breaking his leg. Despite the skill of his attendant surgeon, mortification set in and brought his valued life to a premature close. He died at his house in Dean Street—the same house in which Dr. Troy had resided—on the 15th March, 1789, in the 44th year of his age, the 20th of his priesthood, and 2nd of his Episcopal charge of Ossory.

He rests in the graveyard attached to St. Canice's Cathedral, where his monument, an altar-tomb, has:

"Hic jacent Reliquiae
Illmi. ac Revmi. D.D. Joannis Dunne
Dum Viveret Ep. Oss.
Quem mors Immatura nimis
Proh dolor! abripuit terris
Die Mar. 15 Anno Domini, 1789,
Ætatis suae 44,

Episcopatus autem Secundo.
Consummatus in brevi
Multa explevit tempora.
In concilio Providus,
Strenuus in agendo,
Clarum praesulibus reliquit Exemplum.
Si pietas, Lector, si morum gravitas,
Si fervor zeli prudentis placeat,
Si potens sacri Verbi Praeconium,
Aut Veri Praesulis fama delectet,
Hunc memori perges prosequi studio
Quem lugubri deflet Ossoria voce.
Requiescat in Pace. Amen.



CHAPTER XXI.

JAMES LANIGAN (1789-1812.)

THE *O'Renehan MSS.*, in Maynooth College, give the following sketch of Dr. Lanigan's early life :

" James Lanigan was the son of a wealthy shopkeeper that lived in the Main Street, near the Tholsel of Kilkenny. The families both of his father and mother were ancient and respectable. But reverses of fortune straitened the circumstances of his father ; and after some unsuccessful efforts to regain or support his former comfort and wealth in Kilkenny, he removed to Carrick-on-Suir, where fortune stil continued to frown upon him. Here he had another son, who afterwards became an excellent priest in the Diocese of Waterford. James was educated at an academy held by a Mr. Jackson (a Protestant clergyman, if I mistake not) in Carrick, where he so far surpassed the other scholars as to be considered, in that neighbourhood, a prodigy of talent. While here he conceived a strong desire of devoting himself to God in the sacred ministry. But soon after bereft of his father, he had little but his own industry to depend on for bearing the expenses of a College education.

" He therefore resolved to open an Academy in Carrick, to which, he calculated, his reputation in that vicinity might insure success. The penal laws did not allow, even then, a Catholic to conduct a school, and hence Mr. Lanigan was obliged to take in a Protestant partner, in whose name the Academy and his business were conducted. (N.B.—This story, received only by tradition, might be founded only on his being engaged for some years as usher in Jackson's school).

" While thus occupied he offered himself to his Bishop, as a candidate for the Sacred Ministry, and after a very few (3 or 4) years, by carefully economising his income, was enabled from his savings and whatever had been left him by his father, to meet the expenses of a College education. Dr. Burke the celebrated then Bishop of Ossory, gladly received a young man distinguished from his very childhood more for his piety and virtue than for his confessedly eminent talents. After the best preparation he could make, he received all the Holy Orders, on the 20th, 22nd and 23rd of Feb., 1771, from the hand of that eminent Prelate, in the house of Richard Hoyne, of Garrycrin, the place to which his Lordship usually fled for secrecy when conferring Orders."

The general accuracy of the interesting facts contained in this extract may be accepted unhesitatingly. It has been stated, no doubt, and on high authority, that Dr. Lanigan was born at Ballykeeffe Castle, parish of Kilmanagh. But the fact appears to be that Ballykeeffe was the birthplace of the Bishop's father and not of the Bishop himself. Bearing on this subject, and as strangely con-

firming the authority of the O'Renehan papers, it is worth noting that William Lanigan of Ballykeeffe, by his will dated 1758—after directing that his remains be interred in Kilmanagh graveyard; and that £7 be given to [Rev.] Mr. Thomas Conlean, and £5 to his brother Mathias Lanigan [P.P. Templeorum]: and that other bequests be paid to his brothers, Jeremiah and Nicholas, niece, Mary Meagher, and nephews, John and Pat Lanigan of Attitinoe [Callan]—leaves £20 to *his brother Stephen now living in Carrick.* Father Mathias Lanigan, just mentioned, by his will dated 1777, leaves his interest in Shortall's Graig to his brother Nicholas, a bequest to his sister, Mary, living in Callan, and a further bequest of £5 to *his brother, Stephen.*

There can be little doubt that this *Stephen Lanigan* was the Bishop's father, and that his removal to Carrick-on-Suir, after his failure in Kilkenny, was not unconnected with the fact that his brother, Father Mathias Lanigan, then resided at Owning, but a few miles from the former town.

Dr. Lanigan was ordained at Mr. Richard Hoyne's house, in Garrycreen, by Bishop Burke, on the 23rd of Feb., 1771; and immediately after proceeded to the Continent, to read the usual five years' course of Philosophy and Theology, most probably in the Irish College of Nantes. That his talents were of a very high order, and that his college career was a brilliant one, are evident from his appointment, at the close of his studies, to the Chair of Mathematics in the University of Nantes. For seven years he discharged the duties of the professorial office in this University, till 1782, when he bade farewell to France, and returned to his native Diocese to labour as a humble missionary among her people.

The Register of St. Canice's shows that he was Curate of that parish from June 16th, 1782, to the 4th of the following November. At the latter date he was selected, conjointly with Dr. Dunne, to take over the establishment and management of the Diocesan College which Dr. Troy then proposed starting in Burrell's Hall. The College was thrown open for the admission of students on the 13th January, 1783, and was, from the first, a great success. On the 4th Sept., 1783, its two Co-Rectors, or Co-Principals, were raised to the dignity of Canons of the Diocese. The promotion of Dr. Dunne to the Bishopric of Ossory, in 1787, left Dr. Lanigan sole Rector of Burrell's Hall, the onerous duties of which position he faithfully discharged for the next two years. He became Vicar Capitular of the Diocese on the death of Dr. Dunne, in March, 1789.

He was elected Bishop of Ossory by Propaganda, June 22nd, and was approved by the Pope, June 25th, 1789. His Brief is dated July 10th, same year. He was consecrated in the Old Cathedral, on Monday, the 21st of Sept. following.

Like his three immediate predecessors, he received St. Canice's *in commendam* or as his mensal parish; but this he exchanged very soon after for St. Mary's,

which became vacant by Father Molloy's death on the 10th Sept. 1789. St. Mary's has been ever since a mensal parish. Dr. Lanigan, at the same time, made Dr. Molloy's house his Episcopal residence, which, subsequently enlarged, has been occupied by all his successors down to the present time.

As might be expected Dr. Lanigan's interest in the Diocesan College of Burrell's Hall did not cease with his elevation to the Episcopate. He confided the destinies of the young establishment to a wise and learned priest, the Rev. Dr. Mansfield, sometime Professor of Theology in the University of Nantes, and then, and for some years before, P.P. of the united parishes of Windgap and Dunnamaggan. Hitherto, owing to the want of ecclesiastical colleges at home, it was the custom of all the Irish Bishops, first to ordain their priests, and then to send them to the Continent, to pursue their studies in Philosophy and Theology there. Dr. Lanigan soon determined that in his Diocese, at least, this state of things should not continue. Early in 1792 he transferred the Academy from Burrell's Hall to other premises now incorporated with the Loretto Convent, beside St. Canice's Cathedral, and here, in the following year, 1793, he inaugurated a course of higher ecclesiastical studies by establishing a Philosophy class, absolutely the first started in Ireland for the education of Catholic students in modern times. Many of the priests of Ossory, and of several other Dioceses throughout Ireland, received their ecclesiastical training in this Academy at St. Canice's, from 1793 to 1811, in which latter year the advanced students were transferred to the ecclesiastical college then established in Maudlin Street.

By a decree of the Propaganda, dated April 30th, 1796, Dr. Lanigan obtained Ballyragget as a second mensal parish. "A few years ago some of the older inhabitants used to speak of the impression made upon them by his commanding presence and grave and dignified bearing—his broad tricocked hat, shoes with silver buckles, and gold-headed cane—as he was in the habit of taking his usual walk to his farm in Moat." He appears to have been a strong advocate of the Union of the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, as may be judged from the following :

"At a meeting of the Roman Catholics of the city of Kilkenny, held at the chapel of St, Mary's on the 9th day of July, 1799,

"Connell Loughnan, Esq., in the Chair.

"The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to prepare a 'Declaration of our sentiments on the measure of a Legislative Union' :—

"Right Rev. Dr. Lanigan
"Peter Ryan
"Michael Finn
"John Shearman
Michael Brenan
Felix Byrne, and
William Rattican, Counsellor at Law.

"Resolved unanimously that the following declaration be adopted :—

"The measure of a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland having been recommended to the consideration of both Parliaments by our most gracious Sovereign ; We, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Roman Catholics of the City of Kilkenny, consider ourselves called upon by every sentiment of gratitude to the Common Father of his People, to make public avowal of our sentiments on this important and interesting occasion.

"We are firmly convinced that a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, and on a sense of mutual interest and affections, is a measure of wisdom and expediency for the Kingdom, and will effectually promote the strength and prosperity of both ; and we trust it will afford the surest means of allaying those unhappy distractions, and in time, removing those penal exclusions on the score of Religion, which have so long prevailed in this Country ; and by consolidating the resources of both Kingdoms, oppose the most effectual resistance to the destructive projects of foreign and domestic Enemies.

"Strongly impressed with these sentiments, we look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment when the two Sister Kingdoms may be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free Constitution, in full support of the honour and dignity of his Majesty's Crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British Empire.

"Resolved unanimously :—That the Right Hon. the Earl of Ormonde and Ossory be requested to communicate these our sentiments most respectfully to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.

"James Lanigan, D.D.,
"Bishop of Ossory." 231 other signatures.

On the 25th of September, 1800, and under his auspices, was founded, at Kilkenny, the Presentation Convent, whence the blessings of education, both religious and secular, have ever since continued to be diffused on the young girls of the city and its environs. Although at first inclined to grant a qualified Veto to the Government, in the appointment of Irish Bishops, Dr. Lanigan became one of the most determined opponents of the measure, as soon as he became convinced of its evil bearings. In reference to the celebrated declaration of the Irish Hierarchy, dated Sept. 11th, 1808, which set aside the Veto for ever, Father Brenan writes : "To the learned and patriotic Bishops of Ossory and Cloyne, Drs. Lanigan and Coppinger, the honour of this memorable resolution is to be chiefly attributed." [1]

We extract the following from Dr. Lanigan's *Diocesan Register :*

"Jacobus Lanigan Dei et Sedis Apostolicae Gratia Epus. Ossoriensis.

"Die 21ma. Septbris., 1789. Andreas Phealan, Par. de Castlecomer fit Praebendarius de Killamory, vi Rescripti Aplici. in loco Revdissimi. D.D. J. L., Epi.

"Patritius Grady fit Praebendarius de Freshford in loco Briani Kavanagh qui obiit. . . .

"Joannes Cassin fit Praebendarius in loco. . . . .

"Revdus. D. Jacobus Gorman fit Parochus Stae. Mariae de Gowran, cum annexis, loco Ampmi. D. Briani Kavanagh qui e vivis decessit die 4a. Martii anno Domini 1790.

"Revdus. D. Gulielmus Swift fit Parochus S. Michaelis de Danesfort, loco R. D, Jacobi Gorman ad Parochiam Stae. Mariae de Gowran promoti die 4 Mensis Martii, A.D. 1790.

"Revdus. Joannes Byrne fit Parochus Sti. Canici de Kilkenny vi Rescripti Apostolici die. . .

"Rev. Richardus O'Donnell fit Parochus S. Joannis Evangelistae de Kilkennia, A.D. 1789, in loco Rev. Joannis Byrne translati. . . .

"Nicholaus Kealy fit Parochus de Gowran in loco R. Jac. Gorman, qui obiit, A.D. 1791.

"Rev. Thomas Mallay fit Parochus de Callan loco R. N. Kealy ad Gowran translati.

"Rev. Nicholaus Hart fit Parochus de Rathkyran, loco Rev. Petri Hayden qui obiit.

[1] *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland,* Vol. II., p. 356.

" Rev. Dionysius Cullenan fit Parochus SSmae. Trinitatis de Rathdowney, A.D. [ ] et transfertur an Parochiam Stae. Brigidae de Acharney loco R. Michaelis Carroll translati.

" Rev. Michael Carroll fit Parochus Si. Michaelis de Erke loco R. Joannis Cody, qui obiit Mensis Junii, A.D. 1794.

" Revdus. Patritius Delany fit Parochus Sti. Canici de Aghaboe loco Ri. & Amplissimi D. Mauricii Delany, qui obiit 18 Mensis Martii, A.D. 1794.

" Rev. Nicholaus Shee fit Parochus Smae. Trinitatis de Rathdowney die 27 ma. Mensis Julii, A.D. 1794 loco Revdi. Dio. Cullenan translati ut supra."

(There is no record of any of his subsequent collations).

During his long Episcopate of more than 22 years, our Bishop, like a good pastor, laboured most zealously for the flock committed to his care. He promoted their religious education, and encouraged them in the frequentation of the Sacraments; he, moreover, instituted the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and bequeathed to the Diocese, as monuments of his piety and learning, those beautiful Spiritual Conferences on Penance and the Blessed Eucharist, which, when delivered by himself, were productive of so much fruit.

He died at the Episcopal residence, James's Street, Feb. 11th, 1812, in the 65th —not, according to another account, in the 75th—year of his age, the 41st of his priesthood, and 23rd of his Episcopate.

The following is his obituary notice, copied from Finn's *Leinster Journal* of Wednesday, Feb. 12th, 1812 :

" Died yesterday morning about 10 o'clock, at his house in James's Street, the Right Rev. James Lanigan, D.D., R. C. Bishop of Ossory, and formerly Professor of Mathematics in the University of Nantz. To do justice to a character like his, illuminated by various natural and acquired excellencies, and that shed such lustre on the high station he occupied ; as it would be unreasonable to expect, so it would be unreasonable to attempt it, in the scanty columns of a daily journal. An early prepossession for literary pursuits charmed him away from domestic happiness, and from the society of very respectable connections. His progress in his earlier studies marked him out for one fit to visit those foreign places of education whence his self-banished countrymen used to fetch the sacred spoils of science and piety wherewith to comfort a persecuted flock in the dark night of their oppression. Here academic honours testified his success in the different stages of a College course, at the termination of which, he was appointed to read lectures in one of the upper departments of science. An intellect inquisitive and capacious, delicacy of perception, a faithful memory, a judgment that could both combine and discriminate with admirable accuracy in the most intricate and perplexed reasoning—all these informed a mind that could sport with ease through the different intermediate ranges of knowledge, from the rudiments of classical learning up to the sublime parts of Theology. Thus prepared, what wonder if he acquitted himself well of the various duties inseparable from the state of a Dignitary and an Ecclesiastic ? An enlightened instructor, the unction that accompanied his words found its way direct to the human heart ; and even the obstinate and contumacious were often softened into submission by his tenderness and urbanity. But his virtues will not be easily forgotten : they will live entombed in the friendly recollections of a generous and inconsolable acquaintance. Society will regret the loss of him who was eminently gifted with social endowments ; Charity will sorrow the absence of him, whose charitable deeds were enhanced in value by the secrecy and unostentatious manner of their performance ; and the philanthropist will embalm with the tear of friendship, the memory of him whose heart was benevolence itself, and who never felt more happy than in exercising his benevolence."

He was buried in the Old Cathedral, whence his remains were afterwards

translated to the new Cathedral of St. Mary's. His monument, of white marble, now in the Museum, St. Kieran's College, is inscribed :

" This Monument has been erected as a public testimony of respect and veneration for the memory of the Rt. Revd. Doctor James Lanigan, R. C. Bishop of Ossory, who departed this life on the 11th day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twelve, and in the 65th year of his age. A strong intellect, improved by study and experience, a prudent zeal, and a steady attachment to the interests of his flock, were the peculiar endowments which eminently qualified him for the important station which he filled, and enabled him to surmount the various difficulties with which he had to contend in the discharge of his pastoral duties for more than two & twenty years. As a man of profound learning, he ranked high in the estimation of his contemporary Prelates ; his polite and obliging manners rendered him amiable in society ; and as a man of piety, he was an ornament to that holy Religion which he both taught and practised. His remains are deposited beneath this monument. May his soul rest in peace. Amen."

CHAPTER XXII.

KIERAN MARUM (1815-27).

THE following is an accurate copy of a document of about the year 1840, preserved in the Diocesan Archives :

"The Right Revd. Doctor Kyran Marum.

"Born, March 28th, 1773—studied to the age of thirteen under Doctors Dunne & L[anigan].

"Sent by the Most Revd. Doctor Troy, then Bishop of Ossory, to the Irish College in Salamanca, March 7th, 1786—returned to Kilkenny, June 29th, 1797—appointed Curate at St. James's—and Professor of Theology at the Catholic Seminary then under the direction of Revd. Mr. Magrath.

"Went as Professor to Carlow College, Septr. 25th, 1802.

"Recalled by Dr. Lanigan, May 10th, 1810.

"Appointed to the Parish of Durrow, April 3rd, 1811, and appointed to preside at Conference in that District, Dr. L[anigan] unable to attend.

"About the middle of June, 1811, appointed to Madlin Street Parish—and President of the Ecclesiastical College then in Madlin Street.

"Intended by Dr. Lanigan for his Coadjutor, as expressed to Dr. Bray—Dr. L[anigan] appointed him executor to his will, &c.

"Chosen by the Chapter as successor to Dr. Lanigan—March, 1812.

"Letters of appointment to the See of Ossory arrived, Oct. 26th, 1814.

"Dr. Marum hesitating to accept, the Bulls were not published to the Chapter until Jany. 16th, 1815.

"Consecrated March 5th, 1815—for the last two years of his life *extremely delicate.*

"Died, Dec. 22nd, 1827—8 o'clock on Saturday morning."

The first of the Marum (in Irish *O'Marum*) family to settle in Kilkenny, came from the banks of the Shannon, about the year 1690, and found a home for himself beside Barony Church, near Ballyragget. His son or grandson, Richard Marum (born, 1716 ; died, 1803), removed from Barony Church to the Church of Thomplgeoll, Galmoy, where he rented a farm and settled down. By his wife, Mary Phelan, of Castletown, also in Galmoy, he had the following issue ; (1) Edmund of Seskin (1746-1830), grandfather of the late E. P. Mulhallen Marum, Esq., of

Aharney Ho., M.P. for North Kilkenny ; (2) William, of Galmoy, grandfather of Mrs. Moore, now of Aghamacart ; (3) Richard, of Newpark, near Kilkenny, grandfather of the late Pierce Marum, of Seskin, and great-grandfather of John Marum now of Seskin ; (4) the Rev. Pierce Marum, P.P., Freshford, who died March 27th, 1824 ; (5) Daniel, of Kilkenny city, a woollen merchant, who died in 1811, aged 53 years ; (6) John, of Rathpatrick and Moneynamuck, Galmoy, who was murdered March 16th, 1824 ; and (7) Kieran, who became Bishop of Ossory. The house in which all these brothers were born has disappeared, but its site is still pointed out in "Peter's Paddock," one or two fields west of Thomplgeoll Church.

Dr. Marum commenced his classical course at a very early age in the Academy of Burrell's Hall, then conducted by his two predecessors in the Episcopate of Ossory, Drs. Dunne and Lanigan. From Burrell's Hall he was sent to Salamanca, in March, 1786. It must have been a trial to a youth of such tender years, to tear himself away from his parents and friends, and betake himself to the far-off lands of Spain, but the hardship of the leave-taking was lightened by the fact that he was to be accompanied on his journey by his brother, Pierce, who, like himself, also became a student at Salamanca, and read a considerable part, if not the entire, of his ecclesiastical course there. The College books of Salamanca have the following note on young Kieran Marum written in the end of 1789, by the President, Dr. Patrick Curtis, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh :

"KIERAN MARUM.—He is a native of the Diocese of Ossory, legitimate son of Catholic parents. He is eighteen years of age, and learned Latin, Greek, French, and other parts of Humanities in Ireland. He was admitted here as a student three and a half years ago, and he has studied Hebrew, Mathematics, and Philosophy, and is at present in his first year of Theology, making good progress in all these studies. He has fair talents, moderate application, and good conduct."

Several official letters of "Fr. Benedictus Uria et Valdes, Epus. Civitatensis," preserved in the Diocesan Archives, certify that his Lordship had promoted Kieran Marum, "toga Colleg. Salmanticensis Hibernorum condecoratum," to Tonsure, on the 23rd May, 1795; to Minor Orders, on May 24th ; to Subdeaconship, on the 25th May ; and to Deaconship, on the 26th May, same year. Dr. Marum was ordained priest April 1st., 1797.

"After having completed the requisite studies, and obtained the other necessary degrees in Theology, he was entitled to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, as soon as he arrived at the age required. He was immediately appointed Vice-Rector and Professor [of the Irish College, Salamanca], and tho' so young, was numbered among the superiors of that celebrated College."—(Obituary notice, *Kilkenny Independent.*)

About this time he is said to have volunteered for the mission in Louisiana, America but his offer, fortunately for Ossory, was not accepted.

Having been ordained, he was at once called home by Dr. Lanigan, and after an absence of more than eleven years, found himself again in his native Diocese, in June, 1797. He was then appointed Curate of St. Mary's, and, at the same time, Professor of Theology in the Old Academy, at St. Canice's ; and he discharged the arduous duties of both these positions with great success, during the next four years. In Sept., 1802, he was appointed Professor in Carlow College, where he filled successively the Chairs of Philosophy and Theology.

Again called home to Ossory by Dr. Lanigan, in May 1810, he occasionally discharged missionary duty in St. Mary's (as the Parish Registers testify), during the succeeding months. On the 3rd April, 1811, he was appointed P.P. Durrow, in place of the Rev. Patrick Mortimer, who died the 21st of the preceding month. Within less than three months he was translated from Durrow to St. John's, Kilkenny, which had become vacant, on the 19th May, 1811, by the death of the Very Rev. Dean O'Donnell, P.P.

Soon after his appointment to St. John's, the Bishop, Dr. Lanigan, committed to him the establishment of a Diocesan ecclesiastical College. This commission Dr. Marum very willingly undertook to fulfil. The result was the Maudlin Street College, which was opened to students in Sept., 1811, under the Presidency of Dr. Marum himself, and with the Very Rev. Drs. Nowlan and Kelly as Professors. In Sept., 1814, the students were removed from Maudlin Street to Birchfield, which latter college also had the advantage of being started with Dr. Marum as President.

On the death of Dr. Lanigan, the Chapter, with the unanimous approval of the remaining clergy of the Diocese, elected Dr. Marum to the vacant Bishopric. Their election was backed up by Dr. Troy and his Coadjutor, Dr. Murray. Owing, however, to the imprisonment of the Holy Father, Pope Pius VII., by Napoleon, the appointment to the See had to be long deferred. During the interval, Dr. Marum received the following appointment to the Deanship of the Diocese, which, though, doubtless, invalid, is too interesting to be omitted :

" Rev. & Dear Sir,

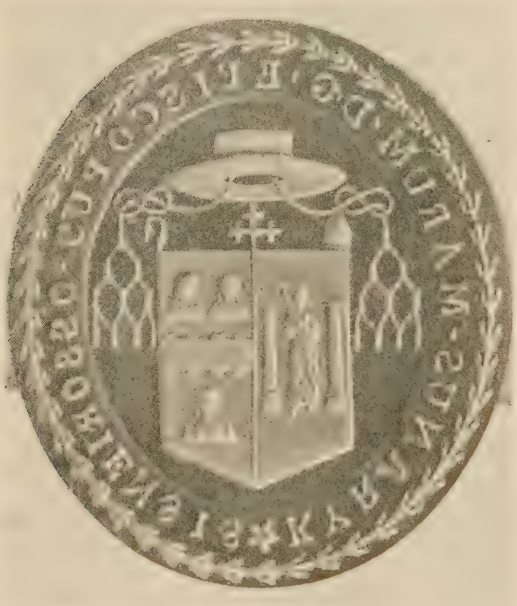
" The dignity of Dean of this Diocese having become vacant by the death of the Revd. Richard O'Donnell, in the year 1811 ; and all access to the Pope (to whom the confirmation of Deans is reserved by the ordinary law) being at that time, as it is now, impossible ; the then Bishop, Rt. Revd. Dr. Lanigan, of his own authority, and with a view to the preservation of a Chapter in Ossory, appointed me Dean of the said Chapter, as appears by his official letter addressed to me on the 4th day of July in the same year. The same weighty motives which induced Dr. Lanigan to appoint me Dean in 1811, impel me now to resign that situation, and to appoint, in my quality of Vicar Capitular, another person in my room. Therefore I do hereby resign the said office and Dignity ; and as ordinary of this Diocese, I do, as far as in my power lies, institute, nominate, and appoint you R. C. Dean of Ossory.

" Dated at Kilmaganny this 3rd day of April, 1814.

" Richd. Mansfield.
" Vicr. Captr.

" To the Revd. Doctor K. Marum,
" Par. of St. John's, Kilkenny."

The Pope having been restored to freedom, and ecclesiastical appointments being again in the gift of the Holy See, Dr. Marum was elected to Ossory by the Propaganda, on the 19th Sept., 1814. The appointment was approved by the Pope on the 29th of same month ; his Brief is dated Oct. 4th, 1814. He was consecrated on St. Kieran's day, March 5th, 1815. Hitherto, since 1796, Ballyragget had been a mensal parish. It now ceased to be mensal, Dr. Marum being allowed by the Holy See to hold in its stead the parish of St. John's, of which he had been P.P. at the time of his appointment to the See. St. John's, thus become a Bishop's Parish, has been mensal up to the present. As soon as the necessary faculties arrived, he collated to Ballyragget a zealous Pastor, in the person of the Rev. Thomas Quinlan, whom he had already appointed as his own successor in the Presidency of Birchfield College. Towards the end of 1816 he appointed Father Patrick McGrath, of the St. Canice's Academy, to succeed Father Quinlan in Ballyragget, and took occasion from the transfer, to close up the Old Academy altogether, as an educational establishment, and to re-open Burrell's Hall as a Classical College, which he did, in January, 1817. After more than twenty years of usefulness, both Birchfield and Burrell's Hall were merged in St. Kieran's College in 1839.



DR. MARUM'S SEAL

From the very outset of his Episcopal career Dr. Marum was engaged in a dispute with the Rev. Laurence Morrissey, of Templeorum. The particulars of this most serious and protracted controversy will be given when we come to treat of Templeorum Parish. Suffice it here to say that Father Morrissey at length appealed against the Bishop to the Holy See, and that Rome's definitive sentence of Nov. 17th, 1819, was:—"Epum. bene se gessisse, & Presbyterum Morrissey male appellasse, ideoque arcendum esse ab omni beneficio Parochiali donec resipiscat." In 1816, he was engaged in another controversy with Fathers Patrick Moore and Prendergast, two Dominican Friars, who, without his sanction, opened the Black Abbey as a

public chapel and celebrated public Masses there. In this case it was the Bishop who appealed to Rome. The appeal is dated Oct. 24th, 1816. How it resulted I cannot say, but as I can find no trace of the Dominicans in Kilkenny city during the remainder of Dr. Marum's Episcopate, I am led to conclude that the Holy See decided in favour of the Bishop.

For years previous to his consecration Dr. Marum had been labouring under an affection of the liver. The zealous discharge of the many duties inseparable from his exalted position as Bishop, did not help to allay his malady. Grievous sorrow and affliction, too, became his portion in the evening of his life. On the night of the 16th March, 1824, his brother, John Marum, was brutally murdered, on a charge of landgrabbing, on Knuckshinrawha hill, Galmoy; and on the same spot, five months afterwards, seven men were executed for the crime. Eleven days after his brother's murder, another brother, the Rev. Pierce Marum, P.P., Freshford, departed this life, his death being accelerated, if not caused, by the awful affliction with which the family had been visited. The Bishop himself lingered on a few years longer, broken in health and spirits, but labouring still, as a faithful pastor for his people, till, in His own good time, God summoned him to his reward. On Tuesday morning, Dec. 18th, 1827, he had been hearing confessions, as usual, in the Cathedral; but on leaving the confessional, after three hours' continuous work, he was struck down by a paralytic attack. He lingered on till 8 o'clock the following Saturday morning, Dec. 22nd, when he calmly expired. He was then in the 13th year of his Episcopate, the 31st of his priesthood and the 55th year of his age.

"He was gifted," [according to the obituary notice in the *Kilkenny Independent*], "with an understanding of a superior order. It was, indeed, amazing to perceive with what rapidity his powerful mind penetrated the very depths of a difficulty however abstruse and complicated the question that might be submitted to his decision. And it was observed, that, as if no reflection, no mental process of deduction were necessary to him—as if his knowledge were intuitive—he poured at once on the subject the light of a commanding and luminous intellect; while he inculcated his opinion with a warmth and energy of manner which made a deep and lasting impression. These remarks, of course, apply only to cases where he was officially consulted. For, on other occasions, the humblest individual was not more unassuming—less inclined to sway the opinion of others—or more averse to parade or ostentatious display. Lenient and gentle in his administration, he chose rather to govern by persuasion than official authority. In general, it seemed his wish to win obedience, rather than enforce it. Many other estimable qualities might be mentioned, but even in a hurried notice of this kind his piety and great charities to the poor should not be forgotten—and, extensive and meritorious as these charities were, we may rank among the foremost and most laudable, that he was the parent, founder, and continued to be the protector and supporter, in a considerable degree, of that invaluable Institution —The Female Orphan Asylum—under the guidance and direction of the pious and charitable Ladies of the Presentation Convent. This illustrious Prelate closed his ministry and life, in the 13th year of his episcopacy, universally and deeply regretted by his Clergy, and most deservedly lamented by his afflicted friends and relatives.—'The eye of God hath looked upon him for good, and hath lifted him up from his low estate: and many have wondered at him and glorified God.'—Eccles. 11th. c., 13th. v.

"The Funeral.—Early on Monday morning (Dec. 24th), the corpse was removed into the chapel. At 10 o'clock, Doctors Doyle and Kelly, attended by the entire clergy of Ossory, entered and formed themselves into choirs, one on each side of the corpse. The sacred office for the Dead was then

begun, and the numerous voices as they alternately responded in the magnificent language of the Psalms, produced a sensation of devotional feeling and awe. When the Mass had concluded, the body was raised and the procession moved. First were the Clergy, then the coffin, the mourners followed, after them the Female Orphans and Clubs; it was closed by an immense number of the most respectable gentlemen of both city and county, all dressed with scarfs and hat bands, tied with white ribbons. It moved down James's Street—by King Street to the Parade—then into High Street, and again through James's Street, when it entered the Chapel, where a grave had been prepared. Round it the clergy ranged themselves, and the burial service was recited in an impressive manner. As the coffin was lowering, a slight shower passed across, which struck us as awfully grand; it seemed as if Nature herself wept at the obsequies of this able and excellent man."

His remains were transferred from the Old Cathedral to the episcopal vault in the new Cathedral in 1857. The marble slab, which marked the original grave, and is now in the Museum, St. Kieran's College, is inscribed:

"Sub hoc marmore conduntur reliquiae Illmi. ac Revdmi. D.D. Kyrani Marum, Episcopi Ossoriensis. Vir fuit praeclaro ingenio literis tam humanis quam divinis egregie exculto, pietate erudita simul et fervida insignis, moribus mitis et urbanus, indole benevolus, eloquio potens, egenis compatiens, et in amicitia constans; omnium quibuscum versabatur studium et amorem conciliabat et maximo sui desiderio familiares afficiebat. Pastorali officio sollicite incumbens gregem sibi commissum verbo et exemplo ad Christi normam, regere et edocere satagebat. Hoc monumentum, heu parvum maeroris solamen, consanguinei et affines posuere. Extinctus est die xxii Decembris, anno Salutis MDCCCXXVII, Episcopatus sui decimo tertio, aetatis vero quinquagesimo quinto. Requiescat in pace."

CHAPTER XXIII.

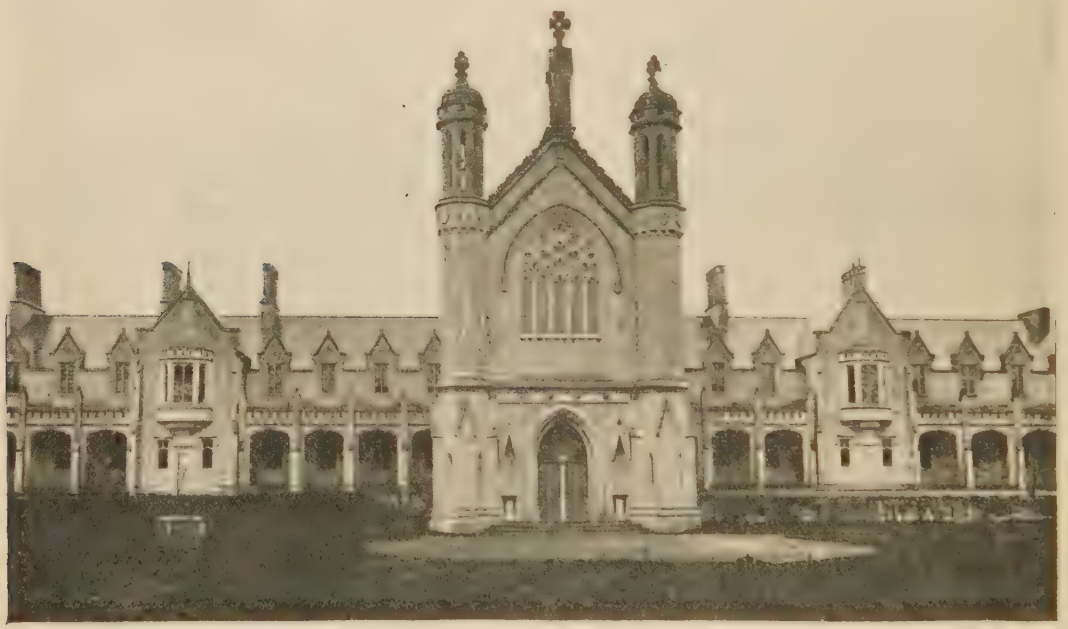
WILLIAM KINSELLA (1829-45.)

AT the meeting of the Chapter, held immediately after Dr. Marum's interment, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Brenan, P.P., Johnstown, and Vicar Forane, was elected Vicar Capitular. In the election of candidates for the vacant See, which followed in due course, a good deal of heat was supposed to have been introduced. This matter being reported to Rome, the election was annulled, and a Ferns priest, the Rev. Myles Murphy, whom the clergy had not postulated for at all, was appointed Bishop of Ossory. Father Murphy was elected by Propaganda, May 19th, 1828, and was approved by the Pope the 8th of the following month; his Brief was dated March 17th, 1829. The Bishop-Elect, however, declined the proffered dignity. He subsequently became Bishop of his own native Diocese of Ferns, in 1850. He died August the 13th, 1856, aged 69 years.

DR. KINSELLA'S SEAL.

The Rev. William Kinsella was then appointed to Ossory, at the instance, it is said, of Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. His Brief was dated May 15th, 1829, and he was consecrated July 26th, following. Dr. Kinsella was born at Ballinunnery, in the parish of Ballon, Co. Carlow, but of his family and ancestry there is no information to hand. "He

entered Carlow College at an early age, and was a distinguished member of Dr. Doyle's famous Rhetoric Class, in 1813. On his Ordination he received his appointment as one of the Professors. He continued at the College up to the time of his consecration as Bishop of Ossory; during that period he filled various positions, including the Chair of Theology, and was, at the same time, frequently engaged in controversy both in the pulpit and the public press. His controversial letters were afterwards published in a collected form, to which the writer added a valuable Appendix. Dr. Kinsella was also ever ready to wield his pen in defence



From Photo by] *[W. Lawrence, Dublin.*

ST. KIERAN'S COLLEGE, KILKENNY, A.D. 1874.—SOUTH VIEW.

of his friend, Dr. Doyle—the most memorable occasion, perhaps, of his doing so was in reply to O'Connell, in 1825, on the subject of "*the Wings.*"[1] A small slip of paper in the Ossory Archives, in Dr. Kinsella's own handwriting, gives his Lordship's dates up to the time of his Ordination, thus:

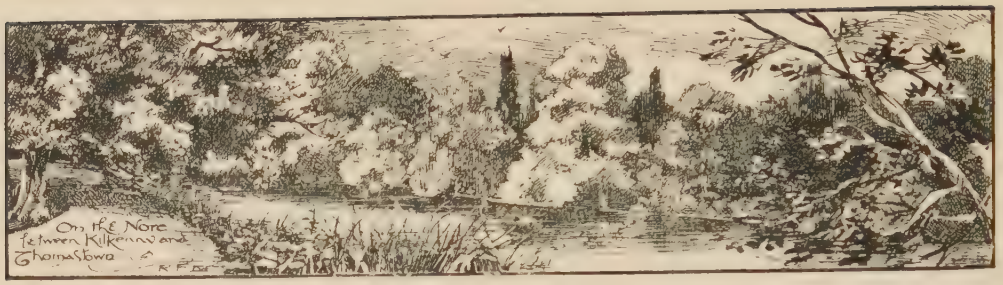
"Born	2nd February, 1796.
"Entrd. College as Day Scholar	Oct. 1807—11½ yrs.

[1] *Collections Relating to Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*, by Dr. Comerford, Vol. I., p. 191.

" Entrd. as Boarder	Sept. 1814—18½ yrs.
" Received Minor Orders	4th June, 1816—20 yrs.
" Received Sub-deaconship	May 28th, 1817—21 yrs
" Appointed Secretary	June 1st, 1817—21 yrs.
" Received Deaconship	May 15th, 1818—22 yrs.
" Appointed Professor N. P. [*i.e.*, of Nat. Philosophy]	Sept., 1818—22½ yrs.
" Ordained Priest	Dec. 18th, 1819—24 yrs., nearly."

The two chief Diocesan monuments of Dr. Kinsella's Episcopate are St. Kieran's College and St. Mary's Cathedral. The foundation stone of the former was laid by Father Shearman, P.P., St. Patrick's, in the unavoidable absence of the Bishop, on the 20th October, 1836. Its halls were thrown open for the admission of students in 1838, Dr. Kinsella becoming its first President. The foundation stone of the Cathedral was laid in August, 1843, by the Bishop himself, but ere the work had progressed very far, his lordship was called to his reward. Many of our fine parochial churches, such as Ballyragget, Freshford, Castlecomer, St. John's, Inistioge, Lisdowney, Durrow, &c., also date from his Episcopate.

Dr. Kinsella was a great theologian and preacher. Having discharged his Episcopal duties for more than sixteen years, with energy and zeal, he departed this life, at his house in Kilkenny, after a brief illness, Dec. 12th, 1845, in the 50th year of his age. He rests in the Bishops' vault in St. Mary's Cathedral.



CHAPTER XXIV.

EDWARD WALSH (1846-72.)

DR. WALSH was descended by both father and mother from the old Walshs of the Mountains, and was born at Lufany, parish of Mooncoin, in the year 1791. The entry of his Baptism, in the Register of his native parish is :

" Lufny, Sept. 30th, 1791.—Bapd. Edmond, son to Nicholas Walsh & Margaret Walsh, his wife. Sps.—Thomas Walsh & Mary Delohanty. [Officiating priest], Fr. Jno Goharty."

The account books of the Maudlin Street College show that he began Philosophy there in Sept., 1812, and Theology, in 1813. In Autumn, 1814, he removed, with the other students, to Birchfield, where he finished his ecclesiastical studies. After his ordination, he was appointed Bursar and Professor of Moral and Natural Philosophy, in Birchfield, in Sept., 1817. Towards the end of Summer 1820, he was promoted to the Presidency of the College, in succession to Dr. Patrick Kelly, who had been just then consecrated Bishop of Richmond. Together with the Presidency, he also took charge of the class of Moral Theology, receiving, in reward of his labours, the very modest stipend of £40 a year.

DR. WALSH'S SEAL.

" Having been endowed by nature with a great profundity of judgment and reasoning powers of a very high order, he was from the commencement regarded as a most successful teacher of Moral Theology. A distinguished prelate, who happened to be present at one of the examinations of the students at Birchfield, said that their President was 'a very mine of Theology.' As an administrator, Dr. Walsh was also most successful. During the fifteen years that he remained

President of Birchfield College, that institution continued to prosper under his rule; and when he left in 1836, to become P.P. of Slieverue and Glenmore, it was in a state of the highest prosperity."[1]

He was promoted from Birchfield to the parish of Slieverue and Glenmore, early in 1836. Together with his appointment to the pastoral office, he was also appointed a V. F. of the Southern Deanery; in 1837 he became Archdeacon of the Diocese.

ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL, KILKENNY.

A career so distinguished naturally marked out Dr. Walsh for the Episcopal dignity; and, hence, it is little to be wondered at that, on the death of Dr. Kinsella, he should be selected by the Parish Priests as the most worthy to succeed to the vacant See. In reference to the election which took place on this occasion, under

[1] *Cath. Schools of Kilkenny*, by Rev. N. Murphy.

the presidency of the Archbishop of Dublin, there is the following entry in the Baptismal Register of Durrow :

"The Right Rev. Doctor Kinsella died Friday, 12th December, 1845. His Month's Memory was held in St. James's Chapel, the 14th of January, 1846. The election of Candidates to fill the vacant See took place on Thursday, the 15th day of January, 1846.

The Revd. Edmd. Walsh, P.P., V.F., 14 votes.
The Revd. John O'Hanlon, Prof, 13 ,,
The Revd. Edmd. Aylward, C.C., 5 ,,

The selection of the clergy was ratified at Rome. Dr. Walsh was elected Bishop by Propaganda, April 23rd, 1846, and approved by the Pope on the following day. He was consecrated in Kilkenny, July 26th, 1846, on which day, also, his had been consecrated seventeen years before.

His Episcopate of 26 years was chiefly remarkable for the zeal with which he endeavoured to promote temperance and sobriety, and a thorough knowledge of the Christian doctrine, in the Diocese. He continued the erection of St. Mary's Cathedral, interrupted by the death of Dr. Kinsella, and, after years of labour and anxiety, during which the country was swept by the ravages of the never-to-be-forgotten Famine, succeeded in bringing the work to completion. The magnificent edifice was solemnly consecrated by him, in the presence of a numerous assemblage of Irish Bishops, on the Feast of the Dedication of the Churches of Ireland, the 2nd Sunday of October, 1857.

Worn out with old age and infirmity, Dr. Walsh went to his eternal reward, on the 11th August, 1872, in his 81st year, having been the oldest occupant of the See of Ossory, since the Reformation. He rests with his three immediate predecessors, in the Bishops' burial-vault in the Cathedral.

Among his relatives in the sacred ministry may be mentioned his nephew, the late Very Rev. Edward Walsh, P.P. Mooncoin and Prebendary of Aghoure ; and his grand-nephew, the Rev. John Roe, P.P., Clough.

From Photo by] [*W. Lawrence, Dublin*

HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL MORAN, Archbishop of Sydney.

Bishop of Ossory, 1872-84.

To face page 229, Vol. I. (Text).

CHAPTER XXV.

PATRICK FRANCIS MORAN (1872-84).

FINDING himself broken down through declining health, and no longer able to discharge his Episcopal duties, Dr. Walsh petitioned the Holy See for a Coadjutor, in 1871. The request was granted, and orders were transmitted for the usual selection of candidates for that office. The election, which was held on the 19th Sept., 1871, is thus noticed in the *Irish Catholic Directory* for 1872 (p. 277):

"Sept. 19th, 1871. At a meeting of the Pastors of the Diocese of Ossory held, after High Mass in the Cathedral of St. Mary's, Kilkenny, under the presidency of the Metropolitan, the Cardinal, Archbishop of Dublin, and in presence of the venerated Bishop, the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, for the purpose of electing a Coadjutor for the administration of the duties of the See, the following was the result of the voting:

Very Rev. Monsignor Moran, Dublin,	13 votes
Rev. Mathew Keeffe, P.P., Aghaboe,	13 ,,
Very Rev. Dean McDonald, V.G., Kilkenny,	8 ,,

On the 11th Dec. following, Dr. Moran was elected Coadjutor Bishop of Ossory cum jure successionis, and with the title of Olba in partibus, by Propaganda; he was approved of by the Pope, in audience of Dec. 17th, and his decree was issued Dec. 28th. He was consecrated on St. Kieran's day, March 5th, 1872, in Marlborough Street Pro-Cathedral, Dublin, by his Eminence Cardinal Cullen, assisted by the Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and the Right Rev. Dr. Furlong, Bishop of Ferns. A few months later he succeeded as Bishop of Ossory, on the death of Dr. Walsh.

The distinguished Prelate who thus took up the crozier of St. Kieran, was born in Leighlin-bridge, Co. Carlow, Sept. 16th, 1830, his parents being Patrick

Moran, merchant, and Alicia Cullen, step-sister of his Eminence, Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin. Deprived by death of his mother, in 1831, and of his father, in 1841, he proceeded to Rome, in Nov., 1842, with his uncle, Dr. Cullen, then Rector of the Irish College there. Although but twelve years of age he was admitted as a student to the Irish College, and for the next twenty-four years he was uninterruptedly connected therewith, as student, Professor, or Vice-Rector. As student, he was twice honoured, during his Theological course, by being selected to publicly appear before the assemblage of Cardinals of the Congregation of the Propaganda to expound and defend the teaching of the Church against atheism and heterodoxy. He finished his theological studies towards the end of 1852, and was ordained in his 23rd year, on the Feast of St. Joseph, March 19th, 1853. For the thirteen or fourteen years that followed, his life was that of a scholar and a director of students and priests. In 1856 he was appointed Vice-President of the Irish College, under the late Archbishop Kirby, and also occupied the position of Professor of Hebrew in the College of Propaganda.

While in Rome he devoted himself to the study of the Irish historical records, both religious and political, stored away in the Archives of the Vatican, and in the Houses of the Franciscans, the Carmelites, and other Religious Orders. Mainly as the result of his loving labours in this direction, the ecclesiastical history of Ireland has been enriched by many priceless works from his pen: while he has at the same time made a name for himself as an Irish ecclesiastical historian, in no way inferior to that of his great predecessors, Rothe and De Burgo.

In 1866 he returned to Ireland, and became Cardinal Cullen's private secretary, while fulfilling, at the same time, the duties of Professor of Hebrew and Scripture in the Diocesan College of Holy Cross, Clonliffe. After six years he was chosen by the Holy See for the Coadjutorship of Ossory, and his consecration, as already stated, took place on March 5th, 1872. He succeeded to Ossory, the 11th August following, and on the 18th of the same month he was duly installed in Kilkenny as Bishop of this Diocese. For the next twelve years he ruled the See with zeal, prudence and ability. The chief blessings of his Episcopate in Ossory are thus well set forth in the farewell address presented to him, by the clergy of the Diocese, on his leaving for Sydney:

"For twelve years ruling and guiding with gentle and firm sway, as successor of St. Kieran, this important Diocese, in everything which tends to promote the interests of religion, you have left lasting monuments of your zeal and energy. In the matter of education, schools were built, convents were enlarged, and better accommodation provided for the children; in some cases new ones were raised on a grand scale of architecture. Two Industrial schools, under the direction of the Sisters of Charity, and fitted up at a cost of £30,000, are in full operation. A great number of children are now receiving in these magnificent schools a literary education, and trades to fit them to win bread in after life. Churches were improved and ornamented. The evil of hypocrisy was lifted from the brazen face of Proselytism, and the hateful system quickly detected and crushed. The morality of the

working classes; the vindication of Catholic rights; the decay of a false science, the source of unbelief and the corruption of morals: these were the fruits of the pastorals, sermons, and lectures which were given to the people from your gifted pen."

His Lordship's translation to the Archiepiscopal See of Sydney was decreed at Rome, March 21st, 1884 and was officially notified to him at Kilkenny four days later, on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. On Saturday, June 28th, 1884, Dr. Moran took his final leave of Kilkenny and began his journey by Rome, to Sydney, where he arrived Sept. 8th. In the following year, 1885, he was raised by Pope Leo the Thirteenth to the highest position in his gift, the dignity of Cardinal of Holy Church. *Diu sospes sit.*

The following is a list of his Eminence's principal published works :—

Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh. Dublin : Duffy, 1861.

Essays on the Origin, Doctrines and Discipline of the Early Irish Church. Duffy, 1864.

History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation. Duffy, 1864.

Historical Sketch of the Persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland under the rule of Cromwell and the Puritans. Duffy, 1865. Gill & Son, 1884.

The Episcopal Succession in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth. Kelly, 1866.

De Regno Hiberniae, authore Revmo. D. Petro Lombardo, edited with a Prefatory Memoir of Most Rev. Dr. Lombard Archbishop of Armagh. Duffy, 1868.

Life of Most Rev. Dr. Plunket. Duffy, 1870.

Acta Sancti Brendani Kelly, 1872.

Monasticon Hibernicum of Mervyn Archdall, A.M., edited with extensive notes. Kelly, 1873.

Spicilegium Ossoriense. Three Vols. 1874-84.

Irish Saints in Great Britain. Gill and Son, 1879.

Analecta of David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory. New edition. Gill & Son, 1884.

History of the Catholic Church in Australasia. Two Vols. : about 1896.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MOST REV. ABRAHAM BROWNRIGG, D.D.

ON Thursday, April 24th. 1884, thirty-five Parish Priests of Ossory assembled in St. Mary's Cathedral, to nominate ecclesiastics from amongst whom the Holy See might appoint a successor to Dr. Moran, with the following result :—

Dignissimus—Very Rev. Michael J. Murphy, President, The College, Carlow, 18 votes.

Dignior—Very Rev. Edward McDonald, D.D., P.P., St. Canice's, and Vicar Capitular, 14 votes.

Dignus—Very Rev. Thomas Hennessy, P.P., Inistioge, 3 votes.

This election was afterwards set aside at Rome, and the Most Rev. Dr. Brownrigg was selected by the Supreme Pontiff, to fill the vacant See.

Dr. Brownrigg was born at Ballypierce, in the parish of Clonegall, Co. Carlow, Dec. 23rd, 1836. His parents, Mr. Isaac Brownrigg and Eliza Roche, were members of old and most respectable Wexford families. The Rev. Abraham Brownrigg, brother of the former, died P.P. of Cloughbawn, Co. Wexford, in 1859 ; while three brothers of the latter also embraced the ecclesiastical state, viz., the Very Rev. James Canon Roche, P.P., V.F., Wexford, who died in 1882 ; the Ven. and Very Rev. Thomas Roche, P.P., Lady's Island, and Archdeacon of Ferns, who died in 1896 ; and the Very Rev. John J. Roche, O.S.F., Wexford, who still lives.

Though born in the Co. Carlow, his Lordship was mainly associated, from childhood, with the town and county of Wexford. He received his early education at Tullow Monastery ; at the Classical School, Richmond Street, Dublin, where he had for schoolfellow the present Archbishop of Philadelphia, Most Rev. Dr. Ryan ; and at St. Peter's College, Wexford. As a subject of Ferns Diocese he entered Maynooth College for Logic, Aug. 28th., 1856, and, at the close of that academic

year, secured the highly prized *solus* in English. After his ordination, on the Feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph, April 21st, 1861, he was appointed Principal of St. Aidan's Academy, Enniscorthy, and subsequently filled the position of Professor in St. Peter's College, Wexford.

In 1866 he became one of the first members of a body of devoted Ferns priests who banded themselves together, at the suggestion and under the direction of their Bishop, Most Rev. Dr. Furlong, for the purpose of giving missions throughout the Diocese of Ferns. The new Community established themselves in the House of Missions, Enniscorthy. Dr. Warren was their first Superior, and held office till his promotion to the See of Ferns, in 1876. Dr. Brownrigg succeeded him as Superior of the House of Missions, and directed the Congregation with remarkable success during the next eight years, till his appointment as Bishop of this Diocese, by Papal Brief of October 28th, 1884. He was consecrated in St. Mary's Cathedral, Kilkenny, Dec. 14th following, by the Most Rev. Dr. McGettigan, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, assisted by the Most Rev. James Lynch, Coadjutor Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and the Most Rev. James Brown, Bishop of Ferns.

QUEM, PRECAMUR, CONSERVET DIUTISSIME INCOLUMEM DEUS OPT. MAX.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE DIOCESAN CHAPTER.

THE Chapter of Ossory consists of a Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, Precentor and Treasurer, and the seven Canons or Prebendaries of Aghoure, Blackrath, Cloneamery, Killamery, Kilmanagh, Mayne and Tascoffin.

The Deans and Archdeacons can be traced as far back as the Episcopate of Felix O'Dulany (1178-1202), and it is probable that those Dignitaries were first established in the Diocese by him.

If we are to credit the *Catalogue of Bishops*, the Canons were introduced by Hugh de Mapilton, who was Bishop from 1251 to 1260 ("qui canonicos duos ministrantes ibidem—*i.e.*, in ecclesia Sti. Kanici—fundavit, ac dedit eis diversas ecclesias, in decimis et aliis obventionibus, prout in fundatione dictorum Canonicorum plenius continetur.") But the *Catalogue* here certainly mixes up Hugh Mapilton with Hugh de Rous, who became Bishop in 1201, and at whose death, in 1218, Ossory enjoyed a Dean and full Diocesan *Chapter* as will appear from the following :

"The King to the Archbishop of Dublin, Papal Legate, Dec. 8th, 1218. Odo, Dean of Ossory, W. Chancellor of Ossory, and Master G., envoys from the *Dean* and *Chapter* of Ossory, have brought letters from the latter announcing the death of Hugh, late Bishop of that See, and praying that a licence be granted to the *Chapter*, and that then the Dean, the Chancellor, and Master G., may have the power of electing." [1]

Peter Malveisin, who was elected on this occasion to succeed Bishop Hugh, had been himself a Canon of Ossory. On the 8th March, 1221, the King appointed Bartholomew de Camera to the prebend held by Alexander Fisicus in the Church of Ossory, and then vacant ; a few days after he bestowed the same prebend on Master Alexander de Suwell.[2] A document of Bishop Peter's Episcopate, which

[1] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland*, 1171-1251.
[2] *Ibid.*

began at the close of 1221, or in the early part of 1222, and ended with the last days of 1230, or commencement of 1231, is witnessed by Master Hugh, his Dean ; Odo, his Archdeacon ; and Richard de Gremessted Geoffry Wiberd, and William de Guldeford, his *Canons*.[1] Another document of his Episcopate, dated Sept. 7th, 1228, is witnessed by Odo, Dean of Kilkenny ; Almaric, Archdeacon of Ossory ; and Richard de Grunstede [or Gremessted], Geoffry Wilerth [or Wiberd], and William de Gudeford [or Guldeford], *Canons* of the *Church of Kilkenny*.

The following will show the Churches or Parishes, possessed by the various Dignitaries and Canons, down to the Reformation in the 16th century :

Dean :—Church of St. Patrick's ; half the Church of St. Mary's ; and the Church of Athnyrle, now Urlingford.

Archdeacon :—Church of Kilfane ; and the Vicariate of the Church of Tullaherin.

Chancellor :—Church of Killamery, till the 15th century ; and, after that, the prebendal Church of Outrath, otherwise Grovine.

Precentor :—Rectory of the Church of Tullaherin.

Treasurer :—Church of Mayne, till the 15th century ; and, after that, the prebendal Church of Ennisnag.

Canon of Aghoure :—Prebendal Church of Aghoure, now Freshford.

Canon of Blackrath :—Prebendal Church of Blackrath, now Madockstown ; together with half the church of St. Martin's, now Templemartin.

Canon of Cloneamery :—Prebendal Church of Cloneamery ; and one-third of the Church of Kilmaboy, now Kilmacow.

Canon of Killamery :—Prebendal Church of Killamery, which was separated from the Chancellorship, in the 15th century.

Canon of Kilmanagh—Prebendal Church of Kilmanagh ; and Chapel of St. Maul's. There is some evidence to show that St. Maul's was originally the prebend. It was granted to the Vicars Choral of St. Canice's, about 1507.

Canon of Mayne :—Prebendal Church of Mayne, which was separated from the Treasurership, in the 15th century.

Canon of Tascoffin :—Prebendal Church of Tascoffin.

DEANS.

Odo was "Dean of Kilkenny" in the Episcopate of Felix O'Dulany (1178-1202), and in that of his successor, Hugh de Rous (1202-18).[2]

[1] *Register of St. Thomas's*, p. 314
[2] *Ex Registro de Kenlis.*

S.——was "Dean of the Cathedral of Ossory" at the time that Hugh de Rous was Bishop, and Gilbert, Archdeacon of the same Diocese.[1] Cotton makes S—— Dean in 1210.

W——was "Decanus S. Kanici," also in the time of Gilbert, Archdeacon of Ossory.[2]

Odo, otherwise Hugh, was "Decanus de Kilkennia" in 1218, 1220, 1221, Sept. 7th, 1228, and 1229.[3]

William became "Dean of the Cathedral Church of Kilkenny," at some time between 1229 and 1231, when Almaric was Archdeacon.[4]

Henry De Pembrock was "Dean of the Cathedral Church of Kilkenny" in 1252;[5] also between 1245 and 1250.[6]

William De Bakepuz was "Dean of the Cathedral of Kilkenny" in 1271,[7] and in 1268.[8]

Roger of Wexford was "Dean of St. Canice," when he was appointed Bishop of Ossory in 1287.[9]

John De Low (*Latine*, "Johannes dictus Lupus.") Dean of Ossory in 1292,[10] and on the 2nd Nov., 1312.[11] He witnessed the grant of the parish of Offerlane, to the Monks of Duiske, by William Fitz John, Bishop of Ossory, 1303-17.[12]

Nicholas Fitz John, Dean between 1319 and 1324.[13]

Adam De Trilleck, Dean, the 6th year of Ed. III., *i.e.* in 1332,[14] and in 1347.[15] He resigned about 1354.

Thomas De Waverton, having announced to the Holy See that, on the resignation by Adam De Guillek [*i.e.*, Trilleck], of the Deanery of Ossory, he was elected Dean by the Bishop and Chapter, received Papal confirmation, by Brief given at Avignon, Jan. 27th, 1355.[16] In June, 1388, he exchanged his Deanery for the Vicariate of Callan.[17]

Michael De La Felde, Vicar of Callan, then became Dean, and on the

[1] *Register of St. Thomas's Abbey*, p. 313.
[2] *Ex Reg. de Kenlis.*
[3] *Ex Registro de Kenlis; M.S. Clar.; &c.*
[4] *Ex Registro de Kenlis.*
[5] *Ex Registro de Kenlis.*
[6] See p. 38 *Supra.*
[7] *Ex Registro de Kenlis.*
[8] *Cotton.*
[9] *See Register of St. Thomas's*, p. 419.
[10] *Cotton.*
[11] *Rothe's Register.*
[12] *Graves's MSS. penes me.*
[13] *Cotton.*
[14] *Graves's MSS. penes me.*
[15] *Cotton.*
[16] *Bliss's MSS.*
[17] *Pat. Rolls.*

8th August of same year (1388), had the King's leave to cross over to England, and remain there three years. He was still Dean, Nov. 4th, 1403.[1]

JOHN STAFFORD was confirmed in the Deanery by the King, April 14th, 1414; and had the King's leave of absence, July 22nd, 1415.[2]

JOHN CURKE was Dean of Ossory, Jan. 10th, 1420.—See Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, Vol. I., p. 214.

NICHOLAS HACKET, Dean between 1417 and 1426.[3] He was Prebendary of Insnak, in Ossory, March 28th, 1409.

THOMAS BOYLAN, Dean in 1436; was removed elsewhere in 1447.[4]

THOMAS GELLIAN, appointed Dean by Act of Parliament in the 26th year of King Henry VI., *i.e.* in 1447.[5]

THOMAS ARCHER, Dean in 1469.[6]

THOMAS CANTWELL was appointed Dean, by Papal Brief of March 18th, 1479, in succession to Thomas Archer, dead of the plague.[7]

EDMUND COMERFORD was "Decanus ecclesiae Ossoriensis," on the 13th August, 1491.[8] He was afterwards appointed Bishop of Ferns, and "was consecrated at Kilkenny, in St. Kenny's Church, in 1505, and died on Easter-day, 1509, having sate only four years." (—*Ware*). He retained the Deanship after his elevation to the Episcopate, as it appears from *Graves's MSS.* that, on the 25th October, 1508, the "venerabilis vir Edmundus Comerford, Decanus ecclesiae S. Canici, Kilkeniae," granted Walter Boshere and Johanna, his wife, a messuage near the outer gate of St. Patrick's, Kilkenny.

WILLIAM QUEMERFORD or COMERFORD, Dean of Ossory, was witness in some proceedings against Elicia Butler, Abbess of Kylcylyhyn, otherwise "de Belliportu," Sept. 18th, 1531.[9]

JAMES CLERE, Rector of Callan, was Dean of St. Canice's, April 8th, 1540;[10] also August 12th, 1542, when he witnessed the Letters of Administration of Margaret, Countess of Ormond and Ossory. James Clere, "Dean of Ossorie," is mentioned as "steward" to James, Earl of Ormond, in a deed of May 16th, 1543.[11] He died in 1549.[12]

[1] *Pat. Rolls.*
[2] *Pat. Rolls.*
[3] *Cotton.*
[4] *MS. Clar.*
[5] *Cotton.*
[6] *Ledwich.*
[7] Bliss's *Extracts from Papal Rescripts.*
[8] *Graves's MSS. penes me.*
[9] *Graves's MSS. penes me.*
[10] *Ledwich's Antiquities*, p. 568.
[11] *Graves's MSS.*
[12] *Pat. Rolls.*

Lewis Thidder or Didder received a schismatical appointment from King Ed. VI., to the Deanery of Ossory, and Rectory of Callan, Oct. 23rd, 1549.[1] He died in 1551.

James Bicton was also schismatically appointed to the Deanery of Ossory, by the same King, in 1551. He died the following year at Oxford and was buried there. In his will, dated 6th October, 1552, he styles himself "Dean of Kilkenny in Irelande, and Mr. of Arte and felow of the Cathedrall Church of Christe of Kynge Henry theghtes foundation in Oxforde";[2] he mentions his sisters, Margaret, Johanna and Katheryne, his brothers, Patrick and John, his mother, Margaret Bruinne or Bruyn, and "lovinge cosyn, Mr. Lewes Brian." The will contains the following clause :—

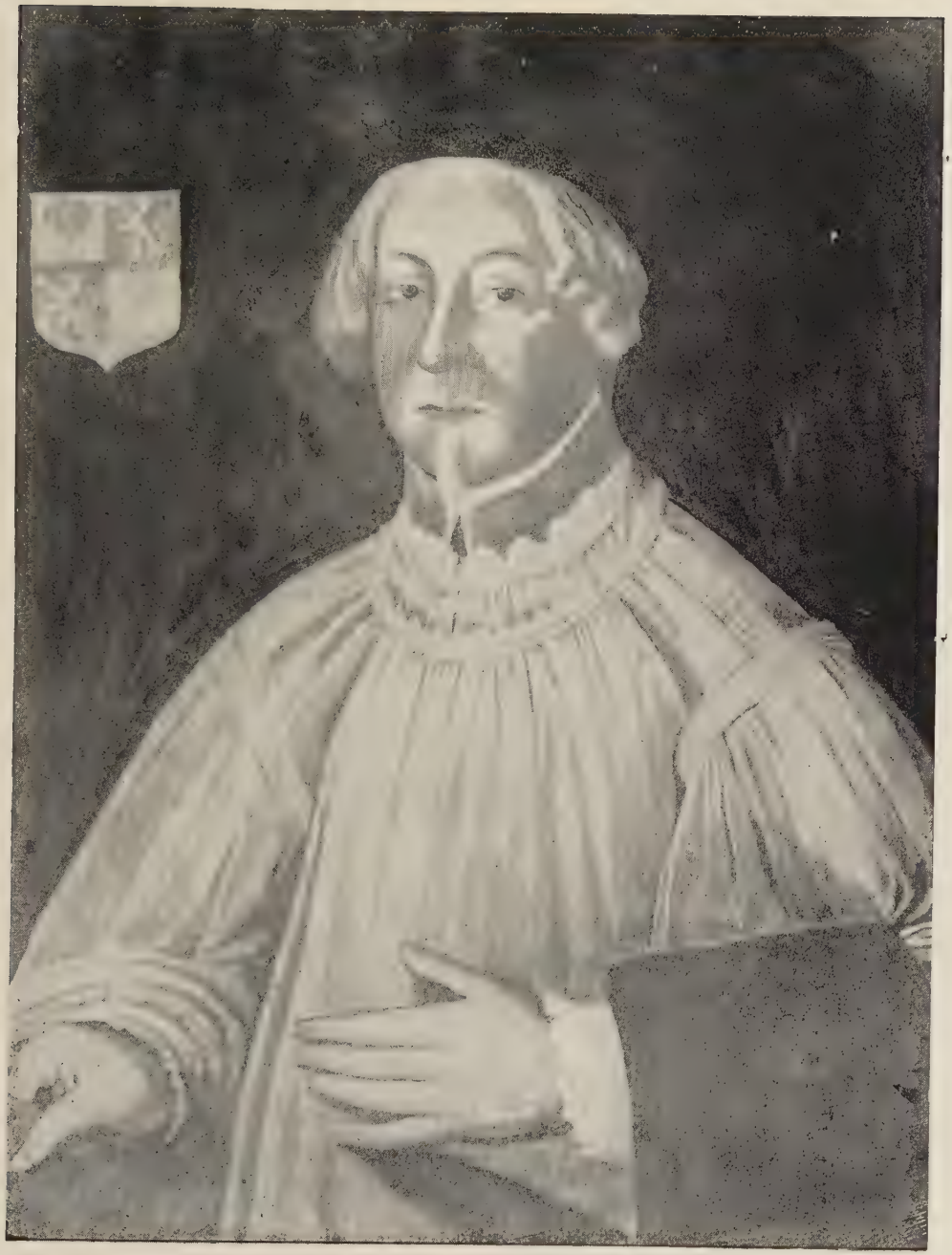
"I wyll yt. my frendes Mr. Bruarne and Mr. Tonere" [perhaps John Tonory, afterwards Bishop of Ossory] "shall see my buryall doon, my debtes heare paid, thys my legacy here accomplysshed, and the reste of my goodes here therafter remaynyng solde and bestowede as thei shall thyinke beste for my exequutors profite *and my sole's healthe.*"

Thomas Lancaster, Protestant Bishop of Kildare, next held the Deanery *in commendam*, but was deprived under Queen Mary, in 1555.

Very Rev. Thomas Rothe, Dean in 1645. Dean Rothe was son of Edward Rothe fitz John fitz Robert, merchant of Kilkenny, and Ellice, daughter and heiress of James Grace. The degree of relationship in which he stood to Bishop David Rothe is expressly laid down by his contemporary, and, most probably, acquaintance and friend, Archdeacon Lynch, who, in his *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, writes that he was "Davidis Episcopi e fratre nepos," that is, the Bishop's nephew. He was born in 1581. Having spent several years pursuing his studies in Rome, he became tutor to the son of a German prince, and he availed himself of the leisure thus afforded to write several works, which, according to Archdeacon Lynch, proved him to be deeply read in Theology, History, and Canon Law, and no less conversant with poetry, and the classics. His works, however, though carefully written and prepared for the Press, were never published, and are now lost.

He was appointed Prothonotary Apostolic by the Holy See, and Vicar General of Ossory by his uncle, and had returned to his native country before the middle of 1621. On the 1st of June, this year, he attached his signature : "Thomas Roth, sacerdos, Vicar. Gen. Dioc. Ossor. et Pronot. Apostolicus," as a subscribing witness to the instrument by which Father David Hennessy resigned to Father Luke Archer all claim to parochial jurisdiction within the Abbey and lands of Holycross, Co. Tipperary. He subsequently became Commendatory Prior of St. John's Abbey, Kilkenny, and as such, with the sanction of the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini,

[1] *Pat. Rolls.*
[2] *Cotton.* Vol. II., pp. 407-15.



THOMAS ROTHE, Dean of Ossory.
From original painting at Jenkinstown Park.

To face page 238, Vol. I. (Text).

then resident at Kilkenny, he handed over the said Abbey to the Jesuits for a College or Seminary, in the year 1645. His name is attached to the Resolution of the Irish clergy assembled at Kilkenny in May 1642.[1] and to the treatise written in reply to the Queries of the Supreme Council in 1648. He died in 1649, aged 68 years, and, no doubt, rests in St. Mary's Church, under the splendid family monument erected there some years before by his brother, Richard Rothe fitz Edward.

His portrait, of which, through the courtesy of his relative, the Hon. Mr. Bellew, we are enabled to give a reproduction, is preserved at Jenkinstown Park. The painting is a half length. In the left hand corner above the figure is a shield, bearing quarterly 1st and 4th, *Or, a stag argent trippant by a tree proper*, for Rothe ; 2nd and 3rd, *Gules, a lion rampant gardant, a mullet argent for difference*, for Grace. To the right is the following inscription :

"THOMAS ROTH, PROTONOTARIVS APOSTOLICVS, PRIOR COMMEND. MONASTERII S. IOANNIS EVANGELISTÆ KILKEN. ET DECANVS ECCLESIÆ CATHEDRALIS STI. CANICI OSSORIEN. DIÆCESIS, ÆTIS. SVÆ 64. ANNO 1645."

Very Rev. James Phelan was next Dean from 1649 to 1669, when he became Bishop of the Diocese.

Very Rev. William Daton was Dean in 1685, and down to 1696, when he, too, became Bishop of Ossory.

Very Rev. Walter Daton, Dean of Ossory, lived in France, and died there in 1771.

Very Rev. Patrick Molloy (P.P. St. Mary's), 1772-89.

Very Rev. John Byrne (P.P. St. Canice's), 1789-1801.

Very Rev. Richard O'Donnell (P.P. St. John's), 1801-11.

Very Rev. Richard Mansfield (P.P. Windgap and Dunnamaggan), was appointed Dean, on the 4th July, 1811, by Dr. Lanigan, in so far as he had power so to do, access to the Pope (who was then Napoleon's prisoner) being impossible. Some years later, April 3rd, 1814, Dr. Mansfield being then Vicar Capitular, resigned any title he might have to the dignity of Dean of Ossory, and as far as in him lay, access to the Pope (to whom the confirmation of Deans is reserved by the ordinary law) being still impossible, appointed the Very Rev. Kieran Marum, D.D., P.P., St. John's, to be Dean in his place. His Holiness, Pope Pius VII. being soon after released from his long imprisonment, and having again taken up the Government of the Church, nppointed Dr. Marum to the See of Ossory, September 29th, 1814, and about the same time conferred the Deanery in canonical form on Dr. Mansfield. Dr. Mansfield died September 13th, 1826.

[1] See p, 102 *Supra*.

Very Rev. Timothy Ryan, better known as Abbé Ryan, was born, probably in Kilkenny city, in 1761. His father, William Ryan, merchant, was brother of Edmund Ryan, M.D., Kilkenny, and of Anne Ryan, wife of John Ryan, Esq., of Danganmore. Timothy Ryan was entered as a student at St. John's College, Kilkenny, at the age of six years, in 1767, his father being then dead. He afterwards studied at the English College, Douay, and, while there, received faculties for Orders from Dr. Troy, March 4th, 1783. He was ordained *cum titulo patrimoniae*, probably in 1784; after which he was appointed Professor in his Alma Mater in Douay. He was still Professor here in 1791. He returned to Ireland in or before 1793, in which year he was resident at Kilkenny. From this time till his death, many years afterwards, he made Kilkenny city his home. He never accepted any parochial charge from the Bishops of Ossory, but lived privately on his patrimony, occasionally acting as chaplain to his relatives, the Knaresboroughs of Inch Ho.

He was held in high esteem by the Diocesan authorities, and became Archdeacon of Ossory in succession to Dr. Stephen Lower, who died January 5th, 1800. A chalice in St. Patrick's Convent, Kilkenny, is inscribed with his name and title: "Revd. Timothy Ryan, Archdeacon of Ossory, 20th April, 1818." In 1826 he was appointed Dean of the Diocese. He died at his house in Wellington Square, February 7th, 1837. "Learned, pious, and sincere, he illustrated, by the holiness of his life, the purity of his religion, and the sacredness of his ministry." [1]

His remains were interred in the Old Cathedral, whence they were removed and re-interred in the Bishops' vault in St. Mary's Cathedral, in 1857.

Very Rev. Edward Nowlan (P.P. Gowran), 1837-51.

" " John Gorman (P.P. St. Canice's), 1856-69.

" " Edward M'Donald (P.P. St. Canice's), 1870-89.

" " Thomas Kelly, P.P. St. Canice's, was appointed Dean, by Papal Rescript, bearing date January 26th, 1890: he died January 14th, 1901.

Very Rev. Martin Howley (P.P. Callan), was appointed Dean in 1901.

ARCHDEACONS.

Gilbert was Archdeacon of Ossory before the death of Bishop Felix O'Dulany, in 1202; during the entire Episcopate of Hugh de Rous (1202-18); and down, at least, to May, 1220 or 1221.[2]

[1] *Kilk. Journal.*

[2] *Ex Registro de Kenlis; Register of St. Thomas's; &c.*

ODO was Archdeacon early in the Episcopate of Peter Malveisin (1222-31) [1]

ALMARIC was Archdeacon, September 7th, 1228,[2] also in 1229 and perhaps the following year.[3]

THOMAS DE CRAVILL succeeded as next Archdeacon of Ossory, previous to the death of Bishop Peter Malveisin, in 1231.[4] He was still Archdeacon, at Easter, 1258.[5] He appears as Chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in 1231 and 1235.

WILLIAM DE NAS was Archdeacon in 1264.[6]

ROGER DE LETUM, *alias* DE LEONIBUS, was Archdeacon in 1271.[7]

NICHOLAS DE EXETER, *alias* DE EXONIA, Archdeacon of Ossory, witnessed the grant of the parish of Offerlane, to the Monks of Duiske, by William Fitz John, Bishop of Ossory, 1303-17.[8]

JOHN DE HORWOOD, Archdeacon, in 1333.[9] A John Horwood was Archdeacon of Kildare between 1353 and 1357.[10]

HOWEL DE BATHE, Archdeacon in 1336, was slain in the same year:

"A.D. 1336. Master Howel de Bathe, Archdeacon of Ossory, was slain, together with Andrew Avenal and Adam de Bathe, by the O'Bryinis of the Duffyr, on the 11th April, whilst defending the goods of his church and parish." [11]

WILLIAM DE EVESHAM, Archdeacon between 1341 and 1346.[12]

JOHN HENSAKIR, Archdeacon, Jan. 29th, 1355, and September 4th, 1356.[13]

ROBERT TONBRIGE, or TUNBRIGGE, was Archdeacon in 1361 [14] and August 4th, 1385.[15]

THOMAS DE HARBERGH was appointed Archdeacon Dec. 16th, 1386.[16] He died about 1406.[17]

ADAM TAYLOR was appointed Archdeacon by the King, Sept. 7th, 1406, in succession to Thomas Harbergh, deceased.[18]

[1] *Register of St. Thomas's*, p. 314; *Graves's MSS.*
[2] *Ex Chartis Jac. Com. Ormoniae.*
[3] *Ex Registro de Kenlis.*
[4] *Ex Regesto Hosp. S. Johannis Evangel. iuxta Kilken.*
[5] *Ex Registro de Kenlis.*
[6] *Ex Reg. de Kenlis.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Graves's MSS. penes me.*
[9] *Cotton.*
[10] *Journal of R. S. A.* for 1897, p. 406.
[11] *Clyn's Annals.*
[12] *Cotton.*
[13] *Pat. Rolls.*
[14] *Ex. Reg. de Kenlis.*
[15] *Pat. Rolls.*
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Ibid.*

PHILIP ROKELY was also soon after appointed Archdeacon by the King in succession to the same Thomas Harbergh, Adam's appointment having been, in the meantime, regarded as invalid; and on the 29th January, 1409, "Philip, Archdeacon of Ossory," had a letter from the King empowering him, his tenants, servants and parishioners, to treat with the Irish enemies and English rebels among whom, on the frontiers of the marches, his property is situate.

Adam Taylor did not quietly submit to his own removal from the Archdeaconry; and in the controversy that ensued, succeeded in temporarily ousting his rival from the coveted position. Philip, however, was restored after a little time; and we next find him lodging a complaint against Adam's usurpation of his rights, in the court of the King, who, thereupon, by letter of March 14th, 1410, gives orders that the question in dispute between the claimants be examined into, and, if it be found that Adam intruded himself, without a proper title, that he make full restitution to Philip.[1]

WALTER STANTON was Archdeacon on the 8th May, 1417, as appears from the following contemporary entry in the *Red Book of Ossory:*

"Memorandum est quod A.D. MCCCCXVII., Indictione noua, mensis Maii die octaua, in ecclesia Cathedrali S. Kanici, Kylkenniae, Johannes Grace appellauit, viva voce, a sententia diffinitiva contra eum in causa periurii, et pro Margareta Jay (?); hiis testibus presentibus: Waltero Stantoune, Archidiacono Ossor., et Thoma Mounte apparitore. Item mensis Maii die XXIII., in eadem ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Kanici, Kilkenniae, idem Johannes Grace petiit apostolos a Venerabili in Christo Patre ac Domino, Domino, Divina miseratione, Thoma, Episcopo Ossor.; quique Episcopus ullos apostolos permisit sibi vel dimissorios vel refutatorios reverenciales quos requisivit . . . . hiis testibu presentibus, Johanne Barone de Grace et Petro Grace."

JOHN CANTWELL, Archdeacon in 1429,[2] was appointed sub-collector of the Papal revenue in Ireland in 1431.[3] He continued Archdeacon of Ossory till his promotion to the Archbishopric of Cashel about 1450. He died in 1482.

JOHN O'HAYDEN was appointed Archdeacon of Cashel and Ossory, by Pope Nicholas V., about 1450, his predecessor in the former Diocese having been Simon Gautbell, and in the latter, John, who had been raised to the See of Cashel. Afterwards the validity of both his appointments was called in question, some asserting that the Archdeaconry of Cashel became vacant by the death, not of Simon Gautbell, but of William Redcleff; and that the Archdeaconry of Ossory was vacant by the death of Adam Ruaygh, and not by the consecration of John Cantwell as

[1] *Pat. Rolls.*
[2] *Cotton.*
[3] *Hist. of St. Canice's*, p. 181.

Archbishop of Cashel. To secure his position in both Dioceses John O'Hayden referred the matter to the Holy See.

Whereupon, the reigning Pontiff, Pius II., to remove all possible grounds for doubt or misunderstanding, by a Brief of Jan. 8th, 1460, confirmed O'Hayden in both Archdeaconries, no matter how they may have become vacant, whether by the deaths of William and Adam aforesaid; or whether the Archdeaconry of Cashel has become vacant by the deaths of John, Thomas, Richard *alias* Yhedyan, or John Caroch; or whether the Archdeaconry of Ossory has become vacant by the deaths of John Hensakir, or Robert Tombrygh, or Thomas Herbixgh (Harbergh) or Walter Stantton, all deceased extra Curiam Romanam; or whether the Archdeaconry of Cashel has been vacant by the consecration of Richard, and that of Ossory by the Consecration of the said John, Archbishop of Cashel, &c.[1]

O'Hayden was deprived of the Archdeaconry of Ossory by the Pope, in 1471; appears again as Archdeacon of Ossory and Cashel in a Roman document of 1476; and became Bishop of Ossory in 1479.

Peter Cantwell was appointed by the Holy See to the Archdeaconry of Ossory, September 3rd, 1471, "vacantis per privationem Johannis Ohedian quondam Archidiaconi.[2]

Richard Stakboll was appointed Archdeacon, by the Holy See, in succession to Peter Cantwell, Feb. 22nd, 1472.

Edmund Butler was constituted Archdeacon of Ossory by definitive sentence of William M'Gilpadrick, Canon of Ossory (in pursuance of Pope Leo the Tenth's two Bulls, dated 12 July, 1514, and 27th May, 1515, respectively), in place of Robert O'Hedian, who challenged the same. Pope Leo claimed the right of presenting, having learned that the Archdeaconry was vacant "ad presentis," and for so long a time that its collation belonged to the Apostolic See by the Statutes of the Lateran Council; whereas Robert O'Hedyan has intruded himself into it "nullo titulo, nullove jure."

William M'Gilpadrick, Canon of the Church of Ossory, who was one of the judges delegated for such causes, summoned the parties before him, at the Convent of Aghamccarth on the 29th of May, 1516; from thence the cause was adjourned to July 1st, in the parish church of Aghour; from thence, to the parish church of Cahyr, on the 2nd of the same month; from thence, at the desire of the parties, to the 30th July, in the parish Church of Kilermoe; from thence on the 19th of August, to the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny; and finally to the parish

[1] *Theiner's Monumenta.*
[2] *Bliss.*

church of Dorwagh, where on the 25th of September, in the same year, a definitive sentence to the above effect was pronounced in haec verba, &c.[1]

Edmund Butler was promoted to the Archbishopric of Cashel, Oct. 21st, 1524, and died in 1550. He retained his dignity in the Church of Ossory, even after his consecration, as he is still mentioned officially as Archdeacon of this Diocese, March 21st, 1533-4.[2]

William was Archdeacon some time during the Episcopate of Milo Baron.[3]

Richard Rothe, Treasurer of Ossory in the time of Bishop Milo Baron; also in 1553;[4] appears as Archdeacon of same, in 1570 and 1574.[5] He was dead before Sept. 20th, 1576, at which date William Keoghe was Archdeacon (apparently Protestant.)

Very Rev. Luke Archer (P.P., St. Patrick's), was Archdeacon from about 1599 to about 1618. He died Abbot of Holy Cross, Co. Tipperary, in 1644.

Very Rev. Luke Cowley was Archdeacon in 1648 and 1669.

Very Rev. Edmond Kavanagh (P.P., Ballyragget), is the next Archdeacon on record. He held this dignity in 1748, but resigned it soon after.

Very Rev. James Kavanagh (P.P., Muckalee), Archdeacon, died April 13th, 1753.

Very Rev. Patrick Murphy (P.P., Thomastown), 1753-73.
" " James Stapleton (P.P., Gowran), 1774-78.
" " Stephen Lower (P.P., Slieverue), 1778-1800.
" " Timothy Ryan (afterwards Dean), 1800-26.
" " Edward Nowlan (P.P., Gowran), 1826-37.
" " Edward Walsh (afterwards Bishop), 1837-46.
" " Robert O'Shea (P.P., Ballyhale), 1846-83.
" " William Hayden (P.P., St. Patrick's), 1883-84.
" " Michael Drea (P.P., Callan), 1884-87.
" " William Lynch (PP., Rathdowney), 1887-92.
" " Edward Delahunty (PP., Thomastown), 1892-1903.
" " Michael Cody (P.P., Castlecomer), succeeded in 1904.

CHANCELLORS.

William of Kilkenny was Chancellor of Ossory, Dec. 8th, 1218, and in the beginning of 1231. At the latter date he was elected to the See of Ossory, then

[1] *Ormond, MSS.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Cotton.*
[4] *Bale's Vocation.*
[5] *Fiants of Eliz.*

vacant, by the Chapter; but he declined the proffered dignity. His connection with Ossory, presumably as Chancellor, still continued as far, at least, as October, 1250. He appears as Archdeacon of Coventry, in May, 1251, and he was Bishop-Elect of the See of Ely, in England, November, 21st, 1254.[1]

NICHOLAS WYLE, appointed Chancellor of Ossory, by the King, January 27th, 1412.[2]

JOHN ARCHDEAKYN, "Cancellarius ecclesiae Ossor." witnesses a notarial certificate, 6 Feb., 1489-90.[3]

JOHN MOGHLAND, Chancellor of Ossory, died March 19th, 1508-9, and is buried in St. Canice's Cathedral.

WILLIAM FYAN was Chancellor, April 19th, 1512.[4]

NICHOLAS MOTHYNG, or MOTING, was Chancellor, Sept. 18th, 1531, in 1544, 1555, and down to Feb. 14th, 1568-9, when he died.

VERY REV. JAMES PHELAN was Chancellor in 1649, when he became Dean. He was appointed Bishop of Ossory in 1669.

VERY REV. WILLIAM PHELAN, D.D., was Prothonotary Apostolic, and Chancellor of Ossory, in 1670, when he was recommended for the Bishopric of Leighlin.[5]

VERY REV. WILLIAM DATON, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, was Chancellor in 1676.

VERY REV. EDWARD SHEE (P.P., St. Mary's), was Chancellor in 1748; he died March 16th, 1751-2.

VERY REV. THOMAS QUIRKE (P.P., Windgap), 1752-69.
,, ,, DENIS DELEIGN (P.P., St. John's), 1769-73.
,, ,, JAMES PURCELL (P.P., Mooncoin), 1773-77.
,, ,, WILLIAM PHELAN (P.P., Windgap), 1777 to about 1790.
,, ,, RICHARD MANSFIELD (P.P., Windgap), from about 1790 to 1811.
,, ,, PATRICK MCGRATH (P.P., Inistioge), was Chancellor at his death in 1840.

VERY REV. ROBERT POWER (P.P., Johnstown), 1840-50.
,, ,, EDWARD AYLWARD (P.P., Castlecomer), next Chancellor, 1854-65.
,. ,, WILLIAM LYNCH (P.P., Rathdowney), 1865-87.
,, ,, THOMAS HENNESSY (P.P., Inistioge), 1887-95.
,, ,, MICHAEL CODY (P.P., Castlecomer), 1895-1904.
,, ,, MICHAEL BARRY, D.D. (P.P., Ballyragget), succeeded in 1904.

[1] *Calendar of Documents, Ireland.*
[2] *Pat. Rolls.*
[3] *Graves's MSS.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Memoir of Oliver Plunket, Archbish. of Armagh,* Moran, p. 123

PRECENTORS.

Eustace was "Praecentor S. Kanici Kilken." about 1235.[1]

Nicholas Fitz Richard was Precentor, Sept. 5th., 1289.

Simon Dunning was Precentor during the Episcopate of William Fitz John (1303-1317), and down to his death, July 22nd, 1334.

Thomas Forstall was appointed by Royal authority, June 16th, 1387, to the Archdeaconry of Ossory, together with half the Prebend of Tillaghtyrn (Tullaherin) to it annexed.[2]

Richard Smythe was appointed Precentor by Papal provision in 1418. His appointment received the King's ratification, Sept. 18th, 1419.

John Cantwell, Precentor, died November 18th, 1531.

James Clere was Precentor, March 21st, 1533-4.[3] He was probably the same James Clere who was Dean of Ossory, April 8th, 1540.

William Wale was Precentor May 16th, 1544, also in 1552, and till his death in 1571.

Very Rev. John Morris was Precentor in Aug., 1669.

„ „ Mark Mansfield (P.P., Danesfort), was Precentor in 1748, and till 1783, when he died.

Very Rev. Maurice Delany (P.P., Aghaboe), 1783-94.

„ „ Thomas Millea (P.P., Slieverue), 1794-1805.

„ „ Patrick O'Grady (P.P., Freshford), 1805-22.

„ „ Nicholas Carroll (P.P., Mooncoin), 1822-46.

„ „ Patrick Carrigan (P.P., Inistioge), 1846-63.

„ „ John Walsh (P.P., Slieverue), was next Precentor from 1865 to 1883.

Very Rev. Mathew Keeffe (P.P., Aghaboe), 1883-7.

„ „ Martin Howley (P.P., Callan), 1888-1901.

„ „ James Doyle, D.D., (P.P., St. Canice's), appointed Precentor in 1901.

TREASURERS.

Geoffry St. Leger, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, was Treasurer from between 1245 and 1250[4] to 1260.

[1] *Ex Registro de Kenlis.*
[2] *Pat. Rolls.*
[3] *Graves's MSS.*
[4] See p. 38, *supra*

Maurice de Blanchville was Treasurer in 1295,[1] and in the Episcopate of William Fitz John, 1303-17.[2]

Milo Sweetman, Treasurer of Ossory in 1360, became Archbishop of Armagh in 1361.[3]

Richard Burke resigned the Treasurership about 1479.

James Cantwell was appointed Treasurer by the Holy See, July 27th, 1479, in succession to Richard Burke resigned.[4] A Master James Cantwell was Vicar General of Ossory, April 19th, 1512, and February 25th, 1528-9.[5]

Thomas Donyll was Treasurer, July 12th, 1485, February 8th, 1491-2, and February 12th, 1517.[6]

Nicholas Brytton was Treasurer, April 8th, 1540.[7]

Richard Rothe was Treasurer in the Episcopate of Milo Baron,[8] and in 1553.[9] He was Archdeacon in 1570 and 1574, but was dead before September 20th, 1576.

John Nele or Neale, whom Robert Rothe, in his will of December 23rd, 1543, styles his "chaplain," became Chancellor of Ossory (apparently by a Crown appointment), in 1569. He is mentioned as "Treasurer of Ossory" on a monument which he had inscribed with his name, in St. Canice's Cathedral, while living, and which has remained undated ever since. Probably his tenure of the Treasurership dates from before 1569.

Very Rev. Nicholas Rothe was Treasurer in August, 1669.[10]

" " Patrick Fitzgerald (P.P., St. Patrick's), was Treasurer at the time of his death in 1749.

Very Rev. Daniel Kennedy (P.P., Rathdowney), died in 1762.

" " John Hoyne (P.P., Gowran), 1762-76.

" " William Shee (P.P., Durrow), 1776-86.

" " Alexander Cahill (P.P., Ballyragget), 1786-96.

" " Thomas Quinlan (P.P., Ballyragget), died in 1816.

" " William Carroll (P.P., Inistioge), 1816-37.

" " William Tracey (P.P., Rathdowny), 1837-39.

" " John Gorman (P.P., St. Canice's), next Treasurer, 1841-56.

" " Patrick Birch (P.P., Johnstown), 1856-60.

[1] *Cotton.*
[2] *Graves's MSS.*
[3] See p. 57 *supra.*
[4] *Bliss.*
[5] *Graves's MSS.*
[6] *Graves's MSS.*
[7] *Ledwich's Antiquities* p. 507
[8] *Graves's MSS.*
[9] See p. 244 *supra.*
[10] See p. 118 *supra.*

VERY REV. ROBERT O'KEEFFE (P.P., Callan), 1862-71.
" " THOMAS WALSH (P.P., Ballyragget), next Treasurer, 1873-88.
" " PATRICK HOYNE (P.P., Muckalee), 1888-92.
" " JOHN WALSH (P.P., Slieverue), 1892-97.
" " JOHN SHORTALL, P.P., Durrow, appointed Treasurer in 1898.

CANONS THEOLOGIAN.

VERY REV. MATHEW KELLY, D.D., (Professor, Maynooth College), 1856-58.
" " THOMAS O'SHEA (P.P., Camross), next Canon Theologian, 1873-87.
" " EDWARD O'SHEA (P.P., Urlingford), 1887-92.
" " PATRICK PHELAN (P.P., Slieverue), appointed Canon Theologian in 1893.

CANONS PENITENTIARY.

VERY REV. EDWARD M'DONALD. D.D. (P.P., St. Canice's), 1856-70.
" " JOHN KELLY (P.P., Castlecomer), 1873-83.
" " THOMAS KELLY (P.P., Castlecomer), 1883-90.
" " JOSEPH DUNPHY (P.P., Mooncoin), 1890-91.
" " RICHARD HOGAN (P.P., Conahy), 1891-1901.
" " WALTER KEOGHAN, P.P., Conahy, appointed Canon Penitentiary in 1901.

PREBENDARIES OF AGHOURE.

JOHN WYKE, clerk, Prebendary of the Prebend of Athour, in the Diocese of Ossory, being absent from Ireland, the King, by royal letter of November 1st, 1392, grants Richard, Bishop of Ossory, two-thirds of the profits of said Prebend for two years.[1]

MAURICE COGGERANE was presented by the Crown to the Canonry of Aghthour, on the 26th November, 1411, and was transferred to a Prebend in the Archdiocese of Dublin, on August 26th, 1412.

EDMUND HORNE, Canon of Aghoure, died about 1414, as appears from what follows.

WALTER FITZ EDE, having had a Brief from Pope John XXIII., granting him the next vacant Ossory Prebend he might desire to have; and having, in virtue

[1] *Irish Council Roll XVIth. Rich. II.*

thereof, accepted the Prebend of Aghthoure, vacant by the death of Edmund Horne: the King, by letter of February 6th, 1415, pardoned him for such acceptance, and confirmed his status in the Prebend, although his doing so involved the withdrawal of a royal grant of the same Prebend already made to Philip Mason, December 5th, 1414.[1]

Very Rev. Thady Brophy (P.P., Freshford), was Canon of Aghoure in 1669.
" " Martin Delany (P.P., Durrow), died in 1751.
" " John Hoyne (P.P., Gowran), 1751-63.
" " Denis Deleign (P.P., St. John's), 1763-69.
" " James Stapleton (P.P., Gowran), 1769-74.
" " William Phelan (P.P., Windgap), 1774-77.
" " Bryan Kavanagh (P.P., Gowran), 1777-90.
" " Patrick Grady (P.P., Freshford), 1790-1805.
" " Thomas Brenan (P.P., Galmoy), died 1839.
" " Richard Laracy (P.P., Freshford), 1840-42.
" " John Quinn (P.P., Lisdowney), 1842-55.
" " William Hart (P.P., Freshford), 1856-73.
" " Edward Walsh (P.P., Mooncoin), 1873-81.
" " Thomas Kelly (P.P., Lisdowney), 1881-83.
" " William Martin (P.P., Freshford), 1883-87.
" " Edward Coyne (P.P., Dunnamaggan), 1888-89.
" " Michael Cody (P.P., Castlecomer), 1889-95.
" " Martin Keoghan (P.P., Lisdowney), appointed Canon, 1895.

PREBENDARIES OF BLACKRATH.

Master Walter de Istelep was presented by the Crown, on the 27th September, 1317, to the Prebend of St. Martin's of Blakerathe [*recte*, to the Prebend of Blakerathe and to half the Rectory of St. Martin's].[2] He three times filled the high office of Lord Treasurer of Ireland.[3]

Thomas O'Carroll, Canon of Blackrath, or Madockstown ("Wylmodowake"), in the Diocese of Ossory, became Archbishop of Tuam in 1349. He was translated to Cashel in 1356, and died in 1374.[4]

Richard Fitz Ralph ("Randulphy") had a Brief of Pope Clement VI.,

[1] *Pat. Rolls.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Cotton.*
[4] See *Theiner's Monument-*

dated August, 12th, 1352, conferring on him the Ossory Prebend vacant by the promotion of the said Thomas.[1]

Walter Theobaud was presented by the Crown to the Prebend of Blakerath in the Diocese of Ossory, January, 20th, 1409.[2] A few years afterwards the revenues are found to have been taken into the King's hands; and, by royal letter of March 1st, 1412, John Medilton, cleric, and John Stone are appointed to take charge of the profits of the "Prebend of Blakrath with the Chapel of St. Martin's annexed thereto."[3]

Thomas Grace was Canon of Blackrath in 1565.[4] Probably he is identical with Thomas Grace, Rector of Callan, who died January 16th, 1583-4.

Very Rev. Nicholas Tue was Canon of Blackrath in August, 1669.

" " James Carroll (P.P., Mooncoin), was Canon in 1748.

" " Patrick Murphy (P.P., St. Canice's), was Canon in 1759, and down to 1774, when he died.

Very Rev. Dr. Stephen Lower (P.P., Slieverue), 1774-78.

" " James Butler (P.P., Thomastown), became Canon in 1778: he died in 1809.

Very Rev. Edmund Cody (P.P., Thomastown), died in 1837.

" " Nicholas Shearman (P.P., St. Patrick's), 1837-40.

" " Michael Walsh (P.P., Rosbercon), next Canon, 1842-75

" " Daniel Brennan (P.P., Kilmacow), 1875-82.

" " William Brennan (P.P., Mooncoin), 1882-84.

" " Joseph Dunphy (P.P., Mooncoin), 1884-90.

" " Patrick Phelan (P.P., Windgap), 1890-93.

" " James Raftice (P.P., Mullinavat), appointed next Canon of Blackrath, in 1898.

PREBENDARIES OF CLONEAMERY.

Master Thomas Cantok was Canon of Cloneamery about the year 1300, when he held the third part of the Rectory of Kilmaboy (Kilmacow), parcel of the said Prebend.[5] He became Bishop of Emly in 1306, and died in 1308.

Richard Broun was presented by the King, September 27th, 1317, to the

[1] See *Theiner's Monumenta.*
[2] *Pat. Rolls.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Cotton.*
[5] *Red Book of Ossory.*

Prebend of Clon[amery] and to the third part of the church of Kilmaboy, which belongs to it.[1]

NICHOLAS DISSARD, Canon of Clonemery, in Ossory, was also appointed by the Holy See to the Canonry of Coleveny in the Diocese of Cloyne, on the 17th July, 1354.[2]

VERY REV. STEPHEN BARON, otherwise FITZGERALD (P.P., Inistioge), was Canon of Cloneamery, in August, 1669.

VERY REV. JAMES MOTLEY (P.P., Kilmacow), was Canon of Cloneamery in the year 1746; he died about 1756.

VERY REV. WILLIAM DELANY (P P., Upperwoods), was Canon in 1759, and down to 1764.

VERY REV. MAURICE DELANY (P.P., Aghaboe). 1764-83.
,, ,, JOHN BYRNE (P.P., St. Canice's), 1783-90.
,, ,, JOHN CASSIN (P.P., Callan), became Canon in 1790.
,, ,, MICHAEL CAMPION (P.P., Upperwoods), died 1838.
,, ,, JOHN MULLINS (P.P., Callan), 1838-54.
,, ,, WILLIAM HART (P.P., Freshford), 1854-56.
,, ,, SIMON FOGARTY (P.P., Kilmanagh), 1856-65.
,, ,, THOMAS HENNESSY (P.P., Inistioge), 1865-87.
,, ,, JOHN FITZPATRICK (P.P., Clough), 1887-1901.
,, ,, JOHN PURCELL (P.P., Templeorum), appointed Canon of Cloneamery in 1901.

PREBENDARIES OF KILLAMERY.

RICHARD WHITESYDE, clerk, "Prebendarius Prebende de Kyllamery" released to Thomas Ballard and his heirs, all right to 10 acres of arable land in the Lordship of Kylbleyn, "in campo vocato Carnantie," which he held by gift from John Anrey, and Mabina, his wife: "in cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apponitur. Datum die Sabbati autem post festum Sancti Brandani, Abbatis, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti post conquestum quarto," *i.e.*, May, 1403.[3]

ADAM WALSH, Official or Vicar General, in 1560, was Canon of Killamery in 1565.[4]

[1] *Pat. Rolls.*
[2] *Bliss.*
[3] *Graves's MSS penes me.*
[4] *Cotton.*

JOHN TOBIN was Canon, September 20th, 1574. He was deprived, possibly for non-conformity, by the Protestant Bishop, Horsfall, about 1586.

VERY REV. PETER WALSH, Canon of Killamery in August, 1669.

,, ,, THOMAS FORSTALL (P.P. Thomastown) was Canon at his death in 1764.

VERY REV. EDMUND BUTLER (P.P., Urlingford), 1764-5.

,, ,, JAMES BUTLER (P.P., Callan), 1765-8.

,, ,, JAMES PURCELL (P.P., Mooncoin), 1768-73.

,, ,, WILLIAM SHEE (P.P., Durrow), 1773-75.

,, ,, WILLIAM FITZPATRICK (P.P., Mooncoin), 1775-83.

,, ,, JAMES LANIGAN, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, was Canon, 1783-89

,, ,, ANDREW PHELAN (P.P., Castlecomer), became Canon in 1789; he died in 1807.

,, ,, EDMUND KAVANAGH (P.P., Danesfort), was Canon in 1836, and till his death in 1857.

VERY REV. MICHAEL BIRCH (P.P., Muckalee), 1857-72.

,, ,, MATHEW KEEFFE (P.P., Aghaboe), 1872-83.

,, ,, WILLIAM MAHER (P.P., Windgap), 1883-86.

,, ,, PATRICK HOYNE (P.P., Muckalee), 1886-90.

,, ,, WALTER KEOGHAN (P.P., Conahy), 1890-1901.

,, ,, TOBIAS R. WALSH (P.P., Freshford), appointed Canon of Killamery in 1901.

PREBENDARIES OF KILMANAGH.

HENRY FITZ ADAM LE BLUND, on the vigil of Pentecost, 1303, assigned to Master John Cantok all debts due to him at Kilmanagh or elsewhere in Ossory; he also renounced all right or claim to the church or Prebend of Kilmanagh, of which he had been deprived in due form of law by the Bishop of Ossory, in favour of a cleric whom the said Bishop had appointed thereto.[1]

THOMAS DE GOLDINGHAM, by Papal Brief, of August 12th, 1320, was appointed to the Prebend of Kilmanach in Ossory, void by the cession of Master John Cantok, who held it as a pluralist without Papal dispensation.[2]

GILBERT DE BRUERA, Canon, down to 1330.

BALSAMUS TALAMI, of Florence, by Papal Brief of September 29th, 1330, is provided with a Canonry of Ossory, and the Prebend of Kylmenach, he having

[1] *Pat. Rolls.*
[2] *Bliss.*

exchanged them with Gilbert de Bruera, who has now a Canonry of London and the Prebend of Ruggenor.[1]

Richard O'Hedyan (O'Hayden), Archdeacon of Cashel, has a royal appointment, May 4th, 1404, to the Prebend de Sancta Malla (in the Cathedral Church of Ossory), together with the Church of Kilmanagh annexed thereto ; and a mandate is issued to the Bishop, Dean and Chapter of Ossory to admit him.

Two years later Richard O'Hedyan was consecrated Archbishop of Cashel. In 1421, it was charged against him, before the Parliament assembled in Dublin, "that he was kind to the Irish and loved no English man ; and that neither he himself gave, nor suffered any other Bishop to give any benefice to an Englishman." He died July 21st, 1440, and rests in his Cathedral at Cashel.

Thomas Fawte was Canon of Kilmanagh, shortly before 1462.[2] After his death the Canonry was for some years in dispute between Patrick Purcell and John Strong.[3] Patrick eventually succeeded in establishing his title at Rome, and in being acknowledged as the true and lawful Canon of Kilmanagh, in 1465.[4]

James Shortall, Canon of Kilmanagh in the first months of 1507,[5] resigned his Prebend soon after, and entered St. John's Abbey, Kilkenny, of which he appears as Prior in 1519.[6] At his instance while Canon, Oliver Cantwell, Bishop of Ossory, granted the Church of St. Maul's, up to this time parcel of the Prebend of Kilmanagh, to the Vicars Choral of St. Canice's.

James Joise, Canon of Kilmanagh, died about 1565.[7]

Very Rev. Philip Walsh (P.P. Callan), was Canon of Kilmanagh in 1669.

,, ,, Ignatius Delany (P.P. Kilmanagh), was Canon for many years previous to his death, in 1758.

,, ,, Cornelius Delany (P.P. Kilmanagh), 1758-83.

,, ,, Richard Mansfield (P.P., Windgap) 1783-c. 1790.

,, ,, Robert Grace (P.P., Gowran), became Canon of Kilmanagh, about 1790 ; he died in 1815.

Very Rev. Laurence Murphy (P.P., Thomastown), was Canon for some years before his death, in 1847.

Very Rev. John Walsh (P.P. Slieverue), 1847-65.

,, ,, Simon Fogarty (P.P. Kilmanagh), 1765-70.

,, ,, William Hayden (P.P., St. Patrick's) 1870-83.

[1] *Bliss.*
[2] *Theiner.*
[3] See *Rectors of Callan.*
[4] *Theiner* and *Bliss.*
[5] Municipal Documents, Kilkenny.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Fiants* of Eliz.

VERY REV. MICHAEL DREA (P.P., Callan), 1883-4.
" " RICHARD HOGAN (P.P. Conahy), 1884-91.
" " JOHN O'HANLON (P.P. Gowran), 1891-97.
" " JOHN CARROLL (P.P., Gowran), appointed Canon of Kilmanagh in 1898.

PREBENDARIES OF MAYNE.

JOHN O'HEDIAN (O'Hayden), Precentor of Cashel, is said to have been Prebendary of Mayne in 1479, and to have been succeeded, in 1495, by William Bourke.[1]

WILLIAM BOURKE, chaplain, had a royal grant of the Canonry or Prebend of Mayns (Mayne) in the Cathedral Church of Ossory, September 28th, 1495.[2]

PETER WHITE was Canon of Mayne in 1565 and 1570.

This famous man was educated at the University of Oxford, where he was elected a Fellow of Oriel College. About 1555 he became Master of the Kilkenny Grammar School, founded by Pierce, Earl of Ormond. In 1566 he was appointed Dean of Waterford, but did not long enjoy that dignity—at least, as far as its emoluments were concerned—as he was soon after deprived by the Crown for non-conformity. He was uncle of Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls and M.P., County Kilkenny, in 1559.

VERY REV. JOHN SHEE, Vicar of St. John's, was Canon of Mayne in 1648.

" " PHILIP PURCELL (P.P., BALLYRAGGET), Canon in 1669; he died in 1698.

VERY REV. DANIEL KENNEDY (P.P., Rathdowney), Canon to 1749.
" " MATHIAS LANIGAN (P.P., Owning), 1749-78.
" " MICHAEL FITZGERALD (P.P., St. John's), 1778-85.
" " ALEXANDER CAHILL (P.P., Ballyragget), 1785-6.
" " RICHARD O'DONNELL (P.P., St. John's), 1786-1802.
" " WILLIAM GRACE (P.P., Kilmanagh), Canon, at his death, in 1842.
" " EDWARD NOLAN (Professor, St. Kieran's College), 1842-5.
" " WILLIAM BUTLER (P.P., Thomastown), 1845-48.
" " PATRICK BIRCH (P.P., Johnstown), 1848-56.
" " JOHN AYLWARD (P.P., Mooncoin), 1856-64.
" " PATRICK BYRNE (P.P., Conahy), 1865-69.
" " JOHN KELLY (P.P., Castlecomer), 1869-73

[1] *Cotton.*
[2] *Pat. Rolls.*

VERY REV. JAMES MAHER (P.P., Templeorum), 1873-85.
" " EDWARD DELAHUNTY (P.P., Thomastown), 1885-92.
" " JOHN SHORTALL (P.P., Durrow), 1892-98.
" " MICHAEL BARRY, D.D. (P.P., BALLYRAGGET), 1898-1904.
" " WILLIAM BRENNAN, D.D. (P.P., Rathdowney), succeeded in 1904.

PREBENDARIES OF TASCOFFIN.

WILLIAM DE BURWARDESLEYE, called MIDDELNEYE, King's clerk, was presented by the King, to the Prebend of Tascoyn, in Ossory, May 9th, 1340.[1]

WILLIAM FAUCONER, Prebendary of Stagscothyn, in the Cathedral Church of Ossory, had a royal pardon, on the 8th December, 1402, for having had the Vicariate of Jerpoint united, for the term of his own life, to his Prebend, by Roger, Bishop of Ossory, with the consent of the patrons of the said Vicariate, viz., the Prior and Convent of St. John's, Kilkenny.[2]

VERY REV. JAMES SHEE, Vicar of Claragh, Prebendary of Tascoffin, died April 29th, 1648.

VERY REV. PAUL NASH was Canon in 1648 and 1669.
" " JAMES KAVANAGH (P.P., St. Canice's), died in 1682.
" " PATRICK MURPHY (P.P., Thomastown), was Canon of Tascoffin till 1753.

VERY REV. THOMAS WHITE (P.P., Freshford), 1753-75.
" " PETER CREA (P.P., Kilmacow), next Canon, 1777-83.
" " JOHN DUNNE (afterwards Bishop), 1783-7.
" " JOHN CODY (P.P., Galmoy), 1787-94.
" " NICHOLAS HART (P.P., Mooncoin), 1794-99.
" " JOHN FITZPATRICK (P.P., Slieverue), Canon, at his death, in 1835.
" " JOHN GORMAN (P.P., St. Canice's), next Canon, till 1841.
" " JAMES RYAN (P.P., St. Patrick's), 1842-58.
" " MICHAEL MEAGHER (P.P., Gowran), next Canon, 1862-70
" " NICHOLAS KEALY (P.P., Thomastown), 1870-4.
" " PHILIP MOORE (P.P., Johnstown), 1874-88.
" " JAMES HOLOHAN (P.P., Rosbercon), appointed next Canon of Tascoffin in 1890.

[1] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls.*
[2] *Pat. Rolls.*

PREBENDARIES OF ENNISNAG.

RICHARD GROS (Grace), was Rector, *i.e.*, Canon, of Insnake, in November, 1361.[1]

JOHN NUGENT, chaplain, had a royal grant of the Prebend of Ensnak in the Cathedral Church of Ossory, January 12th, 1404.[2]

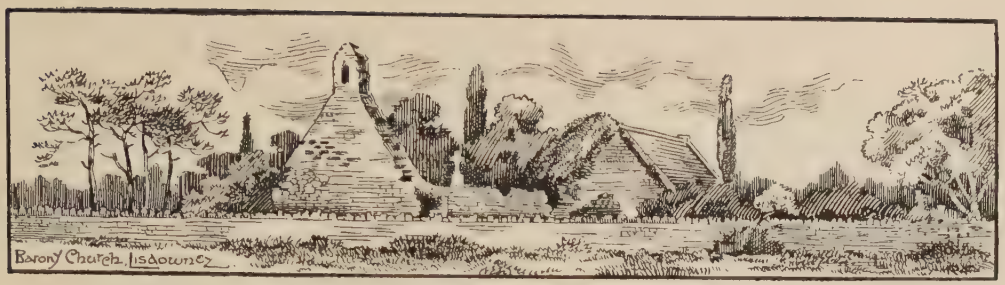
MAURICE TALBOT is pardoned by the King, March 28th, 1409, for having accepted the Prebend of Insnake, in the Cathedral Church of Kilkenny, on the strength of Apostolic Letters.[3]

NICHOLAS HAKET, Prebendary of Insnake, in the Church of Ossory, has a royal permission, dated August 1st, 1419, to go to England, and remain absent from Ireland for two years.[4]

PREBENDARY OF OUTRATH.

ROBERT SUTTON, clerk, is appointed by the King, October 19th, 1386, to the Prebend of Oghterath in the Cathedral Church of St. Kanice of Kilkenny.[5]

[1] *Graves's MSS.*
[2] *Pat. Rolls.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*



CHAPTER XXVIII.

CATHOLIC COLLEGES, KILKENNY.

DOWN to the Reformation, the religious houses, both of men and women, were the great centres of light, learning and education. Jerpoint and Kells, in the Co. Kilkenny, are specially mentioned as such, in a letter of the Lord Deputy, Gray, and Council, to Cromwell, March 21st, 1539, in which they recommend that the religious houses of Jerpoint and Kells, in the Co. Kilkenny, Connell, in the Co. Kildare, St. Mary's Abbey and Christ Church, in Dublin City, and Grace Dieu (a Convent), in the Co. Dublin, should be exempted from the intended general suppression. In support of their recommendation they put forward the following reasons :—

"For in those houses and other such like, in default of common innes, which are not in this land, the King's Deputy, (and all others his grace's council and officers, also Irishmen and others resorting to the King's Deputy in these quarters), is and hath been most commonly lodged at the cost of said houses. Also in them young men and childer, both gentlemen childer and other, both of man kynd and woman kynd, be brought up in virtue, learning, and the English tongue."

The Vicars Choral of St. Canice's were also in charge of a widely known school for boys, in the first half of the 16th century. [1]

THE EARL OF ORMOND'S KILKENNY GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

This school, which stood at the west end of St. Canice's Cathedral, opposite the school of the Vicars Choral, was founded, in the year 1539, by Pierce Ruadh, 8th Earl of Ormond, and his Countess, Margaret Fitzgerald. Though founded as a Catholic school, and attaining all its fame as such, it passed after a little time into

[1] See Bishop Rothe's *Treatise on the History of Kilkenny, infra*, Vol. III.

exclusively Protestant management. William Johnson was "schoolmaster," or principal of the school, in 1552. If he continued in the post during Queen Mary's reign, he must have been a Catholic, real or pretended. He was appointed Dean of Ossory, by the Crown, in 1559, and died in 1581. There can be no question as to the religion he professed in later life, as he left two daughters, one of whom married the Rev. Thomas Wale.

PETER WHITE, a truly great man, who succeeded Johnson, in the headship of the school, was a native of Waterford, and was educated at the University of Oxford, where he was elected a Fellow of Oriel College, having graduated B.A. in 1551, and proceeded to the degree of M.A. in 1555. Of his Catholicity there can be no question whatever. Under him the school flourished to a remarkable degree. The Catholic Richard Stanihurst, one of his pupils, in his *Description of Ireland*, gives the following glowing account of himself and his school:

"In the west end of the churchyard [St. Canice's], of the late, has been founded a Grammar School by the Right Honorable Pierce or Peter Butler, Earl of Ormond and Ossorie, and by his wife, the Countesse of Ormond, the Lady Margaret FitzGerald, sister to Gerald FitzGerald, the Earl of Kildare that last was.

"Out of which School have sprouted such proper imps, through the painful diligence and laboursome industrie of that famous lettered man, Mr. Peter White (sometime Fellow of Oriel College, in Oxford, and schoolmaster in Kilkenny), as generally the whole weal public of Ireland, and especially the southern parts of that island, are greatly thereby furthered.

"This gentleman's method of training up youth was rare and singular, framing the education according to the scholar's vein. If he found him free he would bridle him, like a wise Isocrates, from his book; if he perceived him to be dull, he would spur him forward; if he understood he was the worse for beating, he would win him with rewards. Finallie, by interlacing studie with recreation, sorrow with mirth, pain with pleasure, sowerness with sweetness, roughness with mildness, he had so good successe in schooling his pupils, as, in good sooth, I may boldly bide by it, that in the realm of Ireland was no grammar school so good, in England, I am assured, none better. And because it was my happy hap (God and my parents be thanked) to have been one of his crue, I take it to stand with my dutie, sith I may not stretch mine abilitie in requiting his good turns, yet to manifest my good will in remembering his pains. And certes I will acknowledge myself so much bound, and beholden to him and his, as for his sake I reverence the meanest stone cemented in the walls of that famous Schoole."

In another work he again thus commends, in Latin, the fruits of the same school:—

"Extat in hoc oppido [*i.e.* Kilkennia] schola extructa opibus clarissimi viri, Petri Butleri, Ormondiae et Ossoriae comitis, et uxoris ejus quae Margarita Giralda vocabatur. Foemina fuit spectatissima; non modo summa generis nobilitate, quippe comitis Kildarae filia, sed rerum etiam prudentia, supra muliebrem captum, praedita. Hic ludum aperuit, nostra aetate, Petrus Whitus, cujus in totam rempublicam summa constant merita. Ex illius etiam schola, tanquam ex equo Trojano, homines literatissimi reipublicae in lucem prodierunt. Quos ego hic Whiteos, quos Quemerfordos, quos Walsheos, quos Wadingos, quos Dormeros, quos Shethos, quos Garveos, quos Butleros, quos Archeros, quos Stronges, quos Lumbardos, excellentes ingenio et doctrina viros, commemorare potuissem; qui primis temporibus aetatis in ejus disciplinam se tradiderant." [1]

About 1560 Peter White became Canon of Mayne, in this Diocese. In 1566 he was promoted to the Deanery of Waterford, on the recommendation of the

[1] *De Rebus in Hib. gestis*, p. 25.

Bishop of that Diocese, and by the election of the clergy. This appointment must have severed his connection with the Kilkenny School. Being a staunch Catholic, and refusing to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of Queen Elizabeth, he was deprived of both the Deanery of Waterford and Prebend of Mayne, in 1570. After this he returned to his old occupation of teacher, and kept an excellent school of his own, probably in Waterford, which produced so many distinguished scholars, that he came to be called, "the lucky or happy school-master of Munster."

The Kilkenny School appears to have become practically defunct as soon as it passed from under Peter White's guidance. The reason is not far to seek. White's successor was, no doubt, a Protestant, and made the School Protestant; while the Kilkenny people were, almost without exception, Catholics, and could not, therefore, in conscience, send their sons to be trained in an institution where their Faith was sure to be endangered. In the *Regal Visitation* of the year 1615, the Commissioners append to their report of the visitation of the Diocese of Ossory that, "There is also in this Diocese a public schoolmaster placed whose name is Penyngton, a minister and preacher. He keeps the public school at Kilkenny, but few students resort to his school, by reason of their backwardness in religion."

During the Cromwellian occupation of Kilkenny, or soon after, we are told that "Captain John Joener [or Joiner] took away the main timber of the free school house built by the house of Ormond, in the churchyard of St. Canice, wherewith he built a house within a mile of Kilkenny, commonly called Joener's Folly." Thus the Earl of Ormond's Kilkenny Grammar School passed away.

BISHOP ROTHE'S COLLEGE.

Among the "Orders made by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the rest of the General Assembly [of the Confederate Catholics] for the Kingdom of Ireland met at the city of Kilkenny, 24th October, A.D. 1642," is one numbered 20, which runs as follows:

"Item. It is further ordered and established, for the advancement of learning, that in every province in this Kingdom *Free Schools* shall be erected and maintained, so many, and in such places, and in such manner and form, as the Metropolitan of the Diocese in their respective provinces shall think fit."

That this "order" was not allowed to remain a dead letter, in Kilkenny, by Bishop Rothe, is evident from the description left by the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, of his triumphal entry into Kilkenny city, Nov. 14th, 1645:

"The next day," he writes, "having set out in my litter [from a villa, about three miles from

the city], all along the way for the three miles of journey, I was met by the whole body of the nobility, and by the youth of Kilkenny and of the adjoining counties, who presented themselves marshalled in separate troops, and the leader of each troop dismounting, approached on foot to present their compliments to me. The first to present themselves were a *band of fifty students* on horseback, all armed with pistols, who after caracoling for a time around me, conveyed their welcome through one of their number deputed for the purpose; he was crowned with a laurel wreath, and richly robed, and he addressed some good verses to me."

Bishop Rothe's College, the alma mater of the above students, was situated in Rose Inn Street. The Bishop's father, John Rothe fitzRobert, by his will had left him a house in "Rossen-streete," wherein Nicholas Connell then (Jan. 20th, 1585-6) dwelt. An Exchequer Bill of 21st May, 1690, clearly identifies this house with the college established by Bishop Rothe, for it describes it as a large stone house and several tenements, in which a school was established, called "the Irish ffree school or colledge." With the capture of Kilkenny city by Cromwell, in March, 1650, this college, as such, came to an end.

THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF ST. CANICE, KILKENNY.

In the year 1666, the first Duke of Ormond converted into a new Free School, a large house in John Street, some remains of the front wall of which may be observed at both sides of the entrance gate of the present Protestant College. Eighteen years afterwards he endowed the school with various rectories and tithes, and placed at its head one Dr. Edward Hinton, a graduate of Oxford. On the attainder of the second Duke of Ormond, by King James the Second's Parliament, May 7th, 1689, his whole estate was confiscated, and the endowment of the school in John Street became, consequently, vested in the Crown. The school itself had already been broken up, by the flight of the Master, Hinton, to England, the preceding year. King James availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded of providing for the higher education of his Catholic subjects; and, accordingly, by Royal Charter of Feb. 21st, 1689-90, he handed over to them the Duke of Ormond's school, with its endowment, erecting it into "a College . . . . . consisting of a Rector and 8 professors and 2 scholars, nomine plurium, by the name of the Rector, Professors and Scholars of the Royal College of St. Canice, at Kilkenny, founded by King James II.

"Rector—William Daton, S.T.D.

"Professors—Edward Tonery, S.T.D.; Denis Leary, Clerk, M.A.; William Conolane, Clerk; James Cleary, Clerk, M.A.; Bernard Dunne, Deacon, M.A.; Thomas Gloster, sub-Deacon, M.A.; Christopher Glascock, gent.; and Peter Chamberry, gent., M.A.

"Scholars—Daniel Hurley and John Pierce.

"Dated at Dublin, 25 Feb. ano. 6. Ja. 2."

"It appears," writes Harris, in his *Life of King William*, "by the [above] Charter, that William Daton, D.D., and others in conjunction with him, had for several years taught school in Kilkenny, with great diligence, for it was the policy of Tyrconnel to erect schools of Jesuits, as was done through England, in opposition to the Protestant legal school-masters, whom by affronts and illusages, and under the countenance of a cruel administration, they soon drove away. And this was the cause of Dr. Hinton's abdication, which King James now laid hold on to erect his Royal College; and it was done, as the said Charter alleges, at the petition of the said Daton and his fellow labourers, of the Catholic Bishop of Ossory, and all the clergy of that Diocese, as well as of the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the said city. After Dr. Hinton was driven away, Tyrconnell converted the school-house into an hospital; and so it continued until the new foundation."

The battle of the Boyne, 1st July, 1690 (old style), closed the gates of the Royal College of St. Canice, ere five months had fully elapsed from the day of its foundation by King James's Charter.

The code of rules, drawn up by Bishop Phelan for observance in this College, has been published, from the Laffan MSS., by Ledwich (*Antiquities*, pp. 430-32), and has been already given in these pages.[1]

Among the *Laffan MSS.* there is also a document of this period, entitled: "Articles conclus du consentement unanime des regents des ecoles de Kilkenny, sous le protection de l'illustrissime et reverendissime, l'evesque d'Ossory," (Articles unanimously agreed on by the Principals of the Schools of Kilkenny, under the patronage of the Most Illustrious and Reverend, the Bishop of Ossory), and signed,

"Edvardus Tonnery, philosophiae professor.
"Jacobus Cleary, rhetorices professor.
"Guilielmus Felan, lit. human. professor.
'Fran. Barnwall, tertii ordinis professor.
'Johannes Meagher, quartae classis professor."

BURRELL'S HALL—FIRST PERIOD (1783-1792).

For almost a century after the Battle of the Boyne, Catholic education was banned in Ireland. Yet during that long period of darkness, the Catholic youth were not entirely uneducated. Even in the worst of times, the Catholic teachers, like the Catholic priests, managed to subsist, despite the law. Classical schools, too, were maintained somehow, for the education of aspirants to the priesthood.

[1] See pp. 120-21, *supra*.

When young men of good ability and blameless lives, and with a vocation to the ecclesiastical state, had been fully grounded in Greek and Latin, in these schools, they were presented by their Parish Priests to their respective Bishops, for Ordination ; and, being thus raised to the Priesthood, they proceeded, as best they could, to the Continent, to pursue in some of the Colleges there the usual five years' course of Philosophy and Theology.

At length, after long years of waiting, came the dawn of better days. The first concession was given to the Irish Catholics by an Act of Parliament of 1771, by which they were empowered to take leases of not more than 60 acres of bog, for the purpose of reclaiming it. In 1774 they were allowed to take a special oath of allegiance, and were thus, for the first time, given an opportunity of having themselves acknowledged as citizens of the Empire. A Bill passed in 1778 enabled them to take, not freehold leases, but leases of 999 years, and also to inherit freeholds, just like Protestants. In 1782 two other important concessions were granted them, viz. : (*a*) power to acquire freehold property by purchase or otherwise, and to sell or dispose of it as they wished ; and (*b*) power to open schools of their own for the education of their children, and to send their children to be educated on the Continent.

Dr. Troy of Ossory was the first of the Irish Bishops to take advantage of the opportunities for higher education thus granted by Parliament. He was fortunate in having at this time in Kilkenny city, two priests of great zeal and ability, viz., the Rev. John Dunne, C.C., St. Mary's, and the Rev. James Lanigan, C.C. St. Canice's, both of whom were afterwards destined to be his successors in the See of Ossory. To these he communicated his design of having a high school started in Kilkenny, and desired them to undertake the establishment and management of same. Fathers Dunne and Lanigan heartily approved of the undertaking and readily gave their consent to the behest of their Diocesan. A suitable house was first to be secured, and this was accomplished in Sept. or Oct., 1782. The house selected was Burrell's Hall, an old mansion that stood facing James's Green, on the spot where St. Mary's Cathedral now stands. The following Memorandum among the papers in the Diocesan Archives, fixes the date of the acquisition of Burrell's Hall :

"Memorandum that Ann Carpenter of the city of Kilkenny, gentlewoman, does hereby demise and set unto Rev. John Dunne, of the said city, secular priest, and Rev. James Lanigan, of sd. city, secular priest, the dwelling house in James's Green, in sd. city, known by the name of Burral-hall, with the garden, stable, chairhouse and appurtenances thereunto belonging in the same ample and beneficial manner as lately held by the sd. Ann Carpenter and now in the possession of the sd. John Dunn & James Lanigan, to hold to the sd. John Dunn & James Lanigan, their executors, admrs, & assigns from the twenty-ninth day of September last past for and during the term of fourteen years by and under the yearly rent of twenty two pounds fifteen shillings, payable half yearly on every twenty-fifth day of March and twenty-ninth day of September, in every year during said term, the

first payment to be made on the twenty-fifth day of March next—Leases containing the said clauses and all other usual clauses between landlord & tenant to be drawn & perfected at the request of either party.

"In witness whereof the said parties do hereunto set their hand and seals the twelfth day of October, one thousand seven hundred & eighty-two, reserving the chimney piece in the left parlour and the brass locks & she allowing for the time she remains in sd. concern.

"Signed, sealed and delivered
in presence of
"Jno. Purall;"

Ann Carpenter (seal)
John Dunne, (seal)
Jas. Lanigan, (seal)

Steps were at once taken to effect such internal changes in Burrell's Hall as were required for its conversion into an educational establishment. In a letter dated from Kilkenny, Nov. 9th., 1782, Dr. Troy thus writes to Dr. Fallon, Bishop of Elphin :

"I have intimated a Diocesan Synod for next year, and ordered my clergy to supply themselves with sutans, surplices, and caps, to be made use of within the precincts of our places of worship. The enclosed printed paper will explain the nature and design of an Academy now erecting here. I have the pleasure to assure you it meets with general approbation and encouragement."

The "enclosed printed paper" here referred to is, no doubt, the Prospectus of the new Academy issued in the joint names of Fathers Dunne and Lanigan, and of which the following is a copy.

"TO THE PUBLICK.

"As the wisdom and liberality of our Legislature hath graciously repealed the Laws that hitherto impeded the regular Education of the Roman Catholic Youth of this Kingdom, Messieurs Dunne & Lanigan, registered Priests of the city of Kilkenny, have embraced this happy occasion to make an humble offer of their services & strenuous Endeavours for the Attainment of so desirable an End.

"They now beg leave to acquaint the Public, that they are determined to open an Academy the 13th January 1783, where youth will be taught English Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, French, Latin, Greek, Geography, Mathematics, ancient and modern History, in short every branch of useful & polite Literature on the most improved Plan. For this purpose they have taken a very commodious House in St. James's Green, an open, dry & airy situation, with a spacious square in Front, & a large garden in the Rere, inclosed with an eight foot wall.

"As this Academy meets with the sanction & warm approbation of the Most Rev. Dr. Troy, & is under the immediate Inspection of the Rev. Dr. Molloy; & as the strictest care will be taken to inculcate Religion & form a Taste for Virtue & Purity of Manners; they flatter themselves that the Roman Catholics in general will cheerfully favour it with Countenance & Encouragement."

The annual pension was £20, exclusive of washing; for boarders, and £4 11s. for day scholars. There were to be quarterly examinations, a solemn distribution of Premiums, and but one vacation.

"The undertaking was crowned with success far beyond the expectations of Fathers Dunne and Lanigan. The Catholic public knew and admired the purity of both the clergymen and their high qualifications for the task they assumed. Experience confirmed their anticipations, public confidence

was merited and profusely bestowed and the Kilkenny Academy, *the earliest Catholic College in the Kingdom*, has now during more than half a century supported a character at many times unrivalled, and at no period inferior to any of the more matured and extensive establishments for lay education in the country." [1]

Fathers Dunne and Lanigan conducted the new Academy as Co-Rectors or Co-Principals. On the 4th Sept., 1783, both were raised to the dignity of Canons of the Diocese, the former having become Canon of Tascoffin, and the latter Canon of Killamery. Canon Dunne was consecrated Bishop of Ossory, Sept. 14th, 1787. Canon Lanigan then became sole President of the Academy. He, too, became Bishop of Ossory, having been consecrated on the 21st of September, 1789. For some time after his elevation to the Episcopate he seems to have retained the rectorship, as well as the personal charge, of the Academy.

Very Rev. Dr. Richard Mansfield succeeded as President, in 1791. This distinguished priest was ordained in 1768, afterwards studied Philosophy and Theology at Nantes, and was, for a time, Professor in the University of that city. Returning to Ossory he became P.P. Muckalee in 1780, and P.P. Windgap and Dunnamaggin, and Canon of Kilmanagh in 1783. "Rev. Dr. Mansfield, Academy," occurs on the list of members of the Charitable School Society, Kilkenny, in 1793. He had been a member of this Society since Oct., 1791.

It was not till 1786 that a lease in full legal form was taken out for Burrell's Hall. On the 29th Sept., that year, Anne Carpenter demised, by lease, to Fathers Dunne and Lanigan, of the city of Kilkenny, "the messuage, tenement, or dwelling-house situate . . . . . in James's Green in said city of Kilkenny, and called or known by the name of Burrell-Hall, and now in the possession of the said Fathers Dunne and Lanigan: to hold for the term of eleven years, from the 25th of March last past, at the yearly rent of £22 15s. 0d." Burrell's Hall was closed in 1792, as appears from the following entry on the back of this lease, by which Anne Carpenter agrees to accept Dr. Lanigan's surrender of the premises:

"I, the within named Ann Carpenter, do exonerate & discharge the within named James Lanigan from all rent and arrears of rent due & owing to me by virtue of the within indenture of lease & from the covenants, charges, & agreements in the said lease contained & expressed. Witness my hand the 2nd day of May, 1792.

"Present,
"Nathl. Alcock,"

"Ann Carpenter.

The most distinguished student of Burrell's Hall, during the first period of its existence as an educational establishment, was Kieran Marum (afterwards Bishop of Ossory), who passed thence to Salamanca, March 7th, 1786.

[1] *O'Renehan MSS.*, Maynooth College.

THE OLD ACADEMY (1792-1816).

In 1792 the Academy was transferred from Burrell's Hall to "the Old Academy," a large house almost adjoining the Cathedral churchyard of St. Canice's, and now incorporated with the Loretto Convent.

Dr. Mansfield continued as President here, till he returned to the charge of his parish in 1793. He became Dean of Ossory in 1811, Vicar Capitular in 1812, and died in 1826. He rests in Windgap Chapel.

OLD ACADEMY, LORETTO CONVENT.

VERY REV. PATRICK MCGRATH and VERY REV. ANDREW FITZGERALD, O.P., succeeded him as Co-Principals or Co-Presidents of the Old Academy, in 1793, and inaugurated their regime by starting a Philosophy Class here in the same year.

The following letters throw much light on the history of Burrell's Hall previous to 1792, and of the Old Academy during its early years. The first is from the pen of Dr. Matt. Kelly of Maynooth, and is addressed to Rev. Daniel Brennan, President of St. Kieran's College, afterwards P.P., Kilmacow; the second was written by Dean Nowlan, P.P., Gowran, to his grand-nephew, the same Dr. Kelly:

MAUDLIN STREET COLLEGE.

"Maynooth College,
"December 2nd, 1857.

"My Dear Father Brennan,

"I have at last obtained some information on the History of old Burll's Hall, and of the transfer of the school to the Old Academy. A nephew of Mr. Troy told me yesterday that he was educated in Kilkenny, first at Burll's Hall, and next at the Old Academy. He is now 78 years of age, in perfect health and vigour of intellect, and remembers so distinctly Kilkenny that I could almost imagine I was talking to one of my old school-fellows. He went to Kilkenny in his eighth year (1787), and left in his twelfth (1791). He could not tell me the precise year when the school was changed to the Old Academy, but he is confident it was not before Dr. Lanigan's consecration, which was in 1789. Dr. Lanigan was President of

Burll's Hall when he was appointed Bishop, and Mr. Troy, my informant, speaks of him as we would of Father Foley or Shearman. The transfer to the Academy must then, he thinks, have been immediately after Dr. Lanigan's consecration. The Old Academy had been before that time occupied by Lord Clifden, or by some members of his family, and the occupation of such a house by Catholics for a Catholic school, was then considered an immense progress of the Papist Church. Mr. Troy counted for me the names of the distinguished Catholics educated there in his time. He says that when he was going down from Dublin to Kilkenny he was told that all the respectable Catholics of Ireland, who were educated at home, were to be found there, Powers, Wyses, and Strongs, from Waterford; Scullys and Ryans from Tipperary; Shees, Murphys, Lalors, Fitzgeralds, from Kilkenny; Byrnes from Dublin. Two of them are buried in a splendid tomb in [ ] churchyard. They gave the land for the chapel and priests' house there; and there is on this tomb honourable mention of their exertions for the Catholic cause. One of the Shees went to France, and rose to great honour in the French army, under the Republic and Napoleon. There were forty boarders, all lay boys, in Burrel's Hall, and about fifty in the Academy, also lay boys. He remembers all the walks, the Rock of Mount Eagle, &c. I asked him did he ever swim in the Bishop's Meadows; he answered, of course, in the affirmative, adding that during one warm summer the lads used to steal out to have a plunge after night prayers. Mr. Finn, who lived, I suspect, where D. Smithwick lives now, was his greatest friend, and was considered the best in the class. He remembers dining with old Dean O'Donnell in Maudlin-street. The character of the school may be estimated from the fact that its reputation had travelled to Rome. In the letter of Cardinal Antonelli to Dr. Lanigan, intimating his appointment in 1789, the school is mentioned in most flattering terms, and its success is attributed mainly to his zeal and prudence. This fact I have found in Dr. Renehan's manuscripts, which I am endeavouring to arrange for the press.

I remain, very sincerely yours,

"Matthew Kelly."

"Feb. 13th, 1849."

"Dear Matt,

"It is a fact that can be established by authentic documents that a public course of Philosophy commenced in what is now called the Old Academy, in the year 1793. The Rev. Messrs. Fitzgerald and Magrath were at the head of the establishment. The former opened and conducted the course of Philosophy. Twelve students from Ossory entered the class; I was of the number. I was about 18 years of age; some of my class-fellows were, at least, 40 years. Before Christmas in the same year the number amounted to thirty—most of them from Cashel and Waterford. In the summer of 1794, there was a public thesis—5 of the students were appointed to sustain it. Many of the respectable citizens were present. Doctor Millea, P.P. of Slieverue opened the proceedings by a beautiful oration, in which he exhibited a vivid portrait of the sufferings and persecutions of the Catholic Church in Ireland for more than a century and a half; he expressed the warmest gratitude for the kindness and hospitality with which the poor exiled students were received in France; he then adverted to the comparatively mild and tolerant spirit which at that moment began to manifest itself in this country, of which, he said, *this exhibition* is a convincing proof, &c., &c.

"In the year 1803 I was appointed professor in the same establishment. There were about 60 ecclesiastical students, many of them from the north. In 1810 a house was taken in Maudlin Street. Your uncle, Dr. Kelly, and myself were the professors. There were 100 students in my class of Theology, about 50 in Philosophy under Dr. Kelly. These students were from every part of Ireland. In 1814 we went out to Birchfield, where more than 100 students found their board and lodging. When I left it, in 1815, there were 84 in my class. The number of Northerns was always very considerable. We had them also from Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Cloyne, Limerick, Clare, and Cashel.

"I should have mentioned that Dr. Millea's speech was delivered in Latin. The business of the day was conducted in the same language. A very wealthy and leading citizen said at dinner, that he never felt so humble in his life as he did in hearing the sons of farmers discussing abstruse points of philosophy, whilst he himself was equally ignorant of the language in which they spoke, and of the subject of the disputation. Of the 12 who entered the Philosophy class, from Ossory, in 1793, I alone remain, a tree of the forest, still erect, but alas! withered, faded and sapless. Glory be to God.

"Dr. Lanigan examined the students every month, from the time they commenced their Theology. I must confess that he was not always pleased with their appearance. We had always a Scripture lecture on Sundays. There were several excellent students in the house—far superior to any I met in Maynooth in the end of 1796.

"Let it never be forgotten that Drs. Jno. Dunne and James Lanigan opened a classical school at James's Green, in 1780 or 1781, decidedly the first in Ireland after the Penal Laws.

"Yours, &c.,

"E. Nowlan."

Very Rev. Andrew Fitzgerald, son of James Fitzgerald and Mary Knaresborough, his wife, was born in High Street, Kilkenny, Nov. 27th, 1763, and was baptized on the 30th of the same month, the feast of St. Andrew, the Apostle. He became a member of the Dominican Order, at Louvain; finished his Theology at Lisbon, where he afterwards taught Philosophy for some years; and returned to Kilkenny in 1791. He became a member of the Charitable School Society of Kilkenny, in Oct. 1791, and is entered as of the "Black Abbey," in the list of members of the Society for the month of January, 1793. In the latter year he became Professor of Philosophy at the Old Academy and Co-President (with Father Magrath) of that house. After seven years he left the Old Academy, on his appointment to the Chair of Humanity at Carlow College, March 1st, 1800. The next 43 years he spent at Carlow, as Professor and President, and, dying there, Sept. 14th, 1843, is buried in the College Cemetery. The following tribute to his memory, from one of his old pupils, Most Rev. Dr. Kinsella, Bishop of Ossory, appears in the *Catholic Directory* for 1844:

"He was born in High Street, in the City of Kilkenny, November 30th, 1763, and was thus called Andrew. He was lineally and closely descended from the Fitzgeralds, Barons of Cluain and Brownsford in the south-east of this county. They were a branch of the Desmonds, and lost title and property, by adhering to James II. Dr. Fitzgerald was the *last* male. He received his classical education in the College of Kilkenny, where Swift and others had preceded him; and went to the University of Louvain when only 16 years old. There he was professed as a Dominican Friar, and continued seven years, making the usual philosophical and theological studies. He then went to Lisbon, where he finished his theology and taught philosophy for six years. He returned home about 1792, and was soon after placed (jointly with the late Very Rev. Dr. Magrath) at the head of the Catholic College in Kilkenny. After seven years they divided their profits, which amounted to sixpence; and Dr. Fitzgerald, anxious for more retirement, went to Carlow College, in 1800. There he successively taught classics, philosophy, theology, and Scripture, and had, as pupils, many of the prelacy of Ireland. In 1814 Dr. Staunton, the first President of Carlow College, died, and left the College and its property to Dr. Fitzgerald. Having been prevailed on to accept the office of President, he instantly transferred the College and property to nine trustees, and fixed his own salary, as President, so low, that the Professor of Theology had only £15 a year less. Dr. Fitzgerald still continued to teach Scripture (with *no* salary for that chair), and *loved* money so well, that, though he had his commons and a salary in Carlow, and a considerable family property in Kilkenny, he died worth precisely *nothing*. The Presentation Convent of Carlow, the Convent of Sisters of Mercy in the same place, and the College Library, will long attest his piety and generosity."

"There is a characteristic and unmistakable portrait of the good, the generous, the noble-hearted, Father Andrew, in the reception room of Carlow College." (Sketch of Father Fitzgerald by Mr. Maurice Lenihan, *Limerick Reporter*, Oct. 15th, 1875.)

Very Rev. Patrick Magrath was born in 1766, in Upper Patrick Street, Kilkenny, in the house opposite that at present occupied by Miss Purcell. His name appears on a list of Ossory students, not yet promoted to Holy Orders, in

the Irish College, Paris, Sept. 17th, 1783 (*Diocesan Archives*). He was ordained by Dr. Lanigan, but in what year is unknown. He baptized a few times in St. Mary's—first in Nov., 1792, and last in June, 1793—but he was not a regular C.C. of the parish. The likelihood is that at both these dates he was Professor at the Old Academy, under Dr. Mansfield. "Rev. Patrick Magrath, Academy," entered the Charitable School Society, Oct. 1st, 1793. In the same year he became Co-President (with Father Fitzgerald) of the Academy. In March, 1800, he became sole President, and as such had charge of the establishment till it ceased to be used for educational purposes, in the end of the year 1816. It had already ceased as an ecclesiastical college in 1811. On the closing of the Academy Father Magrath was appointed P.P. Ballyragget; but, being a strong supporter of the Veto, he was badly received by the parishioners, and after about nine months was, at his own request, translated to Templeorum, August 10th, 1817. Ten years later he was appointed by the Irish Bishops to the important post of President of his Alma Mater, the Irish College, Paris; but, after one year, he returned to his parish, in 1828. He was appointed V.F. of the Southern Deanery by Dr. Kinsella, Nov. 25th, 1829. He was also Chancellor of the Diocese. On the death of the Rev. William Carroll, P.P., Nov. 11th, 1837, he was again translated to Inistioge, where he died January 22nd, 1840. He is buried underneath a handsome marble monument in Inistioge Chapel.

Besides Fathers Fitzgerald and Magrath, the following priests were on the professorial staff of the Old Academy:

Rev Kieran Marum (afterwards Bishop of Ossory) was Professor of Theology, and at the same time C.C. St. Mary's, from June 29th, 1797, to Sept. 25th, 1802, when he went to Carlow College.

Rev. Edward Nowlan (afterwards Dean of Ossory, and P.P. Gowran) was Professor from Summer, 1801 to 1805, when he became C.C. Freshford.

Rev. Edward Walsh (afterwards P.P. Ballyragget) was Professor from about 1802 to, at least, 1809.

After 1811, when the Old Academy ceased as an ecclesiastical College, the professors were all laymen.

MAUDLIN STREET COLLEGE (1811-14).

This was the old three-storey house in Maudlin Street, Kilkenny, which served as a residence for the priests of St. John's parish till the erection of their present fine presbytery, about 1895. It was established as the Ecclesiastical College of the Diocese, by Dr. Marum, a few months after his appointment as P.P. of St.

John's, in June, 1811. Dr. Marum himself was its President. The Professors were the Rev. Edward Nowlan, afterwards P.P. Gowran, and his nephew, the Rev. Patrick Kelly, afterwards Bishop of Waterford, whose appointments are thus entered by the president in the account books of the College :

"The Rev. Mr. Nowlan was engaged in Sep. 1811, as Prof. of Divinity in the Seminary, at the yearly salary of £56 17s. 6d.

"Rev. Patrick Kelly was engaged in September 1811, as Prof. of Philosophy in the Seminary, at the yearly salary of £56 17s. 6d."

The ecclesiastical students were transferred hither from the Old Academy, in Sept., 1811. They represented many of the Irish Dioceses. They were all externs at first, being lodged in various parts of the city ; but, after a couple of months, accommodation was provided for a considerable number of them as boarders in the establishment itself. The following is the list of students from Ossory Diocese, admitted as externs, during the first Academic year (Sept., 1811—Sept, 1812) :

1811—Rev. William Aylward (Ballyhale).
Philip Aylward (Ballyhale).
John Aylward (Ballyhale).
Rev. Richard Brenan (Rathkyran).
Thomas Brett (Danesfort).
William Brophy (Aghaboe).
Walter Brennan (Rathkyran).
Michael Birch (Freshford).
John Cody (Thomastown).
Michael Cummins (The Butts).
Kyran Campion (Galmoy).
James Cahill (Danesfort).
Edmund Cormick (Callan).
John Cody (Galmoy).
Mat. Currin (Galmoy).
Michael Coghlan (Rathkyran).
Rev. Paul Dowling (Ballyragget).
Nicholas Dalton (Urlingford).
John Dulhanty (Rathkyran).
1811—Michael Dunphy.
Pat Delany (Upperwoods).
Pat. Ferrall (Rathkyran).
Martin Fennelly (Lisdowney).
Michael O'Gorman (Kilmacow).
Rev. John Holohan (Danesfort).
Rev. William Hewetson (Thomastown).
Rev. John Hill (St. John's).
Michael Kavanagh (Ballyragget).
Edmund Lynch (Callan).
John Murphy (Danesfort).
Andrew Phelan (Castlecomer).
John Peacon.
Robert Power (Callan).
James Ryan (Muckalee).
Oliver Shortall (Urlingford).
Simon Walton (Gowran).
Michael Walsh (Ballyhale).
1812—Denis Ryan (Thomastown).

BIRCHFIELD COLLEGE.

The ecclesiastical students were removed from the Maudlin Street College to Birchfield, in Sept., 1814. The interest in the house and farm of Birchfield was purchased for £2,000, by the Diocesan authorities, in Dec., 1813, from Edmund Murphy, Esq., son of Edward Murphy, Esq., of Cadiz and Castle Annaghs, and grandson of Mr. William Murphy of Gragara. Birchfield College was placed under the patronage of St. Kieran, and is constantly referred to in contemporary documents as "St. Kyran's College."

BIRCHFIELD COLLEGE.

Dr. Marum was the first President of Birchfield, but his tenure of office there ceased almost as soon as it had begun. In less than two months after the opening of the College, the Papal Brief appointing him Bishop of Ossory was received in Kilkenny, on the 26th Oct., 1814. The following list gives the names of the first Ossory students to enter Birchfield: it is taken from the College account book kept by Dr. Marum:

1814 Sept. 10th	Entered	Rev. Michael Carroll, John Street, 2nd year's Theology.
,,	,,	William Dullard, Rathkyran, 2nd year's Theology.
		("He fell sick and retired from the College.")
,,	,,	Edmond Feehan, Templeorum, 1st year's Philosophy.
,,	,,	John Fielding, Rathkyran, 2nd year's Philosophy.
,,	,,	Denis Ryan, Thomastown, 3rd year's Theology.
,,	,,	Philip Walsh, Patrick Street, 2nd year's Theology.
,,	,,	Edmund Walsh, Rathkyran, 2nd year's Theology.
,,	,,	John Walsh, Rathkyran, 2nd year's Philosophy.
,,	,,	Michl. Gorman, Kilmacow.
,,	,,	Patrick Kelly, Ballycallan.
,,	,,	James Dullard, Patrick Street, 2nd year's Theology.
,,	,,	Edward Fogarty, Lisdowney, 2nd year's Theology.
,,	,,	Patrick Farrell, Rathkyran, 3rd year's Theology.
,,	,,	Simon Fogarty, Tullaroan, 1st year's Philosophy.
,,	,,	Thomas Brennan, Rathkyran, 2nd year's Theology.
,,	,,	John Murphy, Danesfort, 1st year's Philosophy.
1814 Sept.	,,	Michl. Nowlan, Butts, 4th year's Theology.
,,	,,	Michl. Kavanagh, Ballyragget, 3rd year's Theology.
,,	,,	Thomas Butler, Freshford, 2nd year's Theology.
,,	,,	Edmund Lynch, Callan, 1st year's Theology.
,,	,,	Mat. Sinnot, St. John's, 2nd year's Theology.
1814 Oct. 1st	,,	Patrick Kelly, Birchfield, 1st year's Philosophy.
,,	,,	Kyran Bergin, 2nd year's Philosophy.
,,	,,	John Foran.
,,	,,	John Cody.
,,	,,	Michael Martin.
1814 Oct.	,,	Philip Forrestal, Danesfort, 2nd year's Theology.

The account books of the College for the next couple of years are missing. They begin again in April, 1817, and are continuous from that date.

Dr. Marum was consecrated Bishop of Ossory, March 5th, 1815, and in the same month he appointed Father Quinlan his successor as President of Birchfield.

Very Rev. Thomas Quinlan was born most probably in the city of Kilkenny. He studied Classics and Philosophy in the Old Academy, where his career was a

distinguished one. The College Prize List of Summer, 1796, when he had just finished his course of Classics, shows that he was *solus* in Horace, and in Declamation, and that he was *first, ex aequo* with Mr. Walsh, in Latin Poetry, and in Livy. He passed on to Maynooth, for Theology, May 17th, 1797. As "Rev. Thomas Quinlan, High Street," he appears among the subscribers to the Charitable School Society of Kilkenny, in Summer or early Autumn, 1802. He was appointed C.C., St. Patrick's, Oct. 3rd, 1802, and was removed thence to St. Mary's, in Oct., 1805. He remained in St. Mary's as C.C. down to 1810, and as Adm. to March, 1815, when he became second President of Birchfield. While still retaining the Presidency of the College, he was promoted to the pastoral charge of Ballyragget, before the end of Summer, 1815. In the Episcopal Palace, Kilkenny, there is a record of the minutes of an important meeting held by the Diocesan Chapter, in July, 1815; this document has the signature of "T. Quinlan, P.P., Ballyragget, Acting Secretary." That Father Quinlan retained the Presidency after his appointment to Ballyragget, is proved from another Diocesan record, in the Palace, Kilkenny, which refers to him, on the 2nd April, 1816, as being *then* President of Birchfield. A few months later on, this distinguished priest was called to his reward, while still in the prime of life. He died Nov. 10th, 1816, and is buried in Donoughmore, Ballyragget.

Father Nicholas Shearman, subsequently P.P., St. Patrick's, is stated to have been the next President of Birchfield. (See *History of the Catholic Schools of Kilkenny*, by the Rev. N. Murphy, P.P. Kilmanagh.) The statement appears to rest on good authority. (*a*) An entry in the College books, in April, 1817, shows that he had been keeping the students' accounts immediately before that date. The entry is in Father Patrick Kelly's handwriting, and is as follows:—"1817, April. Rev. W. Brennan and brother: to be due by you at end of year, per Mr. Shearman's return, £6 5s. 0d." (*b*) Very Rev. John Kelly, P.P., Castlecomer, writes thus, in Oct., 1875:—"My impression is that Dr. Nowlan was never President of Birchfield, *for Dr. Kelly succeeded Fr. Shearman in that office in* 1815. When Fr. Shearman left Birchfield, in 1815, he became President of Burrell's Hall, and about the same time Dr. Nowlan took pastoral charge of the Parish of Holy Cross, Kells." (*c*) On Father Shearman's monument in the old Chapel of St. Patrick's it is expressly mentioned that "he was President of the Ecclesiastical College of the Diocese."

Against all this, however, there remains a difficulty which cannot but be regarded as insuperable. In the beginning of 1817 Father Shearman was a very young priest, only in the third year of his ordination. Should he have been President at this time, we must suppose that he was raised to the government of the College over the head of Father Kelly, the then Professor of Theology, whose distinguished

career, as a priest, begun at Lisbon, in 1802, earned for him the Episcopal dignity in 1820. Dr. Marum, surely, was incapable of such an inversion of the due order of things as to place a very young priest over another priest of long standing and very high character. The present writer, therefore, cannot admit Father Shearman into the list of Presidents of Birchfield, at least until some contemporary document is adduced expressly showing that the title and dignity of President in reality belonged to him.

It is quite possible that he had charge of the College, for a little while, in the early part of 1817, but it must have been in the temporary absence, and as the deputy, of Father Kelly, who was then undoubtedly the President.

Very Rev. Patrick Kelly, third President of Birchfield, was son of Matthew Kelly and Anastatia Nowlan, his wife, sister of the Very Rev. Dean Nowlan, P.P., Gowran, and was born in Maudlin Street, Kilkenny, April 16th, 1779. He was sent to a classical school at Lisdowney, in 1793, and to the Old Academy, in 1795. In 1797 he entered St. Patrick's College, Lisbon, where he finished his course of studies and was ordained, in 1802. He was then appointed Professor of Philosophy in the same College, and filled the chair for the next two years. At the request of Dr. Lanigan he returned home, Aug. 15th, 1804, and, being in delicate health, remained with his parents during the following twelve months. In Autumn 1805, he was sent as C.C. to Johnstown, whence, after two and a half years, he was changed to The Rower, in the early part of 1808. He was Professor of Philosophy in the Maudlin Street College from Sept. 1811 to Summer 1814, and in the College of Birchfield from Summer 1814 to Summer 1815. On the appointment of his uncle, Dean Nowlan, to the pastoral charge of Windgap and Dunnamaggan, in August, 1815, he succeeded him as Professor of Theology at Birchfield; and he became President of the College on the death of Father Quinlan, Nov. 10th, 1816. He fulfilled the duties of the Presidency and of the Theological chair together till Summer, 1820, when he was appointed Bishop of the newly formed Diocese of Richmond, United States, America.

He was consecrated 24th August, 1820; left Kilkenny for his Diocese the 9th of the following October, sailed from Dublin, and, after a tedious passage of sixty days, arrived at New York, 24th Dec. Proceeding from New York, by land, to Philadelphia, where he stopped six days with Bishop Conwell, he reached his Diocese on the 19th January, 1821. For some reason or other his appointment to Richmond was displeasing to his Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Baltimore, Most Rev. Dr. Marechal. When he called on the Archbishop, he gave him a cold reception. "He did not receive me over kindly," he writes, in a private letter to his brother, "and tried to persuade me it would be dangerous to take possession of my See; but his arguments did not satisfy me, and I arrived at Norfolk on

Friday, the 19th January, 1821. On the Sunday following I said Mass, when the regular and well-disposed Catholics met, and published my Bull from the altar. Since that period I have been negociating with the other party who were in possession of the church. On last Sunday (Feb. 4th) the keys were sent to me and delivered at the altar, whilst I was addressing the people, so that matters are likely to be soon settled entirely to my satisfaction."

In a very short time, within even less than two months, the difficulties which the Archbishop of Baltimore dreaded so much and which he should have resisted from the beginning more firmly, were quietly removed by Dr. Kelly's zeal and prudence. He won the esteem and affection of both contending parties, united them firmly together, and suppressed almost immediately a dangerous schism.

Some clashing of jurisdiction having occurred between Dr. Kelly and Archbishop Marechal, during the next few months, the matter was referred to Rome for arbitration. In the interests of peace, the Holy See decided to transfer Dr. Kelly elsewhere. While the question of his translation was under discussion, it happened that the See of Waterford and Lismore became vacant by the death of the Bishop, Dr. Robert Walsh, which occurred at Rome, on the 1st October, 1821. When a Bishop dies at Rome, that is, according to technical terminology, *in Curia Romana*, the appointment of his successor rests absolutely, either by ancient custom or Canon Law, with the Holy See, without any reference whatever to the clergy of the vacant Diocese. On such occasions, however, the Popes frequently yield their rights, and allow the clergy to elect in the ordinary way. Having decided on the translation of Dr. Kelly to the now vacant See of Waterford, the Holy Father had an intimation conveyed to Dr. Garret Connolly, Vicar-General of that Diocese, by letter from Rome dated October 2nd, 1821, that if the clergy met and postulated for Dr. Kelly, their postulation would be accepted. The intimation was gladly complied with by the priests of Waterford. Dr. Kelly was accordingly translated to Waterford by Propaganda, Jan. 28th, 1822; the Pope approved the appointment Feb. 3rd.; and the Brief was dated Feb. 9th, 1822.

Dr. Kelly was not averse to the translation. Writing to his brother, on the 22nd Feb., 1822, ere yet he had become aware of the appointment, he says: "It does not appear to me a matter of very great importance whether I perform my pilgrimage through life on this side of the Atlantic or on yours. Yet, I must confess, my own feelings and my knowledge of this country considered, I do give the preference to yours."

He left Richmond for Ireland, June 14th, 1822; sailed June 16th; put into Holyhead July 14th; and arrived at Dublin on the evening of July 15th, 1822. He was received in Waterford with marked demonstrations of respect.

"In the struggle for Emancipation, Dr. Kelly used his immense influence in opposing the bigoted

faction that held the representation of the County; and perhaps promoted more than any other Catholic Bishop the cause of the liberal party. No prelate still applied himself with more energy to the spiritual interest of his flock, and no one was regarded with more reverence by the clergy over whom he presided."—(*Collections of Irish Church History* by Dr. Renehan, p. 380.)

He died of inflammation of the lungs, Oct. 8th, 1829, and is buried in Waterford Cathedral, where his monument is inscribed:

"H. S. E.
Revmus. Patritius Kelly, Ecclesiae Waterford.
et Lismorensis Episcopus,
quam cum per 8 circiter annos
integerrime rexisset, obiit annum
agens 52, VIII. Id. Octobris MDCCCXXIX.
Praesul antiquae prorsus fidei,
amore erga patriam, et singulari admodum
religionis studio insignis.
Illustrissimo Patri ac desideratissimo
moerens posuit
Clerus populusque Waterfordiensis.
R. I. P."

Dr. Kelly was uncle of the late Very Rev. John Kelly, P.P. Castlecomer, and of the Very Rev. Matthew Kelly, formerly Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Maynooth College.

VERY REV. EDWARD WALSH succeeded as fourth President of Birchfield, in Summer, 1820, and was at the same time appointed Professor of the Class of Moral Theology. He governed the establishment with great ability and success till 1836, when he was promoted to the pastoral charge of Slieverue and Glenmore.

VERY REV. GERALD FOLEY was Professor at Burrell's Hall from June 1st, 1819, to Aug., 1829, and President of same College from Aug., 1829, to Sept., 1832, when he was transferred to Birchfield as Prof. of Theology. He became President or Vice-President of Birchfield in 1836, and was appointed P.P. of Conahy in March, 1838.

VERY REV. EDWARD AYLWARD succeeded as next President or Vice-President in March, 1838, and continued in office till the transference of the students from Birchfield to St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, in the end of 1838.

BURRELL'S HALL—SECOND PERIOD (1817-1839).

When Burrell's Hall ceased to be used as a Diocesan College, in 1792, it was

taken possession of by a number of pious laymen who, living in community, carried on an elementary school here for several years. During this time it was known as "the Monastery." When Dr. Marum became Bishop he broke up the community. Some of the members were afterwards ordained priests, among them being the Rev. William Walsh ("the Monk"), PP. Mooncoin, and his brother, the Rev, Edward Walsh, who died C.C., Ennis, Co. Clare, in 1838. A Mr. William Murphy, another member of the community, died in Thomastown, in 1818, aged 58, and is buried in the same vault with three of the Parish Priests of the parish. The *Waterford Mirror* of Saturday, May 22nd, 1813, has the following entry of the death of the Rev. John Denn, a C.C. of Ossory in Dr. Troy's time: "Died lately at the Monastery, Kilkenny, the Rev. Mr. Denn."

Burrell's Hall was opened for the second time as a lay college, January 13th, 1817. During the early part of the same month the following advertisement appeared in the *Waterford Mirror* :—

"Roman Catholic Lay College, Kilkenny. Under the patronage and immediate inspection of Right Rev. Dr. Marum. The Rev. Laurence Reynolds, President. On Monday 13th inst. the Seminary will be opened for the reception of pupils at Burrell's Hall, St. James's Green." [Here follows Prospectus.] "Terms—Boarders, three guineas, entrance, and £30 a year; washing, two guineas. Day scholars, one guinea entrance, and one guinea per quarter.

The following were among the students admitted to the College on the opening day:

Patrick Ryan.
John Shea.
Paul Smithwick.
John Hanlon.

Very Rev. Laurence Reynolds, first President of the re-opened College, held office but three months, as he died, after a brief illness, at Thomastown, of which he was P.P., on the 14th April, 1817. (See "Parish Priests of Thomastown.")

Very Rev. Nicholas Shearman was transferred from Birchfield to the Presidency of Burrell's Hall and Curacy of St. Mary's Parish, in April, 1817, and zealously discharged the onerous duties of both appointments down to August, 1829. (See "Parish Priests of St. Patrick's.")

Very Rev. Gerald Foley, Professor at Burrell's Hall from June 1st, 1819, to 1829, and President from Aug., 1829, to Sept., 1832, when he went as Professor to Birchfield.

Very Rev. John Shea was born in the town of Freshford; studied Classics in Burrell's Hall, for two years; and entered Maynooth for Rhetoric, Sept. 3rd, 1823. After his ordination he was Professor of Burrell's Hall from July, 1831, to Sept., 1832, when he was raised to the Presidency of the establishment. He died,

after a few days' illness, in his native place, March 31st, 1838, in his 34th year. He was very highly esteemed and greatly beloved. He is buried in Freshford Chapel.

Very Rev. Edward Nolan was the next and last President of Burrell's Hall. He was nephew of Dean Nolan, P.P. Gowran ; and uncle of the Rev. Peter Nolan, P.P. Inistioge ; and was born in Templemartin, parish of Clara, in April, 1803, Having entered Burrell's Hall, April 22nd, 1822, he passed thence to Maynooth, for Rhetoric, Feb. 7th, 1825. After ordination he was Prof. at Burrell's Hall from Sept. 1st, 1830, to April, 1838, when he succeeded Father Shea in the Presidency. He remained President till Burrell's Hall was closed and the students were transferred thence to St. Kieran's College, in Autumn, 1839. Father Nolan himself was at the same time transferred to St. Kieran's College, where he filled, with distinction, the Chair of Classics and afterwards that of Philosophy. In 1840 he was promoted to a place in the Diocesan Chapter, having been appointed to the Prebend or Canonry of Mayne. He died in St. Kieran's College, after a lingering illness, on the 24th July, 1845, at the age of 42 years and 3 months, and is buried in Maudlin Street graveyard.

ST. KIERAN'S COLLEGE, KILKENNY.

The foundation stone of St. Kieran's College was laid by Father Shearman, P.P. St. Patrick's, in the unavoidable absence of the Bishop, Dr. Kinsella, on the 20th of October, 1836. (See Catholic Annals, *Battersby's Directory* for 1837, p. 271.) The work, once commenced, must have been pushed on vigorously, as in a little more than two years the western half of the original building was completed, and the eastern half some six months later. The ecclesiastical students were transferred hither from Birchfield, in the end of 1838, and the lay students from Burrell's Hall, in August or September, 1839.

Most Rev. Dr. Kinsella, the founder of the College, became its first President, at the close of 1838, and held office till the following Summer.

Very Rev. Edward Nolan, P.P., V.G., Gowran, was second President from Autumn, 1839, to early in 1843.

Very Rev. James Ryan, P.P. St. Patrick's, became next President, in March, 1843, and retired from the College in August following.

During these three Presidentships, the direction of the College lay practically with the *Vice-President*, Very Rev. Edward Aylward, who was transferred to the Curacy of The Rower, in August, 1843.

Photo by] ST. KIERAN'S COLLEGE, SOUTH-EAST VIEW. [*Lawrence, Dublin.*

To face page 276, Vol. I. (Text).

Most Rev. Dr. Kinsella again took the Presidentship into his own hands in August, 1843, and held it till his death.

Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, who succeeded Dr. Kinsella as Bishop of Ossory, also succeeded him as President of St. Kieran's College, and held that position till the Summer of 1858.

Very Rev. William Butler succeeded Father Aylward as *Vice-President* in Aug., 1843, and remained till 1847, when he became P.P. Thomastown.

Very Rev. Robert O'Keeffe was next *Vice-President* from 1847 to Summer, 1849, when he went as C.C. to Ballyouskill.

Very Rev. Daniel Brennan, *Vice-President* from Summer, 1849, to Summer, 1858, when he was appointed P.P. Kilmacow.

Very Rev. Edward McDonald, President from Summer, 1858, to Summer, 1873. He became P.P., St. Canice's and Dean of Ossory, on the death of Dean Gorman.

Very Rev. Nicholas Murphy, now P.P. Kilmanagh, was President from Summer 1873 to 1875.

Very Rev. Patrick Murphy, D.D., brother of the preceding, was Vice-President or Pro-President, from 1875 to Summer, 1885, when he volunteered for the mission in Sydney, Australia.

Very Rev. Michael Barry, D.D., Dean, 1877-81, Professor 1881-85, was President from Aug. 15th, 1885, to Oct. 20th, 1894, when he became P.P., Ballyragget.

Very Rev. James Doyle, D.D., Seinor Dean and Professor, from Sept., 1891, to 1894, and President from Oct. 20th, 1894 to 1901.

Very Rev. William Brennan, D.D., Professor 1878-83, and 1887-98; Vice-President 1898-1901; and President 1901 to July 17th, 1903, when he was appointed P.P., Rathdowney.

Very Rev. John Doody, appointed Dean in Sept., 1891, and subsequently Professor, was promoted to the Vice-Presidency, in 1901, and to the Presidency in 1903.

APPENDIX.

(4796. Sloane MSS., British Museum.)
Nomina reuerendorum p[at]rum, Eporum
Ossorien. cum quibusdam eorum bonis
et pñtibs' op[er]ib, ac aedificiis per
eos in eorum manerius et ecclesiis
peractis a tempore Conquestus Ang-
liae usq. ad pñs. Hic seriatim
brevi stilo intitulātr.

Felix O'Dullanie.—Anno. Dñi. 1202. Obiit reuerendus pater Felix O'Dullanie, Epus. Ossor. cuius ecclesia Cathedralis tunc erat apud Aghboo in superiori Ossoria. Qui dictam ecclesiam bene et laudabiliter diversis annis regebat, et præfuit dict. ecclesiae tempore conquesti Hiberniæ per Anglos. Et sepultus est pius pastor iste in monasterio Beatae Mariae Virginis de Jeriponte prope magnum altare ex parte boreali. Et usque ad hodiernum diem diversa ibidem miracula per ipsum facta sunt. In quo tempore fuit constitutiones Cass. sancitae fuerunt, viz., 1172.

Hugo Ruffus.—Anno. Dñi 1232. Obiit Hugo Ruffus, epus. Ossor., successor dicti Fœlicis, et primus Anglicanus; qui [fuit] de numero quatuor Canonicorum Regularium qui conducti fuerint de monasterio Beatae Mariae in Anglia per Matheum filium Griffini de Geraldinis fundatorem monasterii Beatae Mariae de Kells, Ossor. Dioec.; et fuit primus Prior illius loci; postea vacante Sede Episcopatus Ossor. ecciae., Hugo praedictus, de consensu totius cleri in Epum. Ossor. eligitur. Qui diversa bona in dicto monasterio perpetravit, nihil in sede epali. Sepultus in alto tumulo lapideo in chori medio illius monasterii, sed per quod tempus vixerit in episcopatu dubitatur.

Galfridus Turwell.—Anno Dñi., 1204 (*sic*) occubuit Galfridus Turwell, epus. Ossor. qui acquisivit terras de Clonemacormike aedificavit itidem manerium de Doroghe cui acquisivit plures terras. Rexitque ecclesiam Ossor. laudabiliter per decem annos et sepultus Londini in Ecclesia de Templo ubi regia iura exercentur.

Walterus Bracle.—Anno Dñi., 1256, obiit reverendus pater Walterus Barcle, Epus. Ossor., successor dicti Galfridi, et vixit in epatu. tredecim annis.

HUGO DE MAPLETON.—Anno Dñi., 1256 (*sic*), obiit reverendus pater Hugo de Mapleton, epus. Ossor., huius nominis secundus, primus fundator ecclesiae Sti. Kanici, Kilkeniae, qui eandem primo aedificare incepit et quasi usque ad finem suis magnis sumptibus laboribusque et expensis opus perfecit et canonicos duos ministrantes ibidem fundavit, ac dedit eis diversas ecclesias in decimis et aliis obventionibus prout in fundatione dictorum Canonicorum plenius continetur. Qui et Curiam Episcopalem de Aghore cum piscariis et aliis necessariis ibidem construxit, et alia diversa et multa bona in dicto Episcopatu fecit. Vixit in regimine pastorali annis viginti et sepultus est in sepulchro alto lapideo cum imaginibus canonicorum sculptis, ante capellam Beatae Mariae in eadem Ecclesia.

HUGO.—Anno Dñi., 1270. Obiit Hugo Praedicatorum Ordinis professor, Epus. Ossor., qui dedit monasterio Fratrum Praedicatorum Kilkeniae fontem Sancti Canici, et conductum aquae eiusdem ad usum dicti monasterii, et relaxavit Fratribus degentibus ibidem capitalem redditum duorum messuagiorum in platea dictorum prope dictum monasterium. Et sepultus est in dicto monasterio prope magnum altare in sinistra parte. Diversa alia bona in dicto monasterio fecit, sed in ecca. cathedrali nihil dignum memoriae peregit. Vixit in episcopatu sexdecim annos.

GALFRIDUS ST. LEGER.—Anno Dñi., 1286. Obiit Galfridus de Sancto Leodegario, Epus. Ossor. secundus fundator dictae eccae et proecipue primus fundator collegii Vicariorum eccae Sancti Canici Kilkeniae, qui dicto Collegio et vicariis in dicta ecca. Deo ministrantibus dedit mansam et cameram suam, cum aedificiis ibidem existentibus, una cum rectoria de Kilkeshe, et reditum de Manubrinium, et unam marcam sterlingorum percipiendam per manum Abbatis de Duiske pro terra de Stonkarlewan quam marcam idem Galfridus et sui successores consueverunt ante habere et percipere. Concessit et iisdem vicariis plures alios redditus. Idem et Galfridus, anno, 1284, manerium suum de Serrkeran per duellum acquisivit. Partem etiam maneriorum de Aghbo et de Dorough aedificavit, magnamque partem operis eccliae Sti. Canici prius per Hugonem Mapelton inceptam construxit. Villam de Stamcartie pro villa de Killamery a Willo. Marchallo, comite Pembrochiae in excambium obtinuit. Idem et ordinavit quod vicarii collegiati, Kilkeniae, tenerent anniversarium suum singulis annis et anniversarium venerabilium patrum, Galfridi Turwell, Walteri Barcle et Hugonis Mapelton, praedecessorum et successorum suorum eporum et canonicorum in dicta Eccª Oss. decedentium. Multa alia bona fecit in dicta eccª multosque burgenses in Crossea Ossor. fundavit, prout in fundationibus burgensium plenius continetur et intitulatur. Vixit autem in Episcopatu annis tredecim et sepultus est in altero tumulo lapideo alto ante capellam Beatae Mariae Virginis in Eccª Cathedrali Ossoriensi

ROGERUS. Anno Dñi., 1289, obiit Rogerus, Epus. Ossor., in vigilia Beati Petri ad Vincula, qui in epatu laudabiliter vixit annis tredecim, et sepultus est in eadem ecca Ossor. Nota quod consecratus 3 Novembris, anno 1382, per Patricium de Samford, Archiepum. Dublin. in eccª Sti. Kanici, Kilkeniae.

MICHAEL.—Anno Dñi., 1302, XIIO. die mensis Julii, obiit recolendissimus pater, Michael, epus. Ossor., qui inter alia bona et pia opera quae fecit, ordinavit et statuit quod omnes domus, mansus, et terrae possessae ac in futurum acquirendae per prelatos et canonicos dictae ecclesiae Ossor., sint quietae ab omni reditu sibi et successoribus debit. et a sectis curiarum quarumcumque, et ab omni saeculari acclamatione et demand. et quod cesset in iisdem mansibus areis districtiones quorumcumque officiariorum et decanorum. Et quod iidem Prelati manerent in mansibus, aedificiis areis et ita libere tenerent sicuti sanctuarium quodcumque teneri poterit a se aut successoribus suis et decanis a presentatione cuiuscunque prout in litteris inde confectis plenius continetur. Vixit pastor iste bonus in epali sede annis tribus et dictam eccam laudabiliter rexit.

WILLS. FIL. JOHIS.—Cui successit Patri Willus. filius Johannis, qui consecratus erat Kilkeniae infra octavas Epiphaniae in eodem anno, sed de tempore obitus sui et loco sepulturae nescitur.

PETRUS.—Quidam Petrus nominatus Epus. Ossor. dictam ecclesiam certo tempore regebat. Qui

acquisivit communem silvam de Aghlong, prope Clonmore, et certas terras eidem acquisivit. De cuius continuationis in dicto epatu. tempore et obitu dubitatur.

JOHES. DE OXON.—Anno Dñi., 1370, obiit reverendus pater Johannes de Oxon., ordinis Sti. Augustini, Epus. Ossor., qui omnes procurationes concernentes dictam eccam ad fabricam eiusdem usque ad summam XXVIS. VIIId. relaxavit, et procurationes sibi et successoribus a communi aula seu vicarum [vicariis ?] eiusdem ratione quarumcunque ecclesiarum ad dictam communem aulam qualitercunque spectantium occasione visitationis ordinarie debitas et consuetas usque ad summam VIS. et VIIId. pro se et successoribus suis imperpetuum relaxavit iniungensque dictis vicariis sub poena &c. anniversarium eius tenere singulis annis die obitus sui.

WILLMS.—Anno Dni., 1375. Willmus., Epus. Ossor. qui univit eccm de Claragh cenobio et conventui canonicorum Sti. Johis. Evangelistae, Kilkenia, de quibus vicarii collegiati Sti. Canici recipient annuatim in perpetuum pensionem XXS.

ALEXANDER.—Anno Dñi., 1376. Obiit Alexander, Epus. Ossor. qui gregem sibi commissum non minus verbis quam bonis exemplis regebat.

RICHARDUS LEDRED. - Anno Dñi., 1382. Richardus Ledred minoris ordinis professorum, Epus. Ossors consecratus est. Qui more boni pastoris animae non pepercit sed paratus erat eam proponere pro ovibus suis. Nam cum quidam Willmus. Owtlawe et Alicia Kyteler de Kilkenia mater eius, daemoniis abundantes, in pessimam lapsi sunt haeresim, contra quos viriliter insurgit pontifex, sed multas sustinuit adversitates nunc in curia regis, nunc in curia summi pontificis, nunc in terra, nunc in mari, nunc in vinculis et carceribus. Praefatus vero Willmus. fecit sibi multos amicos de mammona iniquitatis. Sed post haec omnia ipsum ad poenitentiam perduxit et tanquam ovem perditam sed inventam ad ovile Christianae religionis recuperavit et eccae Xti reconciliavit. Dicta vero Alicia, mater ejus, perseverans in suae detestabilis haeresis labe denunciata est haeretica in eccia Beatae Mariae Virginis, Kilkeniae, praesentibus tunc praefato praesule Ossoriensi, Dño. Johe. Darcy, Justiciario Regis in Hiba, cancellarioque et thesaurario, et multis aliis Hiberniae nobilibus. Eodem vero anno quaedam Petronilla de Media, de secta praedictae Aliciae Kyteler fuit haeresi et sortilegio condemnata. Qua de re Kilkeniae gravem sustinuit combustionem in crastino Animarum. Item praefatus iste pontifex, de licentia Dñi. Regis, tres confregit ecclesias extra muros Kilkeniae constructas, de quarum lignis et lapidibus Novam Curiam Kilkeniae magnis sumptibus et laboribus construxit. In qua dedicatum est unum altare in honorem praedictorum trium sanctorum ubi vicarii collegiati celebrare tenentur cum ad hoc requisiti fuerint per epum. Ipse etiam praesul omnes fenestras totius eccae Sti. Canici vitreavit, dedit vicariis Collegii Sti. Canici praedicti unum hortum secus vicum de Hockerhill scitum. Sepultus est pius pastor iste in choro eiusdem eccliae in alto tumulo lapideo, a leva ad prinicipale eundo altare.

JOHES. VULCANUS.—Anno Dñi, 1405, quinto die mensis Novembris, obiit Johes. Vulcanus, epus. Ossor., qui sex annis eccm Osor. verbo et exemplo more boni pastoris regebat.

THOMAS SNELL.—Anno Dñi., 1413, XVIto. die Octobris, occubuit Thomas Snell, qui eccae Cathedrali novam mitram gemmis pretiosis ornatam, chirothecas, sandalia, pontificalia et unam pulchram capam sericam notulis aureis contextam dedit.

PATRICIUS RAGGED.—Anno Dñi., 1421, XXmo. die mensis Aprilis, obiit Patricius Ragged, epus. Ossor., qui clerum et populum verbo, exemplo et alimento iuste et pie quinque annos regebat.

DIONYSIUS.—Anno Dñi., 1429, XXVIto. die Novembris, venerabilis pater, Dionisius, utriusque iuris bacculaurius peritusque in iure regali a toto consilio spiritualium et temporalium Hiberniae in epum. eligitur Ossorien., sed de tempore obitus sui et loco sepulturae nescitur.

THOMAS BARRE.—Anno Dñi., 1459, tertio die Martii, Thomas Barre, Epus Ossor., migravit ad

Dominum, qui in episcopali gradu XXXVII. annis templum Dei corroborans, feliciter effulsit. Construxit antistes iste memoriae bonae castrum et aulam in Manerio de Loghe. Relaxavit etiam pro animabus praedecessorum et successorum suorum vicariis Collegii Sti. Canici quatuor marcas in Le Marshall's Lands elevandum. Sepultus est honorifice in choro Sti. Canici coram summo altari.

David Hacked.—Anno Dñi., 1478, XXIIII die Octobris obdormivit in Dño pater venerandus David Hacked, epus. Ossor., qui exercens officium pastorale in ea cathedra XVIII annis residebat. Construxit itaque pater foelicis recordationis iste castrum de Bole et aulam cum coquina de Clonmore una cum volta campanilis eccae Sti. Canici, Kilkeniae. Ac etiam univit eccam de Ballybur ad instantiam et petitionem Rici Vale eiusdem eccae principalis patroni vicariis collegii eccae Cathedralis Sti. Canici, Kilkeniae. Sepultus est praesul iste laude dignissimus in choro Sti. Canici in summo gradu coram altari principali.

Johes. Hidian.—Anno Dñi., 1486, die . . . . mensis Januarii, obiit Johes. Hidian, epus. Ossor. qui ecclesiam Dei sibi commissam octo annis more boni postoris vigilantissime gubernavit. Sepultus est in ecca. Sti. Canici, in quadam capella prope portam occidentalem eiusdem eccae.

Olivs. Cantwell.—Anno Dñi., 1526, die vero mensis Januarii, IXno. obiit Oliverus Cantwell, epus. Ossor. Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum. Qui licet ad pontificalem sublimatus esset honorem religionis tamen suae habitum usque ad mortem non amisit. Vir optimus iste construxit unum castrum in manerio de Aghore ad caput aulae ibidem et aliud castrum in Frenistone ; majorem quoque pontem in Irishtowne Le Kilkennie in magna quantitate aquarum inundationibus in medio confractum integre et firmiter reparavit. Univitque eccam Stae. Mallae vicariis collegiatis eccae Sti. Canici, Kilkeniae ad instantiam Jacobi Shortall tunc prebendarii de Kilmanagh postea prioris Sti. Johis. Evangelistae, Kilkae. Dormivit in Xto pius praesul iste in gravi senectute, postquam in praesulatu XXXIX [annos] complevit, et sepultus est in monasterio Fratrum Praedicatorum Kilkeniae, prope altare principale.

Milo Barron.—Anno Dñi., 1550, obiit Milo Barron al' Fitzgerald, epus. Ossor., qui in prima aetate apud Inisteake cum factus esset Canonicorum Regularium ibidem Prior, multis laboribus incessanter et operibus quotidie vacabat. Perlongum esset etiam scribere. Construxit non modicis sumptibus ibidem novum campanile et claustrum novum. Postea cum in pontificalem eligitur dignitatem semper cogitabat qualiter sequentibus bonis priora vincerentur. Nam suo jucundo adventu tribuit eccae Sti. Canici unam pulchram tabulam marmoream super principale altare sitam. Dedit eidem eccae baculum pastoralem argenteum. Construxitque unum ligmentum solium sive cubularium in Nova Curia Kilkeniae. Tempore vero hujus Milonis facta est suppressio in Anglia et Hibernia omnium religiosorum et monialium de quor. monasteriis et locis multa pulchra et ampla aedificia in civitate et oppidis sunt constructa. Obiit pius pastor iste et mansuetus, dilectus Deo et hominibus, plenus dierum bonorum postquam in sede epali. XXIII annos vixerat et sepultus est in sepultura maiorum in monasterio de Inistioke.

Johes. Bale.—Anno Dñi., 1552, circa festum Purificis Beatae Mariae Virgis. Johes. Baleus, Anglus Ossor. epus. creatus est. Vir divinis et humanis litteris apprime instructus, concionator elegans et brevis, reprehensor acerbus, benevolens tamen in omni sermone se ferebat. Eccae Anglicanae defensione multa opera partim latino, partim Brittanico sermone composuit, et extant inter caetera quae de vocatione sua ad epatum Ossorm conscripsit. Post obitum illussimi principis Edvardi Sexti secessit in Germaniam ubi octennio cum uxore et liberis latebat, ut ipse in libro suo de illustribus maioris Brittaniae scriptoribus testatur.

Ao. Dñi. Mo.CCCCCLIII, Rolandus Baron, Archiepus, Cassellenis, et Joannes Tonoroeus Epus. Ossoris, apud Inistyoke, eodem anno et loco, consecrati sunt. Epus. Joannes de honestis parentibus patriae Kilkeniae progenitus sacris atque profanis litteris plurimum imbutus erat : praefatus praesul

pontificatus sui anno secundo, omnes antiquas libertates Ossoriensis Eccᵃᵉ ; chartas item non tantum vetustas, verum etiam pro parte corruptas restitui fecit, qui ferventi charitatis succensus amore omnes illas et singulas per appositionem maioris sui sigilli de novo confirmavit et ratificavit. Tempore vero eiusdem Antistitis in Anglia nobilissima. ac foelicissima regina Maria, Christianae vero fidei defensatrice regnante permittitur pax Eccᵃᵉ, et gaudet omnibus suis pristinis privilegiis, antiquis viribus et libertatibus suis ; et erat congratulatio magna in Clero et populo, cum hymnis et canticis, cum tripudiis et triumphis, per vicos et plateas civitatum et oppidorum, glorificantes et laudantes Deum, et ejus ancillam reginam Mariam ; divites et pauperes, senes et iuvenes de tranquillitate gratulabantur eccᵃᵉ. Circa tempus praedictum fundati sunt per Decanum et capitulum in eccₐ Ossori. quatuor pueri ad serviendum Deo et Sto. Canico ibidem in perpetuum, ad quorum sustentationem in Collegio unita est Vicariis Collegiatis Eccₐ de Desard-in-Dogh. Et quidem iste Joannes vixit in Epatu. per XII. annos ; post quem sedes vacavit quasi duos annos.

An. Dñi., M°CCCCCLXVII. electus est Christophorus Gaffneus in Episcopatu Ossoriensi.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

In isto Catalogo sunt multi anarithme—
tismi, et aliae mendae, quae ex
certioribus et varioribus
exemplaribus corrigi
debent.

List of Subscribers.

LOGUE, HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, &c., Ara Coeli, Armagh. (*Two Copies.*)

MORAN, HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL, ARCHBISHOP OF SYDNEY, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia. (*Six Copies.*)

WALSH, HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. DR., ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, &c., Archbishop's House, Dublin. (*Five Copies.*)

HEALY, HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. DR., ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, St. Jarlath's, Tuam.

IRELAND, HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. DR., ARCHBISHOP OF ST. PAUL, 19W. 6th Street, St. Paul, Minn., U.S. America.

O'REILLY, HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. DR., ARCHBISHOP OF ADELAIDE, Adelaide, South Australia.

BROWNRIGG, MOST REV. DR., LORD BISHOP OF OSSORY, Kilkenny. (*A donation of £100, and subscription for ten copies.*)

BROWNE, MOST REV. DR., LORD BISHOP OF FERNS, Summerhill, Wexford.

BROWNE, MOST REV. DR., LORD BISHOP OF CLOYNE, Queenstown, Co. Cork.

CLANCY, MOST REV. DR., LORD BISHOP OF ELPHIN, Sligo. (*Two Copies.*)

DONNELLY, MOST REV. DR., LORD BISHOP OF CANEA, St. Mary's, Haddington Road, Dublin.

DWYER, MOST REV. DR., COADJUTOR-BISHOP OF MAITLAND, Maitland, New South Wales, Australia.

FOGARTY, MOST. REV. DR., LORD BISHOP OF KILLALOE, Ennis, Co. Clare.

FOLEY, MOST REV. DR., LORD BISHOP OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN, Braganza House, Carlow.

KELLY, MOST REV. DR., LORD BISHOP OF ROSS, Skibbereen, Co. Cork.

MACCORMACK, MOST REV. DR., LORD BISHOP OF GALWAY, &c., Galway.

O'CALLAGHAN, MOST REV. DR., LORD BISHOP OF CORK, Cork.

O'Dea, Most Rev. Dr., Lord Bishop of Clonfert, St. Brendan's, Loughrea, Co. Galway.

O'Donnell, Most Rev. Dr., Lord Bishop of Raphoe, Letterkenny, Co. Donegal.

Sheehan, Most Rev. Dr., Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Bishop's House, John's Hill, Waterford.

Beardwood, Right Rev. J. Camillus, Lord Abbot, Mount St. Joseph Abbey, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary.

Delany, Right Rev. J. Carthage, Lord Abbot, Mount Melleray Abbey, Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.

Anthony, J. R., Esq., Piltown, Co. Kilkenny.

Ashbrook, Lord Viscount, The Castle, Durrow, Queen's County. (*Two Copies.*)

Ashbrook, Viscountess, The Castle, Durrow, Queen's County.

Aspinall, Mrs. Ralph, Barraclough, Clitheroe, Lancashire.

Asher & Co., Messrs., 13 Bedford Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.

Aylward, Rev. Michael J., St. Patrick's Rectory, Thornaby-on-Tees, England.

Aylward, Rev. Richard, C.C., St. Mary's, Kilkenny.

Baird, James, Esq., Cullahill, Rathdowney, Queen's County.

Barden, Rev. Thomas, David City P.O., Nebraska, U.S. America.

Barry, Very Rev. Canon, D.D., P.P., Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny. (*Four Copies.*)

Barry, John, Esq., J.P., John's Bridge, Kilkenny.

Barry, Laurence, Esq., Clerk of Union, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.

Barrymore, Lord, Fota Island, Queenstown, Co. Cork.

Beary, Michael, Esq., B. Surveyor, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

Begley, Very Rev. C. F., O.F.M., Franciscan Convent, Waterford.

Belmore, The Earl of, P.C., G.C.M.G., Castlecoole, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh.

Bergin, Daniel, Esq., Castlewood, Durrow, Queen's County.

Bergin, Rev. John, C.C., Slieverue, Waterford.

Bergin, Michael, Esq., J.P., Fancroft, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary.

Bewley, Sir Edmund T., 40 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin.

Birch, Rev. John, C.C., Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)

Boate, Herbert A., Esq., Durrow, Queen's County

Bourke, Very Rev. Peter, President, The College, Ennis, Co. Clare.

Bourke, James, Esq., 15 and 16 High Street, Kilkenny.

Bowe, Rev. John, P.P., Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny

Bowe, Rev. Thomas, Diocesan Inspector, St. Mary's, Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)

Bowers, Thomas, Senr., Esq., Cloncunny House, Piltown, Co. Kilkenny.

Brady, Rev. John, C.C., Ballinahown, Athlone.

Brady, Rev. James, C.C., St. John's, Kilkenny.

Brennan, Rev. Edward, C.C., Cullahill, Rathdowney. (*Two Copies.*)

Brennan, Rev. Edward, C.C., Urlingford, Co. Kilkenny.

Brennan, Rev. Henry, C.C., Killismeestia, Ballybrophy, Queen's County.
Brennan, Rev. Patrick, C.C., Rathdowney, Queen's County. (*Two Copies.*)
Brennan, Very Rev. Edward, P.P., Mountrath, Queen's County.
Brennan, Very Rev. Canon, D.D., P.P., Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Brennan, Rev. Thomas, C.C., Ballyhale, Co. Kilkenny.
Brennan, Rev. James, C.C., Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny
Brennan, John J., Esq., Rushall N.S., Mountrath, Queen's County.
Brennan, Very Rev. John, O.C.C., Prior, Carmelite Convent, Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny.
Brennan, Mrs. A., Corner of University and Sherbourne Avenues, St. Paul, Minn., U.S. America.
Brennan, Rev. Martin, Crosspatrick, Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny.
Brett, John, Esq., Ballyragget N.S., Co. Kilkenny.
Brophy, Rev. Thomas, Bridge House, Strathtay, Perthshire, Scotland.
Brophy, Rev. Thomas, C.C., Coon, Leighlin Bridge, Co. Carlow.
Brothers of the Christian Schools, The, De la Salle Retreat, Castletown, Mountrath, Queen's County.
Browne-Clayton, Miss, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny.
Brownrigg, Mrs., Durrow, Queen's County.
Brownrigg, Miss Maude, Durrow, Queen's County.
Buckley, Rev. Cornelius, Jordanstown, Buttevant, Co. Cork.
Buggy, Michael, Esq., Solicitor, Kilkenny.
Buggy, Michael, Esq., Ballyouskill, Attanagh, Durrow, Queen's County.
Burke, Rev. W. P., C.C., Cahir, Co. Tipperary.
Burke, Right Rev. Mgr., P.P., Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow.
Burtchaell, G. D., Esq., M.A., M.R.I.A., 44 Morehampton Road, Dublin.
Butler, Peter, Esq., Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
Butler, Patrick H., Esq., 23 East College Avenue, St. Paul, Minn., U.S. America.
Butler, Miss Bridget, 21 West 50th Street, New York, U.S. America.
Byrne, Mrs., Moneycleere House, Ballinakill, Queen's County.
Byrne, John, Esq., Sexton Street, Limerick.
Byrne, Miss Janie, 5539 Ludlow Street, West Philadelphia, Pa., U.S. America.
Byrne, E. J., Esq., 15 Adelaide Street, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.

Cahill, Col. John N., J.P., Ballyconra House, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
Cahill, Rev. Richard, St. Joseph's Church, St. Paul, Minn., U.S. America.
Cahill, Rev. John, Adm., Clara, Kilkenny.
Cahill, Rev. William, C.C., Templeorum, Piltown, Co. Kilkenny.
Campion, Rody J., Esq., Co. C., Donaghmore, Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Campion, John, Esq., The Square, Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Cantwell, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., V.F., Ballingarry, Killenaule, Co. Tipperary.

Cantwell, Thomas, Esq., J.P., King Street, Kilkenny.
Carey, Mrs., Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Carpenter, Thomas, Esq., Ballyfoyle, Kilkenny.
Carrigan, James, Esq., Rothestown, Ballyfoyle, Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)
Carrigan, Rev. James, C.C., Tullagher, New Ross, Co. Wexford.
Carrigan, Rev. Patrick, P.P., Tullaroan, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny. (*Three Copies.*)
Carrigan, John, Esq., Crochtabeg, Windgap, Co. Kilkenny.
Carroll, Rev. John, P.P., Camross, Mountrath, Queen's County.
Carroll, Rev. John, C.C., St. Canice's, Kilkenny.
Carroll, Right Rev. Mgr., V.G., Sacred Heart Presbytery, Sydney, Australia.
Carroll, James, Esq., Coolkerry, Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Cassin, Rev. William, P.P., Gowran, Co. Kilkenny. (*Five Copies.*)
Castletown of Upper Ossory, Lord, Granston Manor, Abbeyleix, Queen's County. (*Two Copies.*)
Caulfield, John, Esq., 23 East 5th Street, St. Paul, Minn., U.S. America.
Cavanagh, Rev. Charles, Annandale, Minn., U.S. America. (*Two Copies.*)
Cavanagh, Mrs., Whiteswall, Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny.
Cleary, Rev. William, St. John's Church, 19 St. Mary's Avenue, San Francisco, California.
Cleere, W. K., Esq., Ormonde Road, Kilkenny.
Clohosey, Rev. John, C.C., St. John's, Kilkenny.
Clooney, Miss Mary, Durrow, Queen's County.
Cody, Very Rev. and Ven. Archdeacon, P.P., Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)
Cody, Rev. Edward, Assumption, Minn., U.S. America.
Cody, Richard, Esq., The Hotel, Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny.
Coghlan, Rev. Laurence, C.C., St. Canice's, Kilkenny.
Coghlan, Very Rev. Daniel, D.D., Professor, Maynooth College, Co. Kildare.
Coleman, James, Esq., 2 Rosehill Terrace, Queenstown, Co. Cork.
Coleman, Rev. Ambrose, O.P., Dominican Priory, Drogheda.
COLLEGE, ST. KIERAN'S, KILKENNY. (*One Hundred Copies.*)
Comerford, Very Rev. Pierce M., San Jose, California, U.S. America.
Comerford, Rev. Philip, C.C., Castletown, Mountrath, Queen's County.
Commins, John, Esq., Desart N.S., Cuffe's Grange, Co. Kilkenny.
Comyn, David, Esq., M.R.I.A., 43 Brighton Square, Rathgar, Co. Dublin.
Connolly, Timothy, Esq., 25 South Olden Avenue, Trenton, N.J., U.S. America.
Connolly, Rev. William, C.C., Bennetsbridge, Co. Kilkenny.
Rev. Mother, Presentation Convent, Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny.
Rev. Mother, M. J. Conception, Loretto Convent, Kilkenny.
Presentation Convent, Kilkenny.
Presentation Convent, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny.

Convent of the Sisters of Mercy, Callan, Co. Kilkenny.
Convent of the Sisters of Mercy, Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's County.
Convent of the Sacred Heart of Mary, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Rev. Mother M. Bernard, Convent of St. Camillus, Kilkenny.
Rev. Mother M. Teresa, Presentation Convent, George's Hill, Dublin.
Rev. Mother, Sisters of Mercy, Convent of Mercy, Paramatta, New South Wales, Australia.
Conway, Rev. James, P.P., Tullaherin, Bennetsbridge, Co. Kilkenny.
Cooney, Very Rev. J. B., O.S.F., Guardian, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.
Corcoran, Rev. Michael, C.C., Clonetubrid, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny.
Corcoran, Miss C. F., Corcoran, Hennepin Co., Minn., U.S. America.
Costelloe, Martin, Esq., Durrow, Queen's County.
Costigan, Rev. John, P.P., Kilmacow, Waterford.
Costigan, Rev. William, Castletown, Mountrath, Queen's County.
Coyne, Rev. Michael, Ph. D., Professor, St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny.
Craugh, Richard, Esq., Penn Yan, New York, U.S. America.
Crotty, Very Rev. James, O.P., Prior, St. Clement's, Rome. (*Two Copies.*)
Crotty, Rev. Martin, C.C., Gathabawn, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny. (*A donation of five guineas.*)
Crotty, Thomas, Esq., Parliament Street, Kilkenny.
Cuddihy, Mrs. Alice, Market Square, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
Cuddihy, Patrick, Esq., Carrigeen N.S., Waterford.
Cuffe, Captain the Honble. Otway, Sheestown Lodge, Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)
Cummins, Mrs. Bridget, Muckalee, Ballyfoyle, Co. Kilkenny.
Cunningham, Thomas, Esq., Ballacolla, Queen's County.

Darcy, John, Esq., John's Bridge, Kilkenny.
Dasent, Arthur Irwin, Esq., 59 St. George's Road, Eccleston Square, London, S.W. (*Two Copies.*)
Davin, Mrs. Ellen, Eglish, Grogan, Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Davis, Rev. Richard, Nazareth, Ky., U.S. America.
Deady, James, Esq., Hibernian Bank, Navan, Co. Meath.
Dean, Mrs. Bridget, 3 Hope Street, Capetown, South Africa. (*Two Copies.*)
Dease, Edmund, Esq., D.L., (*lately deceased*), Rath House, Ballybrittas, Queen's County. (*Two Copies.*)
Delahunty, Thomas, Esq., Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Delany, Rev. William, C.C., Ferrybank, Waterford. (*Two Copies.*)
Delany, Rev. Brother A. M., S.G., St. Patrick's Monastery, Mountrath, Queen's County.
Delany, Miss Isabel, Woodview, Durrow, Queen's County. (*Two Copies.*)

Delany, James, Esq., 37 Withington Road, Whalley Range, Manchester. (*Two Copies.*)
Delany, Michael, Esq., Oldtown, Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Delany, Miss Grace, Gurteen N.S., Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Delany, Mrs. Bridget Peters, 22 Bain Avenue, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., U.S. America.
Delany, William, Esq., Moorvil, Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Delany, Rev. Michael, C.C., Ballycallan, Kilkenny.
Delany, Very Rev. William, S.J., University College, Dublin.
Delany, Rev. Austin, C.C., Clonegal, Ferns.
Delany, Stephen, Esq., The Square, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
De Vesci, Lord Viscount, (*lately deceased*), Abbeyleix, Queen's County.
De Vesci, Viscountess, Abbeyleix, Queen's County.
De Vesci, Lord Viscount, Abbeyleix, Queen's County.
Dillon, Rev. James, Adm., Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's County.
Dillon, Rev. Michael J., Hunslet, Leeds.
Dix, E. R. McC., Esq., 17 Kildare Street, Dublin.
Dollard, Rev. John, Chaplain, Callan, Co. Kilkenny.
Dollard, Rev. James B., Upter Grove, Ontario, Canada.
Doody, Very Rev. John, President, St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)
Doody, Rev. Edward, C.C., Dunnamaggan, Callan, Co. Kilkenny.
Dooley, James, Esq., Master, North Dublin Union, Dublin.
Dooley, Rev. Patrick A., St. Monica's Church, Wampum, Pa., U.S. America.
Dowley, Edward, Esq., Tinvane House, Carrick-on-Suir.
Dowling, Mrs., Ballyouskill, Attanagh, Durrow, Queen's County.
Downey, Mrs., 73 Main Street, Cashel, Co. Tipperary.
Doyle, Very Rev. James Canon, D.D., P.P., V.F., St. Canice's Kilkenny.
Doyle, Rev. James, Adm., St. Mary's, Kilkenny.
Doyle, Rev. Peter, P.P., Windgap, Co. Kilkenny.
Doyle, M. J., Esq., Windgap N.S., Co. Kilkenny.
Doyle, Rev. John, P.P., Ballyhale, Co. Kilkenny.
Doyle, Rev. W., Jamestown, South Australia.
Drea, Michael, Esq., High Street, Kilkenny.
Drennan, Rev. Jeremiah, Adm., Seir-Kieran, Clareen, Birr, King's County.
Drennan, Rev. Patrick, C.C., Mullinavat, Co. Kilkenny.
Drennan, Denis, Esq., J.P., Conway Hall, Kells, Co. Kilkenny.
Duan, Very Rev. J. J. P.P., V.F., Murroe, Co. Limerick. (*Two Copies.*)
Duckworth, Dr., Donaghmore, Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Dudley, Miss, Durrow, Queen's County.
Duggan, William, Esq., Cannonswood, Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Duggan, Richard, Esq., J.P., Monster House, High Street, Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)
Duguid, John, Esq., 16 Waterloo Crescent, Dover.

Duigan, Michael, Esq., Grange House, Ballybrophy, Queen's County.
Duignan, W. H., Esq., Gorway, Walsall.
Dunne, Rev. John, Adm., Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford.
Dunne, Michael, Esq., Round Hill, Springfield, Mass, U.S. America.
Dunne, Mrs., Owning, Piltown, Co. Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)
Dunne, Miss Kate, Brussels House, Gloddeath Street, Llandudno, North Wales.
Dunphy, Rev. James, P.P., Cuffe's Grange, Co. Kilkenny.
Dunphy, Rev. John, St. Thomas's College, Merriam Park, St. Paul, Minn., U.S. America.
Dunphy, James P., Esq., 344 S. Broad Street, Trenton, N.J., U.S. America.
Dunphy, Rev. William, P.P., Barendarrig, Kilbride, Wicklow.

Egan, Patrick A., Esq., Corner of Fairmont Avenue & Avon Street, St. Paul, Minn. U.S. America.
Esmonde, Sir Thomas, M.P., Ballynastragh, Gorey, Co. Wexford.
Everard, Rev. John, P.P., Ballyporeen, Co. Tipperary.

Fahey, Mrs. F., 283 Aurora Avenue, St. Paul, Minn., U.S. America.
Falkiner, C. Litton, Esq., Mount Mapas, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
Farrell, Rev. Michael Patrick, St. Patrick's, Bradford, Yorkshire.
Fiacre, Very Rev. Father, O.S.F.C., Guardian, Holy Trinity, Fr. Mathew Quay, Cork.
Fielding, Rev. John K., St. James's Church, 2942 Wabash Avenue, Chicago, U.S. America.
Fitzgerald, Lord Walter, Kilkea Castle, Mageney, Co. Kildare.
Fitzmaurice, Rev. E. B., O.S.F., Franciscan Convent, Drogheda.
Fitzpatrick, Miss Margaret, Post Office, Durrow, Queen's County.
Fitzpatrick, Michael, Esq., Tubberboe, Durrow, Queen's County.
Fitzpatrick, Rev. Michael, C.C., Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
Fleming, Mrs. Kate, Johnstown N.S., Co. Kilkenny.
Fletcher, Patrick F., Esq., Durrow, Queen's County.
Fletcher, John, Esq., Ballacolla, Queen's County.
Flood, W. H. Grattan, Esq., Rosemount, Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford.
Flower, The Honble. Mr., Knockatrina House, Durrow, Queen's County.
Fogarty, Rev. Philip, C.C., Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny.
Fogarty, Rev. Thomas J., C.S.Sp., Clareville, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
Foley, Daniel J., Esq., Hawesville, Ky., U.S. America.
Freney, Rev. Thomas, C.C., Clara, Kilkenny.
Fry, M. W. J., Esq., M.A., F.T.C.D., 39 Trinity College, Dublin.
Furlong, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., Cushenstown, New Ross, Co. Wexford.

Gahan, Richard, Esq., 57 Common Street, Montreal, Canada.
Gallagher, Mrs. Winifred, 542 Minnesota Street, S. Paul, Minn., U.S. America.

Gannon, Father Benignus O.F.,M., Guardian, The Friary, Killarney, Co. Kerry. (*Four Copies.*)
Gibson, William J., Esq., 132 St. Laurence Road, Clontarf, Dublin.
Gibson, Mrs. G., 246 Nassau Street, Princeton, N. Jersey, U.S. America.
Glennan, Miss Lizzie, Knockanoran, Durrow, Queen's Co.
Goff, W. G. D., Esq., Glenville, Waterford.
Gorman, Major Lawrence, 37 Brighton Road, Rathgar, Dublin.
Grace, Rev. John, C.C., Galmoy, Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny.
Grace, Edward, Esq., Durrow, Queen's County.
Grace. Rev. Patrick, St. Charles', Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.
Grady, Mrs. Kate, Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's County.
Grainger, Patrick, Esq., Kenny Street, Callan, Co. Kilkenny.
Grant, Rev. Thomas, C.C., Clough, Ballacolla, Queen's County.
Grant, Rev. James, St. Bede's, Jarrow-on-Tyne, England.
Gray, Mrs. Bernard, 5539 Ludlow Street, West Philadelphia, Pa., U.S. America.
Green, Major J. S., R.A.M.C., Air Hill, Glanworth, Co. Cork.
Griffith, Richard J., Esq., Durrow, Queen's County.
Griffith, P. J., Esq., 44 South Circular Road, Portobello, Dublin.
Griffith, Andrew, Esq., Cloth Hall, High Street, Kilkenny.
Griffith, Very Rev. P., C.SS.R., Redemptorists, Clonard, Belfast.

Hally, Rev. James, St. Joseph's Orphanage, Kingstown, Co. Dublin
Handcock, G. F., Esq., Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London.
Hanly, Rev. John, Lydiate, Liverpool.
Hasset, Sergt. Patrick, R.I.C., Durrow, Queen's County.
Hayden, Miss Bridget, The Square, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny.
Hannon, Rev. John, C.C., Ennis, Co. Clare.
Headen, W. P. Esq., B.A., Senior Inspector of N.SS., 11 Charleville Road, N.C.R., Dublin.
Healy, Rev. William, P.P., Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny.
Healy, T. M., Esq., K.C., M.P., 1 Mountjoy Square, Dublin.
Hely, Gorges, Esq., Foulkscourt, Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny.
Henebry, Rev. James, Chaplain, Workhouse, Kilkenny.
Henebry, Rev. James, C.C., Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny.
Henebry, Very Rev. Philip, St. Joseph's, Hobart, Tasmania.
Hennessy, Miss Anastatia, Tullaroan N.S., Freshford, Co. Kilkenny.
Hennessy, Rev. John, M. R., St. Chad's, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.
Hennessy, P.M., Esq., 99 Western Avenue, St. Paul, Minn., U.S. America.
Hewson, Very Rev. E. F. Canon, Gowran Rectory, Co. Kilkenny.
Hogan, Edmond, Esq., Gaulstown, Ballyfoyle, Co. Kilkenny.
Hogan, Rev. Thomas, St. Mary's, Garstang, Lancashire.

Hogan, Dr., Larch Hill House, Mountrath, Queen's County.
Hogan, Very Rev. J. F., D.D., Maynooth College, Co. Kildare.
Hogan, Philip, Esq., 217 North 17th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S. America.
Holland, Patrick, Esq., Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Holohan, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., Rosbercon, New Ross, Co. Wexford.
Holohan, Rev. Martin, C.C., Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny.
Horahan, Martin, Esq., 318 Thirty-Eighth Street, Pittsburg, Pa., U.S. America.
Howley, Very Rev. Dean, P.P., V.G., Callan, Co. Kilkenny. (*Five Copies.*)
Hoyne, Rev. Michael, C.C., St. Patrick's, Kilkenny.
Hughes, Rev. Daniel J., The Rectory, Warwick Square, Carlisle, England.
Hunt, Rev. Michael, C.C., Ballycallan, Kilkenny.
Hurley, Rev. Patrick, P.P., Inchigeela, Co. Cork.
Hutchinson, Lord Mayor, Mansion House, Dublin.
Hyland, John P., Esq., Clonmoran, Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)

Iveagh, Lord, 5 Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.

Jarlath, Very Rev. Father, O.S.F.C., Guardian, St. Joseph's Convent, Rochestown, Cork.
Joyce, P. W., Esq., LL.D., M.R.I.A., Lyre-na-Grena, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.
Joyce, Rev. John J., St. Alexander's, Bootle, Liverpool.

Kavanagh, Timothy, Esq., Durrow, Queen's County.
Kavanagh, Edward, Esq., Springfield, Ballacolla, Queen's County.
Kealy, Rev. Martin, The Rectory, Warwick Square, Carlisle, England.
Keeffe, Philip, Esq., Clara, Kilkenny.
Keenan, Martin J., Esq., 243 Pleasant Street, Halifax, N.S., Canada.
Kelly, Timothy, Esq., Tullaroan, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny. (*Three Copies.*)
Kelly, William E., Esq., J.P., D.L., St. Helen's, Westport, Co. Mayo.
Kelly, Edmond Walsh, Esq., Beresford Street, Waterford.
Kelly, Miss Maria, The Bridge, Durrow, Queen's County.
Kelly, Michael, Esq., Danbury, Conn., U.S. America.
Kelly, Martin, Esq., Wellington Square, Carlow.
Kelly, Miss, Wellington Square, Carlow.
Kelly, Mrs. J., Monawee, Crettyard, Queen's County.
Kelly, Rev. Patrick, Credit River, Minn., U.S. America.
Kelly, William, Esq., Mangan, The Rower, Co. Kilkenny.
Kelly, Thomas Aliaga, Esq., 1 and 2 Westmoreland Street, Dublin.
Kennedy, Rev. Columb, Wallsend-on-Tyne, England.
Kenny, Rev. P. C., St. Bridget's Church, Grand Junction, Iowa, U.S. America.
Kenny, Nicholas, Esq., 104 High Street, Kilkenny.

Kenny, Michael, Esq., Ballyconra, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
Kenny, Edmund, Esq., Tubberboe, Durrow, Queen's County.
Kenny, Patrick, Esq., Byrnesgrove, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
Keoghan, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., Lisdowney, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny. (*Four Copies.*)
Keoghan, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., Conahy, Jenkinstown, Co. Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)
Keoghan, Rev. Richard, Adm., St. Patrick's, Kilkenny.
Keoghan, Rev. Patrick, C.C., Owning, Piltown, Co. Kilkenny.
Kerwick, Daniel, Esq., Parade, Kilkenny.
Knox, Alderman James, Esq., (*lately deceased*), Arundel Square, Waterford.
Knox, H. T., Esq., Westover House, Bitton, Bristol.

Lalor, James, Esq., 75 South Great George's Street, Dublin.
Lane, T. O'Neill, Esq., Tournafulla, Co. Limerick.
Langrishe, Mrs., Knocktopher Abbey, Co. Kilkenny.
Langrishe, Richard, Esq., 11 Palmerston Road, Dublin.
Larkin, Rev. John, C.C., Conahy, Jenkinstown, Co. Kilkenny.
Leonard, William, Esq., Urlingford, Co. Kilkenny.
Hon. Sec., King's Inns Library, Dublin.
National Library of Ireland.
The John Ryland's Library, Manchester. (*Per* H. Guppy, Esq., Librarian).
Meyrick Library, Jesus College, Oxford. (Address, A. E. W. Hazel, Esq., Librarian.)
Liverpool Public Library, William Brown Street. (*Per* Peter Cowell, Esq., Chief Librarian.)
Ballyouskill Parochial Library, Attanagh, Durrow, Queen's County.
Killismeestia Parochial Library, Ballybrophy, Queen's County
Loughman, John, Esq., Knockeil, Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Loughry, Rev. J. J., C.C., Clough, Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny.
Lowrey, Rev. Ambrose, C.C., Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny.
Lynch, Rev. P. F., C.C., Ballyleague, Lanesboro', Longford.

MacCaffrey, Very Rev. James, S.T.L., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Maynooth College, Co. Kildare.
McCormack, Miss M., 344 Maple Lake, Minn., U.S. America.
McCarte, Mathew, Esq., 51 George's Hill, Everton, Liverpool.
McCarthy, Rev. Michael, P.P., Donoughmore, Limerick.
McCarthy, Mrs. Julia Ireland, 133 West 5th Street, St. Paul, Minn., U.S. America.
M'Donald, Very Rev. Walter, D.D., Prefect of the Dunboyne, Maynooth College, Co. Kildare. (*Two Copies.*)
M'Donald, B.L., Esq., Royal Exchange Hotel, Dublin.
McDonald, William, Esq., The Square, Durrow, Queen's County.

McDonnell, John, Esq., 12 Mountjoy Street, Dublin.
McDonnell, James, Esq., Dungarvan N.S., Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
McDonnell, Michael, Esq., Elphin, Co. Roscommon.
McEvoy, Patrick, Esq., Durrow, Queen's County.
McGrath, James, Esq., Durrow, Queen's County.
McGrath, Rev. Michael J., C.C., Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny.
McGrath, Rev. Michael, C.C., Urlingford, Co. Kilkenny.
M'Keeffry, Rev. Joseph, C.C., M.R.I.A., Waterside, Derry.
McKenna, Verry Rev. Patrick, Professor, Maynooth College, Co. Kildare.
McKey, Rev. M. A., S.J., St. Joseph's Church, San Jose, California, U. S. America.
McMahon, Arthur, Esq., Cuddagh, Castletown, Mountrath, Queen's Co.
McNamara, Rev. Cornelius, St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny.
McNamara, Rev. Michael, St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny.
McQuaide, Rev. J. J., Diocese of Providence, U. S. America.
Madden, Rev. John, C.C., Rathdowney, Queen's Co.
Maher, Miss Mary, Seskin, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
Maher, Michael, Esq., Upper Conahy, Jenkinstown, Co. Kilkenny.
Mannix, Very Rev. Dr., President, Maynooth College, Co. Kildare.
March, H. C., Esq., Portesham, Dorchester, England.
Marum, W. M., Esq., J.P., Aharney House, Durrow, Queen's Co.
Mayler, James E., Esq., Ballytory, Broadway, Wexford.
Meehan, Patrick A., Esq., Maryboro', Queen's County.
Mercier, Ernest F., Esq., Durrow, Queen's Co.
Mercier, Cecil W., Esq., Durrow, Queen's Co.
Mitchell, Robert R., Esq., Rathdowney, Queen's Co.
Mitchell, Dr., Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's Co.
Mockler, Rev. T. A., St. John's College, Waterford.
Mockler, Rev. J., St. John's College, Waterford.
Molloy, Michael, Esq., Durrow, Queen's Co.
Molloy, William, Esq., Rose Inn Street, Kilkenny.
Moloney, Rev. Thomas, St. Margaret's Presbytery, 79 Barking Road, Canning Town, London, E.
Mooney, Miss Kate, Mill Road, Durrow, Queen's Co.
Moore, Rev. John, St. Colman's Church, Turtle Creek, Pa., U. S. America.
Moore, Rev. W., 1 Rue des Chartreux, Ghent, Belgium.
Morris, Samuel, Esq., Newrath, Waterford. (*Two Copies*).
Morrissey, Very Rev. Andrew, C.S.C., President of Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Ind., U. S. America.
Mountgarret, Lord Viscount, Nidd Hall, Ripley, Yorkshire.
Moylan, Rev. Thomas, St. Gregory's, Farnworth, Manchester, England.
Mullins, Rev. John, C.C., Windgap, Co. Kilkenny.

Mullins, Rev. R. F., C.C., Dumfries, Scotland.
Murphy, Dr. W. J., Ballinakill, Queen's County.
Murphy, Very Rev. James P., S.J., Provincial, St. Francis Xavier's, Gardiner Street, Dublin. (*Four Copies.*)
Murphy, Rev. Michael A., C.C., Freshford, Co. Kilkenny.
Murphy, M. M., Esq., Solicitor, Troyswood, Kilkenny.
Murphy, Right Rev. Mgr., P.P., V.G., Marybcro, Queen's County.
Murphy, Rev. Edward, C.C., The Rower, Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny.
Murphy, Rev. Joseph, C.C., St. Mary's, Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)
Murphy, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., Kilmanagh, Callan, Co. Kilkenny.
Murphy, Very Rev. Canon, D.D., P.P., V.F., Macroom, Co. Cork.
Murphy, Patrick A., Esq., Solicitor, Waterford.
Murphy, Mrs., N. T., St. Columbkille, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
Murphy, Patrick, Esq., Coolkerry, Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Murphy, Miss Hannah, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
Murphy, Rev. James C., St. Anne's Church, Vail, Crawford Co., Iowa, U.S. America

Neville, Mrs., Pelham, Wellbourne, Virginia, U.S. America.
Neville, Arthur, Esq., Tintore House, Ballacolla, Queen's County.
Nolan, Rev. Peter. P.P., Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny.
Nolan, Rev. Michael, Houghton-le-Spring, Durham, England.
Norman, George, Esq., F.R.S.A.I., 12 Brock Street, Bath, England.
Norris, Michael, Rev. P.P., St. Mullin's, Glynn, Co. Carlow.

O'Brien, Daniel J., M.D., Durrow, Queen's County. (*Two Copies.*)
O'Brien, Very Rev. Patrick, O.S.A., B.D., Callan, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Byrne, Rev. William, Adm., Clare Island, Westport, Co. Mayo
O'Byrne, Rev. Thomas P., C.C., Wicklow.
O'Connor; Rev. Thomas Ballybeagh, Tullaroan, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Donoghoe, Rev. John, St. Mary's, Blackhill, Co. Durham, England.
O'Farrell, Rev. William, P.P., Urlingford, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Farrell, Rev. E. St. James's Church, Le Mars, Plymouth Co., Iowa, U.S. America.
O'Flanagan, Patrick, Esq., Co. C., Durrow, Queen's County.
O'Gorman, William, M.D., Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Gorman, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., Kilmore, Wexford.
O'Gorman, James, Esq., The Square, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Gorman, Patrick, Esq., Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Halloran, Rev. Daniel, P.P., Muckalee, Ballyfoyle, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Halloran, Rev. Martin, C.C., Ballyfoyle, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Hanrahan, T. W., Esq., J.P., Parliament Street, Kilkenny.
O'Hickey, Very Rev. Michael P., Professor, Maynooth College, Co. Kildare.
O'Keeffe, Rev. Edward, C.C., Callan, Co. Kilkenny.

O'Keeffe, Rev. Andrew, St. Joseph's, Blaydon-on-Tyne, England.
O'Leary, Patrick, Esq., Graig-na-Managh, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Meara, James, Esq., M.P., South Kilkenny.
O'Quigley, Very Rev. Austin, O.P., Prior, Dundalk, Co. Louth.
O'Reille, Very Rev. Hugh, B.A., M.R.I.A., President, The College, Newry, Co. Down.
O'Reilly, Laurence, Esq., Inspector of Schools, Castlebar, Co. Mayo.
Ormonde, The Most Noble the Marquis of, The Castle, Kilkenny.
O'Rourke, Christopher, Esq., Kilcool N.S., Delgany, Co. Wicklow.
O'Shea, Rev. John, C.C., Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Shea, William K., Esq., Ballyouskill N.S., Attanagh, Durrow, Queen's County.
O'Shea, Rev. Patrick F., St. Michael's Presbytery, Wagga Wagga, New South Wales, Australia.
O'Shea, John, Esq., Clinstown N.S., Jenkinstown, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Shea, Richard, D., Esq., Knockroe, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Shea, John, Esq., Oldtown, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
O'Toole, Rev. Hugh, Professor, Blackrock College, Dublin.
O'Toole, Michael, Esq., Grenan, Attanagh, Durrow, Queen's County.

Paddle, Rev. William, C.C., Hugginstown, Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny.
Palmer, John, Esq., Durrow, Queen's County.
Perry, Alfred W., Esq., Erkindale, Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Peter, Very Rev. Father., O.S.F.C., Ex-Provincial, Church Street, Dublin.
Peters, James, Esq., Dungarvan, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
Phelan, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., V.F., Slieverue, Waterford. (*Three Copies.*)
Phelan, Rev. Fintan, Professor, St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny.
Phelan, Rev. Martin J., Professor, St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny.
Phelan, Rev. Thomas, P.P., Glenmore, Waterford.
Phelan, Very Rev. Canon, St. Mary's, Dundee, Scotland.
Phelan, Rev. Thomas, St. Thomas's, Lewisham, Sydney, N.S. Wales, Australia.
Phelan, Rev. Patrick J., Ursuline Convent, York, York Co., Nebraska, U.S. America.
Phelan, Rev. Patrick, P.P., Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny.
Phelan, James, Esq., Donoughmore, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
Poe, James, Esq., Solicitor, Rose Hill, Kilkenny.
Poe, Lieut.-Col. W. H., C.B., Heywood, Ballinakill, Queen's County.
Pollard, James, Esq., Callan, Co. Kilkenny.
Pollard, Patrick, Esq., Callan, Co. Kilkenny.
Ponsonby, E., Esq., 116 Grafton Street, Dublin.
Power, Rev. Patrick, Chaplain, De la Salle Training College, Waterford.
Power, Rev. Michael, C.C., Kilmacow, Waterford.
Power, J. J., Esq., High Street, Kilkenny.

Power, Miss Maggie, Moyne, Durrow, Queen's County.
Pratt, Richard, Esq., Durrow, Queen's County.
Purcell, Very Rev. Canon Purcell, P.P., Piltown, Co. Kilkenny. (*Three Copies.*)
Purcell, Rev. James, P.P., Kilmoganny, Callan, Co. Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)

Quinlan, Mrs., Knock, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary.
Quinn, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., Ballybrack, Dublin.

Raftice, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., Mullinavat, Co. Kilkenny.
Rapmund, Rev. Joseph, P.P., Silverstream, Monaghan.
Rector, Very Rev. Father, Mount St. Alphonsus, Limerick.
Rector, The, C.SS.R., St. Joseph's, Dundalk.
Reidy, Rev. Thomas J., C.C., Dunmore, Co. Galway.
Rice, John, Esq., 762 Carroll Street, St. Paul, Minn., U.S. America.
Roberts, Richard, Esq., Cullahill, Rathdowney, Queen's County.
Rochford, Rev. Thomas, P.P., Aghavillar, Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny.
Rock, Very Rev. P. M. J., Cathedral, Louisville, Ky., U.S. America.
Rockett, Michael, Esq., Sieverue, Waterford.
Roe, Rev. John, P.P., Clough, Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny.
Roe, Richard, Esq., Okarche, Canadian Co., Oklahoma, U.S. America.
Rowe, Rev. John, St. Michael's Church, Elswick, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.
Ronan, Miss Mary, Upper John Street, Kilkenny.
Ryan, Patrick, Esq., Abbeyleix, Queen's Co.
Ryan, Rev. John, C.C., Gowran, Co. Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)
Ryan, Very Rev. James J., President, The College, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
Ryan, James, Esq., Ballybooden, Durrow, Queen's County.
Ryan, Bryan J., Hon. Sec. Gaelic League, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.

St. George, Miss, Ardnabell, Clonskeagh, Co. Dublin.
Seraphine, Rev. Mother, St. Joseph's Academy, St. Paul, Minn., U.S. America.
Seymour, Rev. St. John, Curate, Durrow, Queen's County.
Sheehan, Very Rev. Michael, D.D.,D.Ph., Professor, Maynooth College, Co. Kildare.
Shelly, Thomas, Senr., Esq., Green Street, Callan, Co. Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)
Shelly, Patrick, Esq., Ballywalter, Callan, Co. Kilkenny.
Shiel, Mrs., Lisbigney, Durrow, Queen's County.
Shortall, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., V.F., Durrow, Queen's County. (*A donation of £5, and subscription for two copies.*)
Shortal, Nicholas, Esq., Solicitor, Parliament Street, Kilkenny.
Slattery, Rev. Stephen, P.P., Kinnity, King's Co.
Smiley, Hugh H., Esq., Drumalis, Larne, Co. Antrim.
Smith, Alfred, Esq., Newtown, Durrow, Queen's County.
Smyth, Rev. L. J., The Palace, Perth, W. Australia.

STAPLES, MISS, Dunmore House, Durrow, Queen's County.
STAPLETON, MICHAEL J., Esq., F.S.A.A., Trinity Chambers, Cork.
STAPLETON, PATRICK, Esq., Rathbeagh, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
STAUNTON, EDMUND, Esq., Seskin House, Ballyragget, Co. Kilkenny.
STEVENS & BROWN, MESSRS. B. F., 4 Trafalgar Square, London, W.C. (On behalf of the New York Public Library.)
STUBBER, R. HAMILTON, Esq., J.P., D.L., Moyne House, Durrow, Queen's County.
SWEETMAN, JOHN, Esq., Drumbaragh, Kells, Co. Meath. (*Two Copies.*)

TIGHE, E. K. B., Esq., J.P., D.L., Woodstock, Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny.
TRAYNOR, REV. MICHAEL, C.C., Clondalkin, Co. Dublin.
TREACY, REV. PATRICK, Adm., St. John's, Kilkenny. (*Two copies.*)
TYNAN, DANIEL, Esq., Conahy, Jenkinstown, Co. Kilkenny.
TYNAN, VERY REV. CANON, D.D., Farnworth, Manchester. (*A donation of five guineas, and subscription for one copy.*)
TYNAN, MRS., Camross, Mountrath, Queen's County.

UPTON, MRS. AGNES B., Durrow, Queen's County.

VEREKER, REV. PATRICK, Hollidaysburg, Pa., U. S. America.
VIGORS, COL. PHILIP D., (*lately deceased*), Holloden, Bagnalstown, Co. Carlow.

WALDRON, JOHN, ESQ., Solicitor, Abbeyleix, Queen's County.
WALSH, VERY REV. CANON, P.P., Freshford, Co. Kilkenny. (*Three copies.*)
WALSH, VERY REV. JOHN, Vice-President, St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny.
WALSH, REV. EDWARD, P.P., Clara, Kilkenny.
WALSH, REV. PATRICK, P.P., Ballacolla, Queen's County.
WALSH, REV. MICHAEL, Professor, St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny.
WALSH, REV. LAURENCE, C.C., Danesfort, Kilkenny.
WALSH, REV. WILLIAM, C.C., Glenmore, Waterford.
WALSH, REV. JOHN, C.C., Ballyouskill, Attanagh, Durrow, Queen's County.
WALSH, REV. R. F., Easthampton, Mass,. U. S. America.
WALSH, THOMAS, ESQ., Green Street, Callan, Co. Kilkenny.
WALSH, REV. PATRICK, 1219, 17th Street, Louisville, Ky., U. S. America.
WALSH, REV. EDWARD, St. Leonard's, New Tunstall, Sunderland, Co. Durham.
WALSH, REV. W. P., De Graff, Swift Co., Minn., U. S. America.
WALSH, REV. JOHN, South St. Paul, Minn. U. S. America.
WALSH, MICHAEL, M.D., New Ross, Co. Wexford.
WALSH, EDMOND, ESQ., J.P., Derrynahinch Ho., Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny.
WALSH, REV. M. J., S. T. L., St. Raphael's Church, 418, 5th Avenue, San Raphael. California. (*Two copies.*)
WALSH, EDWARD, ESQ., Ballykealy, Durrow, Queen's Co.

WALSH, REV. MARTIN, St. Andrew's Presbytery, Worswick Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.
WALSH, MRS. WILLIAM, Charleville Parade, Tullamore, King's County.
WALSH, REV. JAMES, St. Helen's Church, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
WALSHE, MRS. E. M., Fairview, Kilkenny.
WALSHE, VERY REV. ARCHPRIEST, Westport, New Zealand. (*Two Copies.*)
WANDESFORDE, THE HONBLE MR. R. H. P., Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny.
WARREN, MISS E., 12 Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin.
WHALEN, ANDREW, Esq., Hudson, New York, U.S. America.
WHELAN, VERY REV. DENIS, D.D., St. John's College, Waterford.
WHITE, MISS MARGARET M., Mullinbeg, Piltown, Co. Kilkenny.
WHITE, REV. MARTIN, C.C., Rosbercon, New Ross, Co. Wexford.
WHITE, JAMES, M.D., High Street, Kilkenny. (*Two Copies.*)
WHITE, JAMES, Esq., Inchmore, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny.
WHITE, HENRY V., Esq., Maryboro', Queen's County.
WRIGHT, EDWARD PERCEVAL, M.D., 5 Trinity College, Dublin.
WRIGHT, C. J. HAGBERG, Esq., London Library, St. James's Square.

KING'S COUNTY

SEIR-KIERAN

CAMROSS

QUEEN'S COUNTY

CASTLETOWN

MOUNTRATH

MARYBOROUGH

MARYBOROUGH EAST

MARYBOROUGH WEST

BORRIS-IN-OSSORY

AGHABOE

RATHDOWNEY

DURROW

CLOUGH

CASTLECOMER

BALLYRAGGET

GALMOY

LISDOWNEY

JOHNSTOWN

CONAHY

MUCKALEE

URLINGFORD

FRESHFORD

COUNTY KILDARE

COUNTY OF CARLOW

COUNTY KILKENNY

Roscrea

Borrisoleigh

Crannoe

MAP
OF THE
DIOCESE OF OSSORY

DIRECTIONS

The names of the Modern Parishes are printed in red capital letters
The names of the Ancient Parishes are printed in small black capital letters
The names of the Baronies are printed in large black capital letters

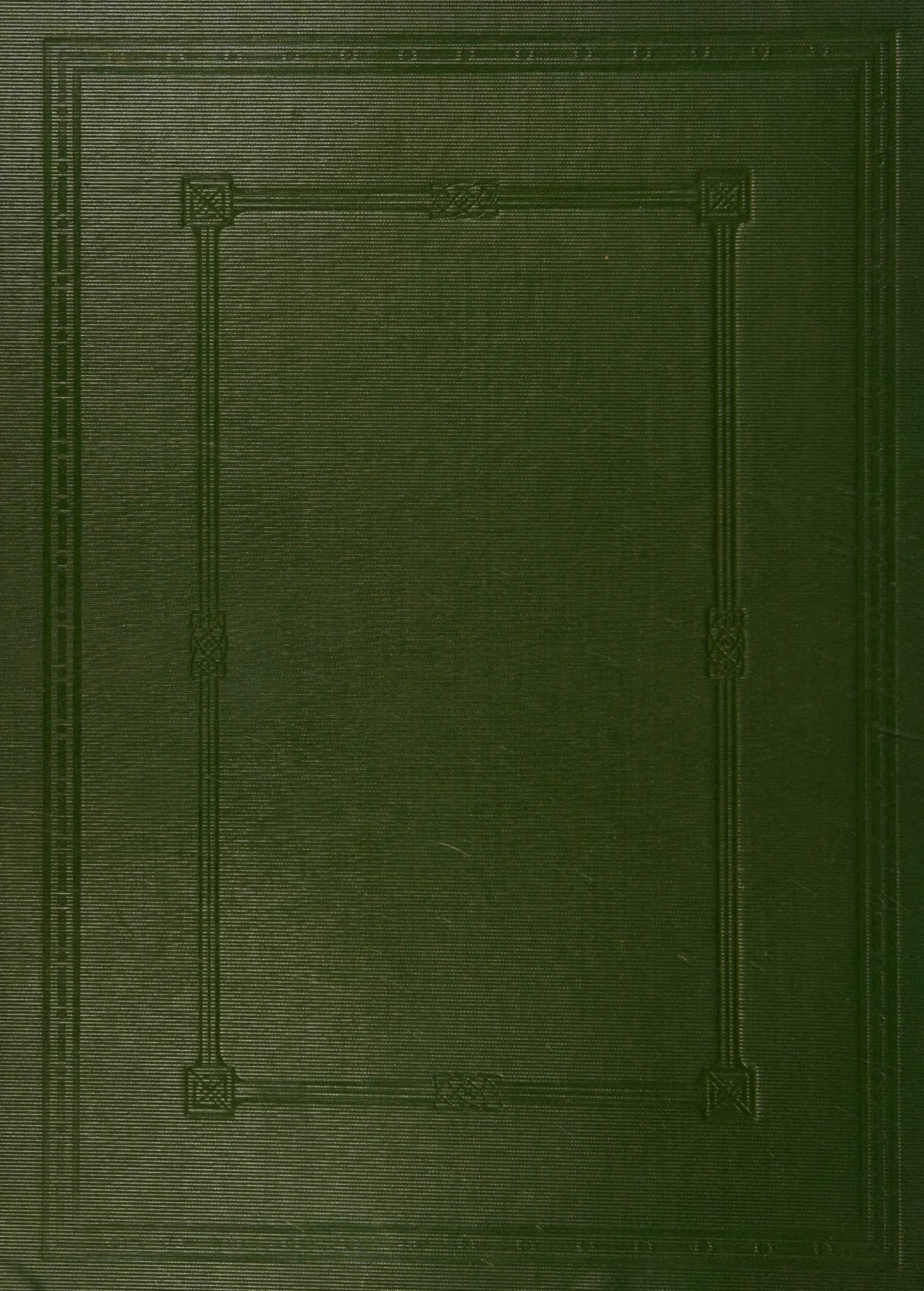
Thurles
Holycross
Goldscross
Cashel
Fethard
Caher
Clonmel
Ballingarry
Carrick-on-Suir
Tullaroan
Kilmanagh
Gowran
Bennettsbridge
Craigueknamadagh
Gorsbridge
Kilkenny
Waterford

COUNTY OF TIPPERARY

TULLAROAN
ST. CANICE'S
ST. MARYS
CLARA
KILMANAGH
ST. PATRICK'S
OF
GOWRAN
DANESFORT
TULLAHERIN
CALLAN
KILKENNY
THOMASTOWN
DUNNAMAGGAN
INISTIOGE
BALLYHALE
WINOGAP
AGHAVILLER
ROSBERCON
TEMPLEORUM
MULLINAVAT
GLENMORE
KILMACOW
MOONCOIN
SLIEVERUE

COUNTY OF KILKENNY

COUNTY OF WEXFORD

COUNTY OF WATERFORD

2868